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Journal

PUBLICATION
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF
AMERICA

EDITED BY
WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD

SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

VOL. XXXII, NO. 3
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WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD,
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39 Kirkland Street, Cambridge, Mass.

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REGULATIONS

1. Members prepare their papers for publication and topics for discussion in the meeting in the papers read in (or, at most, in the papers read in the meeting).
2. Every member should submit his contents, name, time, summarized, or to be published.
3. The papers should be trying to be attractive, the present opportunity.
4. The merits of the papers has been discussed.
5. C. proof in the

REGULATIONS ADOPTED BY THE EX

1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting, prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical papers may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. Papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than ten (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not, shall submit to the Secretary, by November 1, with its title, a synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the program.

3. The Secretary shall select the program from the papers thus submitted, trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

4. The question of publication is to be decided for each paper on its merits as a contribution to science, without regard to the form in which it has been presented at the meeting.

5. Charges exceeding an average of forty-five cents per galley of the first proof for authors' additions and corrections in the proof of articles printed in the *Publications* shall be paid by the authors incurring them.

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MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF
AMERICA

EDITED BY
WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD
SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

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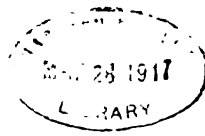
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WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD
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P. Greenleaf

PUBLICATIONS
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1917

VOL. XXXII, 1

NEW SERIES, VOL. XXV, 1

I.—THE BEGINNING OF ITALIAN INFLUENCE
IN ENGLISH PROSE FICTION

"The probationary period of translation . . . marks the first stage in the development of prose fiction," writes Professor J. W. H. Atkins,¹ and inspection of even a few Elizabethan novels will convince one that the type is not indigenous to English soil. The use of the love affair, of realism in the telling, of ordinary people in ordinary surroundings, of the rival and the confidante, of even the minor love affair, and of a plot with well marked stages and characters influenced by events² would have been impossible to English novelists without the example of their Italian predecessors. Before *Euphues* or *The Adventures passed by Master F. I.* or *The Golden Aphroditis* can be adequately accounted for, the contribution of Italy must be studied, not alone through such collections as Painter's

¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III, Ch. XVI, "Elizabethan Prose Fiction," p. 390. Putnam's, N. Y., 1911.

² Dr. Percy Waldron Long, "From Troilus to Euphues," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, Boston, 1913, p. 367.

Pallace of Pleasure (1566-67) and Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* (1567), but—and this is of more importance—through single works outside collections, which were of sufficient length and interest to bear the test of printing as separate volumes.

In 1560 appeared *The Goodli History of the moste noble & beautifull Ladye Lucre of Scene in Tuskan, and of her louver Eurialus, verye pleasaunt and delectable vnto the reder.*³ Copland may possibly have printed an edition as early as 1550.⁴ At all events, the edition of J. Kynge in 1560 was not the first. The date of the first English version depends upon conjecture, but 1560, even though it yield ten years, is sure. *Lucre*, so far as I know, was the first English translation of an Italian *novella* for its own sake,⁵ and with it the influence of

³ In *The Historie of Placidus, and other rare pieces*, The Roxburghe Club, 1873, with introduction by H. H. Gibbs. *Lucre* is one of the "rare pieces." To it Professor Carleton Brown first called my attention.

⁴ *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*, s. v. Pius II, C. 21. c. Esdaile, *List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740*, Bibliographical Society, 1912, lists this edition as undated. Hazlitt, according to H. H. Gibbs (Preface to the Roxburghe Club's reprint, p. vi) would date it "c. 1549," while "Lowndes mentions one by W. Copland, of 1547." As Gibbs suggests, this last date is probably an error for 1567. Esdaile lists the edition of 1560 in the British Museum (Huth. 51), which Gibbs also mentions on p. vi as the property of Henry Huth. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, trans. Elizabeth Lee, 1890, mentions (p. 82) "one before 1550," evidently without verification. Laneham's Captain Cox possessed a copy of "Lucre and Eurialus" (*Robert Laneham's Letter*, Ed. Furnivall, N. Y., Duffield, 1907, p. 30), which Furnivall discusses at length as a "somewhat warm" story "for an embryo Pope to have written" (Intro., pp. xxxix ff.).

⁵ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, Book II, Ch. xii (Ed. Crofts, Vol. II, pp. 132 ff.) rehearses the story of Titus and Gisippus (Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Day 10, Novella viii) "to recreate the redars which . . . desire varietie of mater" with "a right good-

Italy upon Elizabethan prose fiction may be said to have begun.

Before 1560, the only type of prose fiction largely current in England was the medieval romance. The Greek novel "represented in the work of Iamblichus, Xenophon of Ephesus, Heliodorus, Tatius, Chariton, . . . Eustathius, and . . . Longus" ⁶ had not touched Elizabethan England, and its influence is negligible. In the diffusion of the prose romance in English Caxton had been the pioneer, with his editions of *The Recuyell of the History of Troye* (1475?), the *History of Jason* (1477), *Godefroy of Bologne* (1481), *Reynart the Foxe* (1481), *Charles the Grete of Fraunce* (1485), *Le Morte Dar-*

ly example of frendship." Of this Wynkyn de Worde had printed a rhymed version by William Walter. Elyot rendered through the Latin of Beroaldo. Elyot's purpose is therefore half didactic. In 1556 two editions appeared of the *Histoire de Aurelio et Isabelle* . . . *Historia di Aurelio e Issabella* . . . *Historia de Aurelio, y de Ysabela* . . . *The Historie of Aurelio and of Isabell* . . . *In foure langagies, Frenche, Italien, Spanish, and Inglishe*. Of this Miss Mary Augusta Scott in her *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. x) Part I: Romances, p. 250, writes, "The polyglot editions show that Aurelia and Isabell was a favorite romance. It is attributed to Jean de Flores, and was translated from the Spanish into Italian by Lelio Aletifilo and into French by G. Corrozet." This was undoubtedly a text-book to be used in acquiring foreign languages, and its purpose was pedagogic.

⁶ A. J. Tiede, *The Critical Heritage of Fiction in 1579, Englische Studien*, XLVII (1913), p. 415. Search in Miss Henrietta R. Palmer's *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641*, Bibliographical Society, 1911, and in the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum* shows that Heliodorus was first englished in *The Histoire of Chariclea and Theogenes*, which appeared in *The Amorous and Tragical Tales of Plutarch, whereunto is annexed the History of Oricles and Theoginis* . . . translated by Ja. Sanferd, 1567; Longus, in Angell Day's *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1587. *Cetera desunt*. Ovid's *Narcissus* was rendered as verse in 1560.

thur (1485), *Blanchardine and Eglantine* (1489), and *The Four Sons of Aymon* (1489?). His example was followed by De Worde, Pynson, and other printers, who not only issued fresh editions of some of these romances, but also struck out for themselves.⁷ Before 1560 I find only two works which fall under the suspicion of being original English fiction. The first, *Of a Merchau [n] tes Wyfe that afterwarde went Lyke a Ma[n] and becam a greate Lorde and was Called Frederyke of Jennen afterwarde* (1518), was printed by J. Dusborowghe and reprinted by both Pynson and Vele. The second was *A Lyttle Treatyse Called the Image of Idlenesse, contaynyng certain matters moued between Walter Wedlocke and Bawdin Bachelor . . . by Olyuer Oldwanton, and dedicated to the Lady Lust*⁸ (1558). The former was

⁷ Among these romances and medieval stories Esdaile or Miss Palmer lists the following pieces: De Worde, without date, *Gesta Romanorum*; *Joseph of Arimathea*; *Valentine and Orson* (two other editions by Copland); *The Dystruccyon of Iherusalem by Vespasian and Tytus* (another edition by Pynson, and one by De Worde, 1528); *Robert the Devil*; 1499, Mandeville's *Travels* (other editions by Pynson, N. D., De Worde, 1503, and East, 1568); c. 1499, *The Thre Kynges of Coleyne* (1511, 1526, 1530); 1510, *Kynge Appolyn of Thyre*; 1511, *Ponthus* (1548); 1512, *The Knyght of the Swanne . . . Helyas* (second edition by Copland); 1518, *Olyuer of Castylle, and . . . fayre Helayne daughter unto the Kynge of England*. Pynson, 1513, *The Hystorye [of the] Sege and Destruccyon of Troye* (Marsh, 1555; Paynell, 1553). Other printers, without date, *Kyng Wylliam of Palerne*; *Surdyt King of Ireland*; *Ye. vii Wyse Maysters of Rome*; 1518, *Virgilius* (Copland, 1561); J. Duisbrowgh: *Anwarpe* (sic), 1518?, *Mary of Nemmegen*; *The Parson of Kalenborowe*, 1520?; N. D., *Arthur of Lytle Britain*; *The Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes*, 1521; Berners, 1548?, *The Castell of Love . . . whiche boke treateth of the love betwene Leriano and Laureola* (two other editions, N. D.); 1551, More, *Utopia*; 1553, *The Historie of Quintus Curtius, Conteyning the Actes of the greate Alexander*.

⁸ The title curiously anticipates Fullwood's *Inimie of Idleness* (1568), the first English letter-writer.

probably a translation of a German chap-book; the latter may have been a dialogue; both may be dismissed without comment in view of the predominance of the medieval romance in fiction before 1560. In that year the direct influence of Italy began in *Luces*.

This novel, written in 1444 by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, enjoyed extraordinary popularity. Of it we may note before 1500 one manuscript and no less than seventy-three European editions,⁹ printed in Italy, Germany, France, Holland, and Spain. By 1560 at least seven more versions had appeared on the Continent. It was undoubtedly one of the most read stories of the whole Renaissance.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterward Pope Pius II, born at Corsignano, the son of a noble of decayed estate, proceeded in 1423 to the university at Siena,¹⁰ where at that time was lecturing Mariano de' Sozzini, professor of jurisprudence, one of the torch-bearers of humanism. To him the youth attached himself with the ardor of hero-worship,¹¹ and for him, at Sozzini's request, he wrote

⁹ In listing and checking editions I have used R. A. Peddie, *Conspectus Incunabulorum*, Part I, London, 1910, who enters a total of sixty-two editions before 1500; Hain, *Reportorium Bibliographicum*, 1826; Coppinger, *Supplement to Hain's Reportorium*, 1898; Esdaile, *English Tales and Romances*; Gibbs's Preface to the Roxburghe Club's reprint; Miss Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, I; and the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*, s. v. Pius II. Mr. Peddie's total is by far the largest. Hain cites thirty-six editions. M. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, p. 81, writes, "It went through twenty-three editions in the fifteenth century, and was eight times translated." All these counts are considerably under the actual number of editions.

¹⁰ Cecilia M. Ady, *Pius II.*, London, 1913, pp. 3, 8.

¹¹ Ady, p. 13. Compare Æneas Sylvius, *De Viris Illustribus*, *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, 1842, Vol. I, p. 27, "De Mariano Socino Senensis," in which Æneas draws a most flattering character of his old teacher.

De Duobus Amantibus, the original of *Lucrez*. In 1432 the Emperor Sigismund visited Siena, bringing in his train one of his favorites, Count Gaspar Schlick, a German nobleman, to whom Sylvius later became strongly attached.¹² More than a year before the Emperor's arrival, Æneas had left Siena,¹³ but this evidently did not prevent his hearing of the intrigue of the Count with the wife of a Sienese gentleman; for later in a letter to the nobleman, which forms the preface to *De Duobus Amantibus*, he delicately reminds him of his escapade.¹⁴ That, as has been tentatively suggested, this amour should have concerned the wife of Mariano de' Sozzini,¹⁵ is impossible for two reasons: first, Æneas from motives of prudence would hardly have answered his teacher's request for a story with the tale of his wife's unfaithfulness, for the mere physical consequences would probably have deterred even so prudential a spirit as the future Pius II, however much the irony might have appealed to him; and secondly, the younger man seems to have been too sincerely devoted to his old master, even allowing for the exaggerations of courtesy, to exhibit him in

¹² Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, Vol. II, p. 242: "At first Æneas wished to play the part of Horace to a second Mæcenas; but he soon learned to change his strain, and adapt himself to the requirements of his patron's practical nature." Schlick even gave his dependant a place at his table.

¹³ Ady, p. 13.

¹⁴ Roxburghe Club's reprint of *Lucrez*, *Appendix*, p. xxxiv: "Ideo historiam hanc ut legas precor, et an vera scripserim videas. Nec reminisci te pudeat si quid huiusmodi non numquam euenerut tibi; homo enim fueras, qui numquam sensit amoris ignes aut lapis aut bestia est." Compare Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, pp. 299, 300.

¹⁵ Zannoni, *Per la storia di due amanti* (Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, serie iv, vol. vi, pp. 116-127, Rome, 1890) cited by Mrs. Ady, *Pius II*, p. 16, n. 2.

the horned rôle. That the name of the servant Sosias, whom in the story Lucretia finally makes her confidant, resembles in appearance the Latin form *Zosinus*, cannot be admitted as of weight in the identification. If, then, one accept the Eurialus of the novel as Count Schlick,¹⁶ Lucretia must remain unidentified.

Thus, though the heroine be not the wife of Sozzini, the situation of the *novella* has a definable basis of fact. But a realistic situation does not make a realistic novel. It is therefore necessary, first, to examine the plot, then to determine how far Æneas Sylvius attempted to reproduce recorded events, and finally to see what means he took to assure artistic verisimilitude.

The story of *De Duobus Amantibus* runs as follows:—¹⁷

On the entry of the Emperor Sigismund into Siena, he was greeted by a quartette of matrons, among whom the Lady Lucretia, wife of Menelaus, to whom she had been married against her will, excelled in beauty. With her the courtier Eurialus, a Franconian noble, fell desperately in love, and she reciprocated his affection. Midway between the Emperor's court and the house of Eurialus stood the residence of the curmudgeon Menelaus, and Lucretia from her windows prosecuted successfully her flirtation with the courtier as he passed to and from the royal presence. One day the Emperor, riding by with his train, jestingly thrust the bonnet of Eurialus over his eyes with the remark, "*Nec videbis . . . quod amas; ego hoc spectaculo fruor.*" The lady, burning with love, attempted to enlist the aid of her husband's servant Sosias, but he, mindful of the honor of the house, rebuked her; whereupon she threatened suicide. Sosias half-heartedly yielded, and he declared her love to Eurialus so enigmatically that the knight failed to understand him. At last Eurialus could endure his torment no longer. He dispatched to Lucretia a letter, evidently written at dictation by a professional scribe, in which he declared his

¹⁶ Compare Creighton, vol. II, p. 247, and also Rossi, *Storia Letteraria*, "Il Quattrocento," pp. 126-27.

¹⁷ Condensed from the *novella* as reprinted in the Roxburghe Club's *Historie of Sir Plasidas*, pp. xxxvi, ff.

love, but he sent it by a procuress. The cautious Lucretia spurned the bawd and tore up the letter in her presence, but on the woman's departure she collected the bits, read them, and covered them with a thousand kisses. Thus began their correspondence. Eurialus was a little hindered by his ignorance of Italian; so he set diligently to work to learn the language, a study in which love spurred him on. An attempt on the part of Lucretia to arrange an interview through the innocent connivance of her mother miscarried because of the older woman's sudden suspicion.

At this juncture Eurialus was sent by the Emperor to Rome to treat with the Pope in regard to the coronation, a mission which kept him some two months. During this time Lucretia languished, but on the return of her lover she regained her spirits, in particular when Nysus, the friend of Eurialus, found in an inn a room which had a window near Lucretia's chamber. Thus the two lovers were enabled to snatch interviews and even to exchange tokens. Sosias, seeing how public the affair was like to become, decided to aid his mistress. With his aid Eurialus disguised himself as a porter, one of a number engaged in putting grain into the cellar, and thus made his way to his lady. Even as he held her fast, Sosias knocked, with the word that Menelaus had returned unexpected. With the husband came a scribe, Bertus, on business connected with the city. Lucretia, quick of resource, hid her lover in a closet. But certain papers which Menelaus had to have were missing; they were probably in the very closet in which Eurialus was hidden. By upsetting a box of jewels into the street, Lucretia gained the time it took for her husband and the scribe to recover them, and thus saved Eurialus. At last the intruders departed and left the lovers to themselves. But Eurialus was nervous; he found it impossible to enjoy his stay. So he, too, went, clad in his porter's disguise, wondering what the Emperor would say if he encountered his servant in those garments.

Now appeared another follower of the Emperor, Pacorus, a Pannonian, who by means of a note concealed in the stalks of a bunch of violets sought to serve Lucretia. But she, both prudent and true to Eurialus, informed Menelaus, who complained to the Emperor. For a time Pacorus was silent. At length on a winter's day he joined a group of young Sieneſe bloods snowballing with some ladies in their windows, and, cunningly enclosing a note in wax and that in a snowball, he cast it into Lucretia's room. But unfortunately the snowball fell into the fire, the wax melted, Menelaus read the missive, "*nouasque lites excitauerunt quas Pacorus non excusatione sed fuga vitauit.*"

Meanwhile Menelaus was called away. Eurialus, in the hope of seeing his lady, concealed himself in the stable, whence, after being nearly pitchforked by Dromo, a servant feeding the horses, he was rescued by the quick wits of Sosias; but this expedient procured him only a scant hour with Lucretia, because Menelaus returned. The lovers fell upon evil days. But Pandalus, a relation of Menelaus, aided them, hoping thereby to gain political advancement. Once more Menelaus was summoned away for the night. According to agreement Eurialus, with his friend Achates waiting outside, forced himself in at a door, only to have his lady faint with joy in his arms. She soon revived, and they reaped the fruits of love.

But the Emperor, being reconciled with the Pope, left Siena for Rome. Eurialus made the mistake of not informing Lucretia, thinking to spare her feelings. In an exchange of letters she begged her lover to take her with him, and he swore to return to her. They parted. At Rome Eurialus was taken sick of a fever, but he recovered in time to be knighted at the coronation. When the Emperor moved to Perugia, the lover, too ill to accompany him, stayed for a time in Rome, then returned to Siena. But he could procure only a glimpse of his lady. Again they parted, this time forever. Lucretia died of a broken heart. Eurialus was compelled to follow the Emperor to Perugia, then to Ferrara, Mantua, Tridentum, Constantia, and Basel, and into Hungary and Bohemia. He found no consolation till Sigismund gave him a beautiful girl to wife.

Now in this plot one is surprised to observe the accuracy with which Æneas Sylvius employed historical events. Sigismund reached Siena in July, 1432.¹⁸ Here he determined to remain till he could go to Rome to be crowned. At every turn he was opposed by the Pope, Eugenius IV. But Eugenius discovered that matters were going against him and within the month he had renewed negotiations with Sigismund.¹⁹ Affairs dragged on with the attitude of the Council at Basel becoming daily more troublesome. At

¹⁸ Creighton, vol. II, p. 76. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Ed. F. I. Antrobus, London, 1902, vol. I, gives an account of these events so unpolitical as to be almost useless in the present investigation.

¹⁹ Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vol. II, p. 76.

Siena the position of Sigismund, deserted by his allies, was grown pitiable enough, but he was still determined to pacificate Italy and to be crowned Emperor. Eugenius, wearying of the struggle, had already made overtures, and about the end of March or the first of April, Sigismund seems to have sent envoys to Rome for the purpose of treating with the Pope. Of this embassy Eurialus, that is, Count Schlick, may have been a member. On April 7, 1432, the preliminaries of the coronation were adjusted.²⁰ Sigismund probably left Siena between May 9, the day on which he dispatched envoys to Basel urging the Council to treat kindly the Papal legates, and May 19, two days before he entered Rome.²¹ Among his six hundred knights rode the disconsolate Eurialus, just parted from his Lucretia. On Whit Sunday, May 31, 1433, Sigismund was crowned Emperor. Of the knights dubbed on the bridge of San Angelo by Sigismund in the exercise of his new authority, one was his chancellor, Gaspar Schlick.²²

The summer Sigismund spent in Rome with the Pope. But toward the middle of August the Emperor became aware that his presence was needed at Basel. Accordingly on August 21 he set out. Eurialus, just recovering from his fever, could not accompany him, and this opportunity he snatched for his final parting with Lucretia, rejoining the suite at Perugia. The route of the Emperor lay through Rimini, Ferrara, Mantua, and thence to Basel,²³ where he arrived on October 11 and stayed till May 19, 1434.²⁴ With Cardinal Capriano to Basel had gone his new secretary Æneas Sylvius, whose relations with Count Schlick probably began at this time.²⁵

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Later movements of the Emperor and his suite are somewhat more uncertain. On account of trouble with the Bohemians Sigismund and the envoys of the Council met representatives of the country in Brünn in the early summer of 1435. By this time it is possible that the heart of Eurialus had sufficiently healed for him to espouse the beautiful virgin proposed by Sigismund.²⁶ The Emperor appeared on July 1, two weeks after the Bohemians and six after the men sent by the Council. Undoubtedly this gathering is that which Eurialus attended. As to the expedition into Hungary mentioned in the *novella* less can be said with certainty. Trouble in that country was intermittent from 1413 till 1437, when the Empress Barbara instituted the conspiracy to elevate Ladislas of Poland to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary. Sigismund, on discovering the plot, having as one remaining ambition the securing of the throne of Hungary to Albert, left Prague on November 11, 1437,²⁷ in an open litter accompanied by the Empress and the Count of Cilly, and reached Znaym on November 21. On this last journey Count Schlick as Imperial Chancellor undoubtedly accompanied his master. Sigismund died at Znaym on December 9, 1437. Schlick's disgrace and downfall under Frederick III shortly preceded the Chancellor's death in July, 1449.²⁸

Thus, if the situation of the *novella* is based on fact, the incidents, so far as they can be corroborated by historical evidence, are no less precisely grounded. In that

²⁶ Roxburghe Club, Appendix, p. lxvi. If Eurialus reached Basel after he had married, the order of the events in the novel is slightly confused.

²⁷ Creighton, vol. II, p. 161.

²⁸ Ady, *Pius II*, p. 111.

impression of circumstantiality which Æneas wished to produce upon his patron he was no doubt successful.

Much the same can be said of his choice of episodes and details, though here, of course, there can be no such sure check. The exactness with which the location of Menelaus's house is fixed with reference to the court and the lodgings of Eurialus; the Emperor's jest; Sosias's unusual declaration of Lucretia's love; the incident of the bawd and Eurialus's first letter; his ignorance of Italian; his nervousness and his inability to enjoy his stay when at last left alone with his lady; the ingenuity of Pacorus; the conventional picture of Siennese life in winter; the saving of Eurialus in the stable from the pitchfork of Dromo; the covetousness of Pandarus as a motive for his betrayal of his cousin's honor,—these are but a few of the means whereby Æneas strove to gain verisimilitude. Nor is the character of Sigismund forgotten;²⁹ if he had met Eurialus as a porter, he would have made his servant the most miserable man in Siena.

That such a document, written in youth by Pope Pius II, involving persons of high rank, and containing a story exceptionally well told, should have been among³⁰ the first translations from the Italian *novella* into English prose is not surprising. As the names of the chief characters show, it is a product of the humanism of the Renaissance.³¹ Æneas Sylvius twice visited England

²⁹ Æneas Sylvius, *De Viris Illustribus*, p. 65: "Fuit autem Sigismund . . . vasto animo . . . vini cupidus . . . in Venerem ardens, mille adulteriis criminosus . . . facilis ad veniam," etc. For illustration of some of these traits, cf. "De Barbara Imperatrice," p. 46. Such a monarch would have chaffed Eurialus unmercifully.

³⁰ Elyot had, it will be recalled, rendered the tale of Titus and Gisippus from one version of the *Decameron* for his *Governour*.

³¹ Cf. Rossi, "Il Quattrocento," *Storia Letteraria d'Italia*, Ed. Valardi, Milano, 1897-98, vol. v, pp. 126-27.

in the autumn of 1435.³² He also went once to Scotland. On his first visit to England his doings were mostly diplomatic; in Scotland, whither he journeyed *via* Sluys after returning to Bruges, not only was he well received by James I, but on his return through England he suffered shipwreck, hardship, threatened attack by the Scots on the border, and other misadventures. His comments on both England and Scotland are shrewd and detailed, such, indeed, as might be expected from the diplomat-realist of *De Duobus Amantibus*.³³ That, however, this visit had aught to do with the selection of the novel for translation into English is doubtful; the extraordinary popularity of the work in other countries would have been enough to attract a reader of Italian fiction who was commercially inclined. Furthermore, some of Æneas's eclogues had already reached England in the translations of Alexander Barclay.

The exact text which the English translator of the novel used is not identifiable; in any event, the edition of 1567, as reprinted by the Roxburghe Club, was not rendered from the Argentine edition of 1476, nor yet from the version of 1490.³⁴ But before 1550, the earliest

³² Ady, p. 41. Creighton, vol. II, pp. 236-239. Pastor, vol. I, p. 342, gives the date as 1438. But in 1438 Æneas accompanied the Bishop of Novara to Vienna and suffered at Basel with the plague (Creighton, vol. II, p. 240). By 1438 he had passed from the Cardinal's service.

³³ Creighton, vol. II, pp. 237 ff., citing Æneas Sylvius, *Epistolae*, cxxvi; Ady, pp. 41, ff., relying on *Commentarii*, Lib. I, p. 4, and the *Epistolae*, *loc. cit.* For Æneas's impressions of James I, cf. *De Viris Illustribus*, pp. 46-47; of Henry V, *ibid.*, pp. 40 ff.

³⁴ The Latin versions of the story involved are (1) the Argentine print (1476) of the Vienna MS. (1446), and (2) the edition of 1490. (1) is reprinted in the Roxburghe Club's Appendix, pp. xxxiii, ff., with collations from (2). I have in part collated this version with the English of 1567, which may have been a reprint of the edition of

possible date for an English version, so far as we know, there existed renderings in Italian,³⁵ German,³⁶ Spanish,³⁷ and French.³⁸ The field of choice for the English translator was therefore texts in these four languages and in Latin.

A comparison of *The Goodli History of Lucrez* with

1560; there is no reason to think that it was a separate redaction. A very few of the results of this collation may be tabulated as follows:

1476	1490	English
p. xxxvi: Vrbem. Senas unde tibi et mihi origo est, intranti, etc.	Like 1446.	p. 113: Lacking.
<i>Ibid.</i> : cophorum	tophorum	<i>Ibid.</i> : Tophore
<i>Ibid.</i> : (sicut nos dicimus)	Like 1446.	<i>Ibid.</i> : Lacking.
p. xxxvii: Lacking.	Et sic orpheus sono cithare siluas ac saxa fert traxisse, etc.	p. 115: Lacking.
<i>Ibid.</i> : Lacking.	Nunc auro illitis nunc muricis, etc.	<i>Ibid.</i> : Lacking
p. xl: postes	pisces	p. 119: poostes.
<i>Ibid.</i> : Procia Cathonis	porcia Cathonis	p. 120: Perria.
p. xli: Omits name or pronoun.	Inserts <i>Eurialus</i>	p. 122: Uses pronoun.
p. xliv: Jason Medeam (cuius auxilio uigilem interemit draconem, et uellus auream asportuit) reliquit, etc.	Jason Medeam decepit, etc.	p. 128: Jason that wanne the golden flece by Medeas counsell, forsoke her.
<i>Ibid.</i> : Adriane	Ariadne	<i>Ibid.</i> : Adriana.
p. liv: Pacorus interea Pannonius eques, domo nobilis, qui cesarem sequebatur, ardere Luscesiam cepit.	Like 1476.	p. 142: In the meane tyme a knight, called Pacorus, of a noble House followinge the Emperour, began to loue Lucrez, etc.
<i>Ibid.</i> : Tum anus, "Rescipe," inquit.	Tum Anus, 'Respice,' inquit.	p. 143: Take the floure madame quod ye olde wyfe, etc.

De Duobus Amantibus, which in the accessible Latin versions is unchanged, will show that the English translation differs from the original in certain rather important particulars. For the most part the two plots are identical until the close of the story. Here, however,

pp. liv-lv: Ille mestus Omits *domum pergit* *Ibid.*: goeth home,
domum pergit, vxor- to woor, blameth hys wyfe, and
em increpat, domum fylleth all the house
que clamoribus implet, wythe noyse. And
negat se ream vxor, shew to the contrarye
remque gestam expo- denyeth that there is
nit, etc. one faute in her, and
tellynge the hole tale,
bryngethe the olde
wyfe for wytnesse.
(Last six words in
neither Latin text.)

p. lvi: Nec enim sine Like 1476.
te nox est mihi vlla
iocunda.

p. lvii: sicut Mene- sicut Menelaus suasit,
laus suasit, in gratas magistratus expulit.
expulit.

p. 146: For I can slepe
no nyghts wtoute
thee, etc.

p. 147: At Menelaus
persuasion was putte
out by the Aldermen.

¹⁵ Pellechet, 170; Peddie, p. 8, N. D.: Proctor, *Index*, 5946; Peddie, p. 8, N. D.: *Historia di due amanti composto da Silvio Enea Pontifoe Pio II*, etc. (Florentiae), N. D., Hain, 246: *Proemio . . . sopra la historia di due amanti: composta di papa Pio secundo* (Rome? 1495?) *Brit. Mus. Cat.*: *Æneae Silvii Historia de due Amanti, Firenz per Francesco de Dino di Iacopo, 1489*; Hain, 247: Reichling, *Appendices ad Hainii-Coppingeri Repertorium*; Peddie, p. 145, 1491, Brescia: *Historia de due Amanti . . . Bologna per Hercules Nani, 1492*, Hain, 248; Peddie, p. 8: *Epistole de dui amanti . . . Venetia, 1521*, other editions, 1531, 1554, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

¹⁶ *Der durchlüchtigen hochgebornen fürstin vund frowen, frow Ketherinē hertzogin von Österreich*, etc. c. 1477, Coppinger, 73: Strassburg, 1500? Coppinger, 75; Peddie, p. 145: *Eneae Silvii von der Lieb Euryali und Lucrezia, zu Augsburg, 1473*, Hain, 241: *Der durchleuchtigen hoch gebornen Fürstin und frauwcn, frau katherinen Hertzogin von Österreich*, etc. 1477 [Esslingen], Hain, * 242, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*: [*Der durchlüchtigen hochgebornen fürstin vnd frowen, frow Ketherinē hertzogin von Österreich*, etc.] . . . Mentz . . . 1478, Cop-

Eurialus, instead of being easily consoled by the beautiful virgin given him by the Emperor, undergoes a far harder fate. "Whe[n] he knewe hys true louer to be deed, meaued by extreme doloure [Eurialus] clothed him in mournynge apparrell, and vtterly excluded all co[m]-forte, and yet though the Emperoure gaue hym in mariage a ryghte noble and excellent Ladye, yet he neuer enioyed after, but in conclusyon pitifully wasted his painful lyfe."⁸⁹ Such a violent change in the life and character of the hero could not have depended upon a misunderstanding of the Latin. It stands in direct contrast to the realism of the *novella*. Aside from this, the most important alteration in character concerns Dromo, the hostler. In *De Duobus Amantibus* he is a more or less

pinger, II, 74; Peddie, p. 145: *Ein hübsche histori von Luorecia vñ den zwey liebhabendē menschen . . . Augsburg . . . 1491*, Coppinger, II, 3550; Peddie, p. 8: *Von den liebhabendē Euriolo vn Lucretia . . . 1536*, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*: *Ein . . . Histori, von zweyen Liebhabenden Menschen . . . N. von Weil . . . Wormbs [1550?]*, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

"*Eurialus y Luorecia, Salamanca, Oct. 18, 1496*, Coppinger, III, 72a; Peddie, p. 8: *Historia muy veradera de dos amantes Eurialo Francoo y Luorecio Senesa . . . Seville, 1512*, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

"*Ensuyt l'histoire des deux vrayz amans . . . a paris par michel le noir*, N. D., Hain, 245; . . . *Cy fine le liure des deux vrayz amais . . . lyon par Oliuier Arnoullet*, N. D., Coppinger, 76: *Histoire de Eurialus et Luoresse. Selon Pape pie 1492*, Hain, 243; Peddie, p. 8, N. D.; Coppinger, [1493]: *Lystoire de Eurialus et Luoresse . . . (verse)*, [1493?] Hain, 244; Peddie, p. 8, N. D.; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

"*Roxburghe Club reprint*, p. 161. Compare Jusserand, *English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, pp. 82, 83. The Latin text for this passage runs as follows (p. lxxvi): "Quam vt obiisse verus amator cognouit, magno dolore permotus lugubrem vestem recepit; nec consolationem admisit, nisi postquam Cesar ex ducali sanguine virginem sibi cum formosam tum castissimam atque prudentem matrimonio iunxit." Savj-Lopez recognizes types of character in *De Duobus Amantibus*, and also a relation to Boccaccio in the name *Pandaro*. ("Il Filostrato di G. Boccaccio," *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, p. 469). Voigt had previously noted the resemblance to Boccaccio (*Enea Silvio*, p. 287.) So, too, had Rossi ("Il Quattrocento," pp. 126-27).

conventional figure.⁴⁰ In *Lucres* he becomes a humorous fellow of far greater interest. A type he may still be, but he is essentially an English figure with his racy complaining and his oaths,⁴¹ even though the suggestions for both are to be found in the Latin. Of changes which affect the *milieu* of the story, only a few can be noted. Æneas Sylvius wrote of Siena as he knew it. The English translator wrote of it as a city of romance. It would have been manifestly impossible for any translator to make use of Æneas's references to the town as his birth-place,⁴² and they therefore are omitted. Furthermore, the English version passes over certain moral reflections which retard the plot,⁴³ and alters a few of the classical allusions.⁴⁴ From all this, then, it may be seen that one of the translators, whether he who rendered the story into English or an intermediary from whose work the English version was taken, made some attempt to adapt the story to new readers. A collation of parts of the available texts with a view to establishing the presence or absence of an intermediary version in, say, French, has proved inconclusive.⁴⁵

But *The Goodli History of Lucres* has a more important bearing upon the technique of the Elizabethan novel. So far as I know, it is the first story in Tudor England in which the plot is organically dependent for its advancement upon the instrument of the letter. Elyot's

* Roxburghe Club, Appendix, p. lvi.

* Roxburghe Club reprint, p. 145.

* For example, Appendix, p. xxxvi.

* For instance, the long disquisition on nobility and the frequent scandal of its origin, Reprint, p. 152; Appendix, pp. lx, f.

* Like that to Orpheus, p. xxxvi, which should appear on p. 115; part of the allusion to Jason, p. xlv, which should occur on p. 128.

* Jusserand, p. 83, seems to be of the opinion that the English translator rendered and adapted directly from the Latin.

version of *Titus and Gisippus* contains no epistles. *The Histoire of Aurelio and of Isabell* I have not seen, but its influence upon stories told for entertainment cannot be large. *The Goodli History of Lucres* contains no less than ten letters. The first, from Eurialus to Lucres, makes known his love. The second, from Lucres in reply, declares her chastity and is aimed at discouraging her lover. In the third, Eurialus's first effort in Italian, he assures her of his belief in her chastity, but begs that she will allow him speech with her, so that he may "declare hys mynde, that he coulde not by hys letters." In the fourth, Lucres again refuses him, telling him that he is not the first victim of her beauty, but with it she sends a love token, a ring. The fifth is Eurialus's reaffirmation of his love and devotion, with thanks for the ring. Then, "after mani writings and answers," Lucres replies with the sixth letter in the series, in which she desires him not to plead further, but with which she sends a cross of gold. Eurialus in the seventh, somewhat daunted by her aloofness, begs her to receive him as a lover. In the eighth she capitulates. "After thys were manye letters wryten on both partyes." Their courtship then progresses till Lucres discovers that Eurialus is to accompany the Emperor to Rome. At that she writes the ninth letter of the series, upbraiding her lover for not telling her and begging him to take her with him. He replies in the tenth that he must go because honor compels him, but bids her live and love him. Later they evidently correspond again. These letters therefore hold the beginning and the end of the lovers' relations.

Of the first three important English collections of stories, Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure* (1566-67), Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* (1567), and Pettie's *Palace of Pet-*

tie his Pleasure (1576), all contain stories with letters. Eight of Painter's hundred tales employ the epistle.⁴⁶ Each of these eight stories without exception has its original in *Bandello*.⁴⁷ Of Fenton's thirteen stories, all translated from *Bandello*, eight have epistles, and two of the eight contain interchanges of letters.⁴⁸ So much for

* Painter, *Pallace of Pleasure*, Ed. Jacobs, London, 1890, 4 vols., Tome I: *Lucrece*, in which "Lucrece sent a post to Rome to her father and another to Ardea to her husband," but neither is given in full (Vol. I, p. 23). In the *Duchesse of Savoie*, in which the Duchess writes to Appian of her plight (p. 309); *The Countess of Salusburie*, in which King Edward writes to the Countess of his love, which previously he had declared orally (Vol. I, p. 343). Tome II: *The Countess of Celant*, in which the wicked Countess proffers her love to Gaizzo by letter (Vol. III, p. 61); *Two Gentlemen of Venice*, in which the lovers send each other a sonnet, called in the text, "a letter" (p. 129-130); *The Lord of Virile*, in which Philiberto woos Zelia by letter (pp. 166-167); *Don Diego and Ginevra*, in which by an epistle Ginevra declares her enmity and her lover replies (pp. 244-245). Again he protests his love (pp. 255, ff.); *The Lords of Nocera*, in which the mistress of the castle writes to Lord Nicholas proposing that he visit her.

* See Analytical Table of Contents, Vol. I, pp. lxiii, ff.

* *Certain Tragical Discourses of Bandello Translated into English by Geffraie Fenton*, Ed. R. L. Douglas, Tudor Translations, 2 vols., 1889: Discourse II, "Lyvyo writeth to Camilla," Vol. I, p. 121; Discourse III, Parthenope lays suit to the dissolute Pandora (Vol. I, pp. 138-39); when he has found her out and abandoned her, she writes to him upbraiding him (Vol. I, pp. 147-48); Discourse V, Cornelio writes to Plaudina, opening his addresses (Vol. I, pp. 198-99); she replies, arranging for further correspondence (pp. 200-201). It later appears (p. 204) that he has written "sondrye letters." Afterwards they exchange word by messenger (p. 212). At last Cornelio goes to Milan, where it is his first care to "send for an appoticarye whose fidelitie he had erst proved in the enterchaunge and conveighe of diverse letters betwene his ladie and hym." By this man he sent a letter (not given *verbatim*) to apprise Plaudina of his coming (p. 228); Discourse VI, an abbot writes to the daughter of a goldsmith, whom he is seducing (Vol. I, p. 257). Discourse VII, the Countess of Celant (cf. Painter, Vol. III, p. 61) procures a fresh lover by a letter

the earlier translations. Besides, five of Pettie's twelve novels contain letters, and among these five there are interchanges in three.⁴⁹ Now the important fact which unites *Lucres*, Painter, and Fenton is that the letters in every case are from Italian sources. It may therefore be said that the convention of the letter reached English fiction from the Italian.⁵⁰

Moreover, in the first stage of Elizabethan fiction, as represented by *Lucres*, Painter, and Fenton, the letter usually had two purposes: first, to begin a courtship; secondly, to end it. In the second stage, as represented by Pettie, it has outgrown its rudimentary use and is applied to other purposes, like offering and rejecting marriage, giving warning of the attitude of unsympathetic

(Vol. II, pp. 30-31). Discourse XI, Philiberto offers Zylia his love by letter (Vol. II, pp. 181-82). Discourse XII, Perillo, having met Carmosyna before, presses his suit by letter. She answers favorably. (Vol. II, pp. 220 ff.) Discourse XIII, when Diego's love for Genivera grows cold, she reproaches him by letter (Vol. II, pp. 276, ff.). Cf. Painter, Vol. III, pp. 224, f.

* *A Petite Palace of Pettie his Pleasure*, Ed. Gollancz, 2 vols. King's Classics. *Ioilius and Virginia*: The lovers exchange letters, he proffering, she rejecting marriage (Vol. I, pp. 151 ff.). *Admetus and Alcest*: Alcest writes to Admetus, warning him that her father has discovered their love (Vol. I, pp. 177, ff.). After consideration, Admetus replies, pressing marriage (pp. 180-82). *Curiatius and Horatia*: Curiatius (Vol. II, pp. 41-42) will absent himself eternally from his queen, but she relents (pp. 42-43). *Minos and Pasiphae*: Verecundus seeks to seduce Minos's queen by letter (Vol. II, pp. 98-99). *Alexius*: Alexius is used to write letters for his recreation, addressing his wife. Here (Vol. II, pp. 153, ff.) he writes her a moral disquisition.

* William Fullwood's *Inimie of Idleness* contains a series of love letters for use as models. The rise of the letter in Elizabethan fiction was undoubtedly contemporary with its rise in Elizabethan life. Whether or not Æneas Sylvius was indebted to a collection of letters for the idea of the epistles in *De Duobus Amantibus*, I cannot say.

parents, and even inculcating moral precepts.⁵¹ The uses to which writers of later native fiction, like *The Golden Aphroditis* and *Euphues*, put the letter need not detain us here; the observation that the source is Italian is indubitable, and the course of artistic purpose as it evolved in English, beginning with *Lucres*, gaining ground in Painter and Fenton, and finally emerging variously in Pettie, is clear.

HOWARD J. SAVAGE.

⁵¹ Painter, ed. Jacobs, vol. II, pp. 76, ff. The inculcation of moral doctrine by means of the epistle was anticipated by Painter's use of Guevara's *Letters of Trajan*.

II.—THE EARLIEST PRECURSOR OF OUR PRESENT-DAY MONTHLY MISCELLANIES

When the reader of to-day considers the English origins of our monthly magazines of light literature, he seldom thinks back beyond the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-). The *Tatler* (1709-) and *Spectator* (1711-) he may regard as aside from the direct line of development, as they are not miscellanies. Yet in 1692 appeared in London a monthly periodical that is fairly startling in its resemblance to the *Atlantics*, the *Harper's*, the *Smart Sets* of our day,—the *Gentleman's Journal*, which is, I believe, the first notable English venture of its kind.

Previous periodicals for "divertisement" had been of a different character and short-lived. During the reigns of Charles II and James II, the gust for news, or for comment upon the political and religious situation, had been so great that when anything in lighter vein was attempted it was apt to appear in the form of mock-news, and to depend for its appeal on a satirical or burlesque handling of its items and anecdotes. Thus side by side with such genuine news sheets as *Mercurius Publicus* (1680) and the *True Protestant Domestick Intelligence; or, News both from City and Country* (1680) were to be found *Mercurius Infernus* (1680) and *News from Parnassus* (1680), both of purely jocular intent.

But after William III came to the throne, and the plot to re-establish James had been discovered and suppressed, political and religious differences gradually ceased to inflame men's minds. There was no question of William's attitude towards Protestantism, as there had been of Charles's; nor of William's policy towards France, for he was fighting on the Continent as the heart and soul of the

allied Protestant resistance against that tyrant and bully of Europe, Louis XIV; and he obviously derived his power from the people, to whom he owed his throne. One of the burning questions in James's reign had been the origin of kingly authority, whether divine or popular. So London in 1692, though feeling the effects of prosecuting a war on the Continent, had a mind comparatively at rest with respect to the domestic situation, and could relax her vigilance over political and religious matters long enough to take pleasure in periodicals that made no pretense to being newspapers. Hence the rise of the *Gentleman's Journal*, catering to the coterie of the polite world of London, and of the *Athenian Mercury*, that extraordinary seventeenth-century *Notes and Queries*, appealing to all classes.

The *Gentleman's Journal* was conceived and carried on by Peter Anthony Motteux. Motteux, born in Normandy, had in 1685 come to live in England. By 1692 he had assimilated with remarkable completeness the English idiom and English ways of thinking. In fact his allegiance to France came to consist only in his appreciation of her literature. He is best known by his excellent translations of Rabelais, and Cervantes, and is a minor figure among the English dramatists of his day.

During 1673-4 and 1678-9, *Le Mercure Galant* had come out monthly in Paris, a miscellany that owed its popularity to the prominence it gave to court news and gossip. It was the *Town Topics* of Paris, with light literature of a gallant kind, a few songs set to music, and a few engraved illustrations interspersed. It was designed for the smart set and they made many contributions to it. Each number was in the form of a letter to a lady who had left Paris for the provinces, but who wished to keep in touch with the *beaux esprits*, her former acquaintance.

Motteux confesses in the first number of the *Gentle-*

man's Journal for January, 1692, that this *Mercure Galant* is the source of his inspiration. He too adopts the epistolary form which is announced in his title, *The Gentleman's Journal: or the Monthly Miscellany. By Way of Letter to a Gentleman in the Country. Consisting of News, History, Philosophy, Poetry, Musick, Translations, &c.* Each number begins like a personal letter to a correspondent. Thus the first number opens,

Sir,

Indeed you impose too hard a Task on me: Is it not enough that I send you what ever news or new things I meet with to divert you in your solitude, but you must oblige me to print my Letters? You ought in conscience to have discharged me from my rash promise. I know, you tell me, that this may redeem many glorious Actions and ingenious pieces from obscurity, the first too particular for our Gazettes, and the latter too short to be printed apart; that a thousand things happen every day which the publick would gladly know: but must I acquaint the world with them, when so many better pens might do it? I grant that from London, the Heart of the Nation, all things circulating to the other parts, such news or new things as are sent me may be conveyed every where, being inserted in my Letter. . . and you tell me, that 'tis to be hop'd that I shall have enough sent me to make the undertaking easie to me. . . . But we live in so nice an age, that unless they [the readers] look upon it with a kind eye, the unaccuracies of Style, and Faults which haste, and my own incapacity must needs make very frequent in so long a Letter, will hardly be indulged. However you have my word, and tho you as it were racked it from me, you have no mercy, and I must set up for a Journalist.

This letter form is kept up throughout each number. Contributions are introduced with a sentence or so of editorial comment. At the end Motteux signs himself,

I am, SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

P. M.

Motteux was not indebted to *Le Mercure Galant* alone for the epistolary model. It was a favorite form of the day. In spite of the numbers and popularity of the news-

papers, news-letters, both printed and in manuscript, were still for sale in London for country correspondence, with space left at the beginning and end for the personal address and private items of news, and with a vacant fourth page destined to serve as the envelope. The earliest scientific periodical, *Philosophical Transactions* (1665-), eventually the official organ of the Royal Society, received and printed many contributions in the form of letters.

Setting aside the letter form, the *Gentleman's Journal* is strikingly modern in its make-up. Each number is a quarto pamphlet of, usually, thirty-four pages, the outside leaf being the title page.¹

THE
Gentleman's Journal:
OR THE
MONTHLY
MISCELLANY.
By Way of
LETTER
TO A
Gentleman in the COUNTRY.
Consisting of
News, History, Philosophy, Poetry,
Musick, Translations, &c.
JANUARY 1691/2.

*Paulum sepultae distat inertiae
Celata virtus, non ego te meis
Chartis inornatum silebo:
Totve tuos patiar labores
Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones. . . . Hor.*

LONDON
Printed; And are to be sold by *R. Baldwin*, near the *Oxford Arms*,
in *Warwick-lane*. 1692.

¹ Beginning with Vol. II a device appears in the center of the title page, an oval lozenge, enclosing a hand holding a nosegay of flowers, above which runs the motto, E PLURIBUS UNUM.

On the reverse of this is a table of contents, with titles of the articles, the number of the page on which each is to be found, and the *names of the contributors*. Before this the public knew that several hands went to the making of a periodical, but they did not know, save in the case of *Philosophical Transactions*, who the contributors were, or what was the contribution of each. But there is plenty of evidence, in these modern-seeming title pages, of the old reluctance of the courtier or the man of mode, in the first place to print, and, in the second place, to print under his own name, his *jeux d'esprit*. Frequent refuge is taken in such vague designations as "By a Person of Honour," in pseudonyms such as Diogenes, Celadon, Urania, Orythia, or in more revealing initials, as J. S. Esq., Sir T. D., Lady L—ce. The contributors number not only these timorous poetasters but also professional men of letters accustomed to publicity. Such are Mr. Nahum Tate, Mr. Thomas Brown, Mr. Prior, Mr. Purcell, Sir Charles Sedley, Mr. John Dennis, Mr. John Phillips, Mr. Congreve, Mr. Southerne, Mr. Charles Gildon, Mr. Leibnitz. Some verses are "said to be by Mrs. Behn."² But other worthy names, too, appear without shame, known to readers of to-day only through the pages of the *Gentleman's Journal*.

Motteux stated in his opening address to his correspondent that he intended to be but the editor of others' verse and prose. In the February number, 1692, he says, "This is perhaps the onely Book of whose kind Reception the Authour may boast without incurring the imputation of being vain, it being chiefly a Collection of other mens Works." But in the March number he reminds his well-wishers, "there is an absolute necessity of daily Supplies of Wit," and addresses an epistle *To the INGENIOUS*, saying,

² Oct., 1693.

I will only lay before you the necessity there is of a constant Supply of Ingenious Prose and Poetry, to carry on the Undertaking. And who can I ask it of, but of you? If you do not assist, what will Foreign Nations think of the Gallantry and Wit of the English, when a Design, like this, hath continued so long a time in France? For my part, I am willing to be a Collector to the Muses, a Clerk, and an humble Servant to the Muses, as long as you their Darlings will please to employ me, and the Bookseller will print. Nay, you shall have my Time, Ink and Paper into the Bargain: And I think that's fair enough on Conscience, and that you had best strike up with me, for there are but few, I doubt, such disinterested Writers in this Age.

Despite his provocative appeal and the warm welcome given to his venture, Motteux did not find it easy to fill his *Journal*. The difficulty of getting contributions is the burden of his introductory addresses to his correspondent. He sums up the state of affairs in January, 1693: "Everyone wishes its [the *Journal's*] welfare, but few take care to promote it." To be sure, he limited the freedom of contributors by stating that "such things as any ways reflect on particular Persons, or are either against Religion, or good manners, he cannot insert."³ When he had occasion to reject some proffered verses, he published the following *Advertisement*:

The Ingenious are desired to continue to send what ever may be properly inserted in this Journal, either in Verse or Prose, directing it to the Publisher, or at the Latin Coffee-house, for the Author of the *Gentleman's Journal*, not forgetting to discharge the Postage. An Ingenious Gentleman sent some Verses, which begin thus:

Had you been known when those of ancient years, &c.

And another sent one of Ovid's Epistles. If they please to let the Author know where to write to them, he will acquaint them with his Reasons for not inserting them.⁴

Many a time the necessity of making up for lack of contributions had to be met by the editor. He writes in the

³ Feb., 1692.

⁴ May, 1692.

last (December) number of his first year's issue, "For tho' so many stronger hands have generously propt me up, yet the Burthen has still been too heavy for any single Capacity." At one time he proposes questions for discussion, hoping to stimulate his readers to "ingenious" answers:

1. Which is the most useful of all Arts?

2. Two Lovers being slighted, one of them leaves the Town where his Mistress lives, in hopes to be freed from his Passion, but finds no ease; The other cannot tear himself from what he loves, tho' he believes that Absence would prove his Remedy. 'Tis asked, who of the Two loves most?*

But he gets so few responses that he says ruefully, this

will for the future make me take care not to raise a Spirit, without being sure I can lay it, without the help of others.*

Two numbers he is forced to make up entirely by himself,—those for September, 1692, and July, 1693. This he confesses in the former, adding, in regard to the usual composition of the *Journal*, "Hitherto I have treated you as much as I could at other Mens Cost," yet "'Tis true that, to fill up, I have all along added something of mine own." Elsewhere he makes an appeal for more prose contributions.⁶ A look at the title pages shows how much must have come from Motteux's own pen, if we may assume the greater part of the unsigned articles are his.

The effect of the *Journal* on its public was to produce a flood of letters of appreciation and suggestion to the editor. Motteux was overwhelmed at the thought of replying to them.

For God's sake, let me be excused from answering of Letters, I have enough to do with my Monthly one, and tho' I do by it, as those that have a mortal aversion to Physick, do by a bitter Purge, and

* January, 1693.

* March, 1693.

* Feb., 1693.

delay it as long as I can, that is, to the latter end of the Month; yet, at last, Nolens Volens, I put the Compulsory of Honour and Obligation upon my lazy Nature, and then, like some of you, I write, when by no means I can put it off longer.¹

But he is delayed now by indisposition, now by procrastination, so that his publisher has to remonstrate. "My Bookseller . . . tells me, that the uncertain times of publishing this Journal, by no means conduce to his advantage,"² and he resolves to be more regular in the future. His inability, however, to live up to his program is manifest in 1694. He begins the year with a combined number for January and February, and later telescopes August and September, as well as October and November, which is the last number of the *Journal* in the British Museum.

It seems almost unnecessary to say that contributions undoubtedly were not paid for. One could hardly offer a guinea to "a Person of Honour" for occasional verses. And it is a question how profitable the undertaking was for Motteux himself.

A representative title page is that for January, 1693, showing the kind of entertainment the *Journal* afforded.

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¹ March, 1692.² June, 1693.

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It is to be noted that Motteux starts out with an introduction which is in form a letter but in subject-matter an editorial, and usually concerned with the reception of the *Journal* by the public, the difficulties of securing contributions and of getting the number together on time, or whatever comment Motteux may choose to make upon his enterprise. He follows this with a timely article as here, or with "*Stanza's by Mr. Prior*,"⁹ as an editor of to-day might give prominence to a short poem by Mr. Kipling, or he introduces some verse compliment to their Majesties, such as "*Verses by Sir C. Sedley, on Her Majesties Birth-day*."¹⁰ Then, amidst numerous shorter prose and

⁹ Feb., 1692.

¹⁰ May, 1692.

verse selections, appear the following regular features: a short story or "novel"; an essay or discussion, here *A Discourse on the Question, Whether Love is sooner lessened by the Cruelty of a Mistress, than by her Kindness*; a popular scientific article, as *A Discourse on Gunpowder*; oftentimes a second "novel"; the enigmas for the month, with the solutions of those of the preceding number; *News of Learning* and *Of Plays*, i. e., announcements of recent publications, and literary and dramatic criticism; finally, two or three songs with both words and music.

But Motteux himself has given an account of the contents of his miscellany. In March, 1692, he tells us that his publisher insisted on the need of an insinuating epistle or preface to recommend "the Usefulness, the Benefit, the Good, the Profit" of his collection, offering as an aid to his eloquence *The Compleat Secretary, The Pearl of Eloquence, A Help to Discourse*, and several other jogs to wit.

Why! Sure the Book will do without all this Quack-like Cant, said I? Hath it not already been placed amongst the Stray'd Mares, and Lost Horses, at the End of the *Gazette*,²¹ that none within the Dominion of the Four Seas may pretend to cause of Ignorance? Now, if they do not mind it, be it at their Peril, and let it stand at their doors: What the Devil would they have to please them? Here's Novels, and New-Town Adventures, for the Amorous and Gayer Sort of Readers; here's Verses for the Poetical ones; Here's Enigmas to puzzle half the Nation; Moral Stanzas and Odes, for the Grave Dons; Philosophy, for the Sons of Wisdom; News for the News-mongers, and Would-be-Politicians; and the Lord knows what not, besides 3 or 4 Songs, with the Parts, by the greatest Masters, worth each of them more than the price of the Book, and every individual tittle spick and span new, with a likelihood to have all Horace's Odes new done; for there is no less than three by different hands in this, one Moral, the other Amorous, and the third Jocose. So that if ever by some Fatality or other, we should lose the Old Translations, these may help to set up a New English Horace.

²¹ *The London Gazette*.

This passage is indicative of the gallant and sprightly way Motteux discharged his editorial duties. Throughout, his gay, sympathetic, persuasive introductions to each selection must have helped to stimulate the reader's appreciation. Keeping up the fiction that each number is a letter to a well-known correspondent, he assumes an informal tone that is wholly delightful. For example, "Whilst things like the following Stanza's made by Mr. Prior shall be given or sent me, you may believe I shall be prouder of making them publick than my own."¹²

He early recognizes the difficulties he has to overcome in adhering to the letter form, and exclaims: "It is impossible to keep any Order in a Letter, such as mine is. I am oblig'd from serious matters to fall to some of a quite different nature."¹³ Because he desires to link piece to piece, and so produce a kind of unity, he becomes in time a master of easy editorial transitions. Thus he passes on from some verses ending,

At once, by the divine enchanting Fair,
I'm burnt with Love, and frozen with Despair:

After all, the heat of Love is much like that of this season [August], it rages for a while and the prevailing beams of the object set us, as it were, on fire; but when it leaves us, and its feeble Rays are dull'd by time and distance, we return to our native coldness. Let us leave then the Heat of Love for a while, to discourse of that of the weather.¹⁴

Then follows an essay, *Of the Dog-Days*.

But Motteux is best satisfied when he can group a number of selections on one theme. In the April, 1693 number we are led from a drinking song, suggesting a little grateful wetting of the inner man, to an Englishing of the 20th Ode of Anacreon, in which the lover wishes he might turn to a bath,

¹² Feb., 1692.

¹³ April, 1692.

¹⁴ August, 1692.

that so I might
 (Not try to wash my Dear more white)
 But someway add to her Delight.

.

Anacreon desir'd to be Chang'd into Water, Mr. J. O. who made the following Verses, wishes to be chang'd into a Golden Shower, and envies the Happiness of the Bath, that embrac'd with Freedom his insensible Charmer.

Then follows, *To the Bath and Zelinda in it!*

He comments: "Oh! how many unhappy Mortals have found that the sight of a Charming Nymph in a Bath has been more pernicious to their ease than all the waters in the World could be useful to their Health. Methinks I hear one of these loving Wretches break out into such a Complaint." Here is inserted a lover's rhyming appeal to some hot springs to temper the coldness of his mistress; after which Motteux remarks, "It may not be amiss after these Verses to give you something concerning Baths, principally at this time of the Year when they are both pleasant and necessary." An essay *Of Baths* follows.

Elsewhere¹⁵ he produces a similar sequence on teeth, and in another place¹⁶ passes from "something very pleasant about handsome Legs," to *Of Dancing*.

These selections would seem to indicate that most of the verse of the *Gentleman's Journal* is of a trifling nature. Much of it is, short effusions by those unpractised in more sustained writing, seldom of more than magazine quality. But taken all together the verse of the *Journal* is quite representative of the taste of the times, which was largely formed by the prevailing reverence for the classics and their French imitations. Anacreon, Virgil, Martial, and above all Horace, were translated or taken as models. Verses in the vein of the *Greek Anthology* abound, as *To*

¹⁵ Oct.-Nov., 1694.

¹⁶ July, 1692.

Phillis by Mr. J. P.,¹⁷ Celia's Power: by a Person of Honour,¹⁸ To Amintas, by the Earl of E.,¹⁹ Verses to Clorinda,²⁰ and short poems on such occasional subjects as *To a Young Lady upon her going out of Town*, by Mr. S.,²¹ *The Parrot, an Elegy*.²² On Love by Mr. J. G.²³ indicates the chief theme of the verse makers.

Odes are frequent, pindaric or other, the pindaric ode with its "pleasing irregularity" being as much in fashion then as the sonnet sequence had been a century earlier. In view of Dryden's more famous poem, the pindaric *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day 1692* is of interest, and is by no means an unworthy example of the class. Here is a stanza:

IV

With that sublime Celestial Lay
Dare any Earthly Sounds compare?
If any Earthly Music dare,
The noble ORGAN may.
From Heav'n its wondrous Notes were giv'n,
(Cecilia oft convers'd with Heav'n)
Some Angel of the Sacred Choire
Did with his Breath the Pipes inspire;
And of their Notes above the just Resemblance gave,
Brisk without Lightness, without Dulness grave.²⁴

But a mere stanza never does justice to a pindaric ode.

We should expect to find in the age of the *Hind and the Panther* fables in verse. Such is the *Linnet and the Mag-pye*,²⁵ which gives rise to the following comment by Motteux:

Fables have been ever valued by the Ingenious. In France Monsieur de la Fontaine, esteem'd inimitable in his way, hath reviv'd them as much as that great Master of our Tongue, Sir Roger

¹⁷ July, 1694.

¹⁸ Aug.-Sept., 1694.

¹⁹ Oct.-Nov., 1694.

²⁰ June, 1693.

²¹ Oct.-Nov., 1694.

²² July, 1694.

²³ March, 1693.

²⁴ Nov., 1692.

²⁵ Jan., 1692.

L'Estrange, hath done lately among us; the Prose of the last, and the Verse of the first being equally beautiful in their kind. We had been waiting for Sir Roger's *Æsop* with all the impatience imaginable, at last it hath seen the Light, and England may boast now of the best Collection of Fables in the World.

The verse-essay, notable in the hands of Dryden then and Pope later, is represented by *An Epistolary Essay to Mr. Dryden upon his Cleomenes*,²⁶ which ends in prose.

Long you presided o're a knowing Age:
 By the Town court'd, Court'd by the Stage.
 What e're you wrote, your Stamp Authentic made:
 Wit then was something more than a meer Trade;
 But the corrupted humor of the Age
 Has broke through all the Fences of our Stage.
 Yet you in pity to that Stage appear,
 And give a fresh Example ev'ry year.
 Were your Rules follow'd, we no more should see
 Damn'd Farce usurp the place of Comedy,
 Nor thoughtless Words with a disjointed Tale,
 Above an artful Plot and lofty Sense prevail.
 Some few (and 'Faith they are but few) of Wit
 At some Dull-whining Play unmov'd could sit,
 See in the Boxes Tears in ev'ry Eye;
 They saw Good Nature, and they wondered why.
 But if some well-told Tragedy appear,
 They may look round, and not behold one Tear.
 Yet *Cleomenes* high Applause did find,
 And your great Merit made 'em justly kind.

The dialogue, also popular at this time, takes verse form in several instances, one being *Strephon and Sylvia, A Dialogue*,²⁷ and prose form in *A Dialogue between Desire and Pleasure*.²⁸ And the character, so popular as a *genre* by itself all through the century, appears in *A Character of a Fop in Verse, sent from Dublin*.²⁹ Another literary fashion of the age is represented by a verse prologue by

²⁶ May, 1692.

²⁷ August, 1692.

²⁸ Oct.-Nov., 1694.

²⁹ Aug.-Sept., 1694.

Sir Charles Sedley to a comedy, *The Wary Widow, Or Sir Noisy Parrot*.³⁰ The comedy of course is not given.

Some Latin verse is included, usually Englished at once by the same or another hand. To volume III (1694) Mr. Power contributed a series of striking passages from *Paradise Lost* turned into Latin. In the January, 1693 number I find *An Italian Madrigal, and the same in English*.

The enigmas seem to have given unfailing delight. One or two enigmas appear in each number, trivial verse, but widely welcomed as wit sharpeners. In an essay *Of Enigma's* Motteux writes,

Since there have been learned Princes, Poets and Philosophers, Enigma's have been in request, there being nothing more natural to man, than to offer and solve difficult Questions, affecting by that some recommendation of wit above the rest.³¹

The following is an enigma on a "News-letter, or a Gazette";

Rome, and Geneva I have join'd
 My mighty voice the World alarms,
 By fam'd events new life I find,
 And make the Warrior run to Arms.
 War, in my pow'r, and Peace I hold,
 And Joy and Grief at once have brought;
 Am scorn'd, like Virgins, when I'm old,
 And, when I'm young, am, like 'em, sought.
 My Father, Nature's eldest Son,
 Conquers the wise, the bold, the strong,
 My Mother swift as Air can run,
 And is all over Ear and Tongue.
 Whole Nations by me know their Fate,
 In Magpy hue I fly about;
 And, as I love or as I hate,
 With a bold stroke an Army rout.³²

³⁰ Feb., 1693.

³¹ Sept., 1692.

³² Sept., 1692.

Readers sent in their solutions, sometimes in verse, and had the satisfaction of seeing the names and often rhyming guesses of successful solvers appear in print in the next number. Thus, in the first number for 1694: "The Enigma's in my last are Air and Tyranny, the first solv'd by Mr. George Herle, T. B., Eugenia, Mary D., both by Mrs. H. Turner, Sylvia, N. R., J. Smith, and by a Lady of Quality. . . . The second was solv'd by Mrs. Sarah Barker, J. T., W. Blewet, and by Mr. De La Sale, Urania, and Philomotteux."

Two or three songs with accompanying music are the last feature of every number. They are usually amorous, and in the admired "gallant" manner of the time, of the type familiar to those acquainted with collections of Purcell's *Airs*. That fashionable composer frequently appears in the last pages of numbers of the *Gentleman's Journal*. Others who provided music for some of the songs are Dr. Blow, Mr. Frank, Mr. King, Mr. Akeroyde, and an Italian songmaster, Signor Baptist. Representative is the following set to Purcell's music:

Since from my dear, my dear, my dear
 Since from my dear, my dear, my dear
 My dear A stre a's Sight
 I was so rude ly torn,
 My Soul has never, never, never,
 has never, never, never known De . . . light
 Un . . . less it were to mourn, to mourn,
 Un . . . less, un . . . less it were to mourn;
 But oh! a . . . las, a . . . las with weep . . . ing Eyes,
 and bleeding, bleeding Heart I lye;
 Thinking on her, on her whose Ab . . . sence 'tis
 That makes me wish to dye, dye, dye, dye,
 Makes me, makes me, wish to dye, dye, dye.²³

There are a few songs of another nature, written by the versatile Motteux himself, reflecting the amours of a lower

²³ Dec., 1693.

level of society. Such is *Jenny and Jockey, a Scotch Song*, set to music by Mr. Ackeroyde.

Joc. Fair . . est Jenny, thou mun love me,
Jen. Troth my Bonny Lad I do,
Joc. Gin thou saist thou dost ap . . prove me,
 Dearest thou mun kiss me too.
Jen. Taak a kiss or two gud Jockey
 But I dare give nene I trow,
 Fie nay Pish be not un . luc . ky;
 Wed me first and aw will doe.*

Much of this love poetry aims to voice a higher, a more glorified, or a more fiery passion than had been sung in earlier days by Wither, Suckling, and Lovelace. The fair is a "Seraphic Creature," a "Sweet Angel," a "Heavenly Bliss," a "dear Charmer," who puts her lover "to a thousand pains." The raptures of passionate love are often very frankly described. It is clear that the writers aimed to be elegant, but to produce thrills at the same time by treading on dangerous ground.

Many of the characteristics of eighteenth-century poetry are already present in this minor verse of the late seventeenth century, because, in both cases, of the prevailing pseudo-classical influence. Comparisons to Daphne, Apollo, Jove, Venus are frequent. William III is "Britain's Cæsar," England is "Britannia," and France "Gallia"; young women are nymphs but not yet sylphs; plague, famine, glory, fame, spring, summer, are personified, war is spoken of as "Bellona," the sun as "Phoebus returning." The Muses and the Graces are summoned to celebrate Her Majesty's birthday. The tendency is to attach a descriptive adjective to most nouns and a descriptive adverb to many verbs, as in these lines:

* Jan., 1692.

In vain the Am'rous Flute and soft Guitar
 Jointly labour to inspire
 Wanton Heat and loose Desire;
 Whilst thy Chaste Airs do gently move
 Seraphic Flame and Heav'nly Love.*

Descriptions of war and naval engagements, however, are more vigorous and direct than when it was thought poetical meanness to call things by their proper names. But the tendency is to exalt realities by the aid of rhetorical devices.

But all the poetry, as the colloquialism of *Jenny and Jockey* bears witness, is not of this caste. It would be strange if the seventeenth-century delight in burlesque should not be represented. This is the vein chosen for a retelling of the story of Orpheus and Eurydice.

Orpheus a One-ey'd limping Thracian,
 Top-Crowder of the barbarous Nation,
 Was Ballad-Singer by Vocation,
 Who up and down the Country Strowling,
 And with his Strains the Mob Cajoling,
 Charm'd them as much as each Man knows
 Our Modern Farces do our Beaux.

... ..

He had a Spouse yclep'd Euridice
 As tight a Lass as ere our-eye-did-see.—**

This last rhyme is worthy of *Hudibras*, or the later *Ingoldsby Legends*. A similar treatment is given to the myth of Actæon and Diana. Love is by no means etherealized in a vigorous and callous verse narrative of the outcome of the relations between two gallants and a common mistress, *The Two Friends*,** written confessedly in imitation of La Fontaine.

The inclusion of this last, and of prose pieces on similar subjects, would seem to be violation of an early promise

* Nov., 1692.

** June, 1692.

** June, 1692.

of Motteux's. In his first number he declares that he designs his *Monthly* for ladies as well as gentlemen.

The fair Sex need never fear to be exposed to the blush, when they honour this with a reading; 'tis partly writ for them, and I am too much their Votary to be guilty of such a crime. There were but few pretenders to Wit and Gallantry in France amongst the Ladies, but made the *Mercure Gallant* their darling, and tho I do not pretend to copy after him in all things, yet this is no less the *Ladies Journal* than the *Gentleman's*.

Ladies are constant contributors, and solvers of enigmas. One of them,³⁷ taking exception to aspersions cast on marriage, not by Motteux, wrote a letter to the editor asserting her own happy married life, and signing herself "Placidia." When the October number for 1693 appeared, it bore the heading, *The Lady's Journal, or the Monthly Miscellany*. Motteux begins:

Sir,

Since this Month's Collection chiefly consists of Pieces written by Persons of the Fair Sex, I may justly call it the *Lady's Journal*. I intended to have own'd in an Epistle Dedicatory to them, my sense of their generous encouragement in my Undertaking, and you will find here something of that nature.

This *Lady's Journal* compares favorably with the numbers under the usual title. Motteux contributes most of the prose, and the ladies almost all the verse, which is perhaps a shade more trifling than usual. Among others, "a young Lady of Quality" contributes *An Epitaph on her Majesties Dog*, Mrs. S—, *An Essay on Modesty from the French of Mad. de Scudery*, "Orithya," some *Verses*, "a Lady" lines *To a Weeping Lover*, and again "a Lady" has composed the words for *A Song set by Mr. J. Franck*.

The prose of the *Journal*, equally with the verse, is representative of what was enjoyed in the 1690's.

³⁷ Nov., 1693.

The essay, established as a *genre* in English literature by Bacon in 1597, had achieved distinction and become popular after the Restoration with the appearance of Cowley's graceful yet thoughtful *Essays*, and Dryden's brilliant adaptation of the form to literary criticism. Each number of the *Journal* contained one or more essays on such subjects as are indicated by the following titles: *Of Time*,³⁸ *Of Fasting*,³⁹ *On Envy*,⁴⁰ *The Equality of both Sexes asserted*,⁴¹ *Of a Lottery of Maids and Bachelors*,⁴² *Conjectures on the Origin of the word Blazon*, by Mr. Leibniz,⁴³ *On Descartes's Philosophy*.⁴⁴ A *Discourse concerning the Ancients and the Moderns*⁴⁵ takes up the much discussed question of the superiority of the present to the past, or *vice versa*, that gave rise to Sir William Temple's *Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning* and to Swift's *Battle of the Books*. The latter immediately comes to mind on reading *Of Modern Names made Latin*.⁴⁶ Here in a dream the author finds himself in the Commonwealth of Learning, where he hears a dispute that develops into the Ancients-versus-Moderns controversy. Some of the essays are in the form of arguments, as, *That Sighs are Marks of a greater Love than Tears*,⁴⁷ and *Which hath most Charms, Glory or Love?*⁴⁸

Several prose allegories appear, such as *The Birth of Love and Friendship*,⁴⁹ and *A Description of the Kingdom of Poetry*, which begins:

The Kingdom of Poetry is large and well peopled, it borders on one side on that of Painting, and on the other on that of Music: It is divided into high and low, like several other Countrys. High Poetry is inhabited by a sort of grave sower-look'd melancholy

³⁸ Nov., 1692.

³⁹ Feb., 1693.

⁴⁰ July, 1693.

⁴¹ May, 1692.

⁴² April, 1694.

⁴³ Dec., 1693.

⁴⁴ March, 1693.

⁴⁵ Feb., 1692.

⁴⁶ Aug., 1693.

⁴⁷ Aug., 1693.

⁴⁸ April, 1693.

⁴⁹ Dec., 1693.

people, who speak a language which is to the other Provinces as Welsh to the English. The tops of all the Trees in High Poetry shoot into the Clouds: Their Horses out-run the Wind; The men are generally Heroes by profession, and will cleave you a Gyant arm'd Capapie, to the very Rump with a back stroke. As for the women, if they have never so little beauty, there is no comparison between them and the Sun. The Metropolis of this Province is call'd Epic Poem, 'tis built on a sandy and ungrateful soyl, which hardly any take pains to Cultivate You can never come out of Epic Poem, without meeting Fights and Murthers: but when you pass through Romance, which is its Suburb, and bigger than that Town, you are sure to meet at the end on't people full of joy, and preparing for their Marriage, they are there very passionate Lovers, great Travellers, and tellers of Stories, and the most beautiful and accomplish'd people in the World. . . Pindaric Ode is a town seated on a very high ground, it yields a very beautiful prospect, and irregularity in others a fault adds to its perfection."

Strangely modern seem the scientific articles. A wave of desire for an extension of knowledge in the direction Bacon had pointed out followed the Restoration. In 1662 the Royal Society had been chartered. Bishop Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* helped to make known its aims and win sympathy for them. *Philosophical Transactions* and *Philosophical Collections* had put forth in periodical form accounts of investigations at home and abroad. By 1692 what had been the concern of a few had become of general interest, and all who pretended to intellectual alertness were eager to add to their scientific information. Querists sent in scientific posers to be answered by the omniscient editors of the *Athenian Mercury*. Motteux, like editors of to-day, was meeting a genuinely popular demand when he inserted *An Account of the Nature of Driness and Moistness*,⁵¹ *A New System of the Gravitation of Bodies*,⁵² *Observation on the Figure of Snow*,⁵³ *Of the Situation of the Bile and Pancreatic*

⁵¹ Jan., 1692.⁵² Jan., 1692.⁵³ Feb., 1693.⁵⁴ March, 1694.

Juice ⁵⁴ (contributed as a letter to Sir Theodore de Vaux), *An Account of a late flying Scorpion*,⁵⁵ *Of Diving* by the "learned Dr. B.,"⁵⁶ and a letter sent in by Mr. Richard Sault containing some mathematical propositions he had received from "a very ingenious Gentleman out of the Country."⁵⁷ These were only occasionally written up by Motteux himself, who could at necessity draw upon the English or foreign scientific periodicals for such information.

News of current events, promised in the original descriptive title of the *Journal*, is to be found in the first two numbers, but afterwards disappears save for a rare and merely occasional comment, such as this in the number for June, 1692:

The Consternation that the French are in, since they find that their Loss is so considerable, and the Falsity of the Account that was given of it at first, is very great. They are forc'd to quiet the Spirits of the People, in giving them fabulous Accounts of their Strength. [Then after he has been specific as to their exaggerations] I leave you to judge how false all this is, and how weak they must find themselves, since they have recourse to such notorious Falsities, to quiet the minds of the People.

In two early numbers a department of mock-news appears, called the *Lovers Gazette*.

From the City of Beauty, the 18th of the Month of Courtship. The States began their Sessions the 3d of this Instant. Sir Coquetting Beau, High-Commissioner, made them a Speech full of soft Verses, florid Words, and moving Expressions. The Lord of Charms, their President, returned him an Answer much to his satisfaction; and it was agreed, that the City should furnish two Millions of Ogles for the War against Rebellious Hearts, and raise a Regiment of Allurements for the Service of Love.⁵⁸

But mock-news was out of fashion. Probably a recognition of its dullness led to its discontinuance.

⁵⁴ April, 1694.

⁵⁵ July, 1692.

⁵⁶ March, 1692.

⁵⁷ March, 1694.

⁵⁸ Sept., 1693.

Far more interesting are the literary announcements and book reviews, news of learning that includes Continental as well as English items, and comment on the contemporary drama. Here are appreciative notices of books that all the world has now agreed to honor. Motteux as a critic is one of the gentlest. Indeed, he seldom ventures an adverse opinion of his own, but merely records an unfavorable reception of a work. His forte lies in warm recommendation of, and generous enthusiasm for, the achievements of others. Thus:

We hope that Mr. Dryden will undertake to give us a Translation of Virgil; 'tis indeed a most difficult work, but if any one can assure himself of success, in attempting so bold a task, 'tis doubtless the Virgil of our Age, for whose noble Pen that best of Latin Poets seems reserv'd.^a

Milton's *Paradise Lost* is Reprinting with large Notes, to explain the less obvious and common Words, Phrases, and Passages of that most heavenly Poem.^b

The second Volume of the *Athenae Oxonienses* by that great Antiquary Mr. Wood of Oxford will appear very speedily.^c

There is also a Book call'd *Nouvelles Conversations de Morale*, said to be by the Famous Mademoiselle de Scudery, which hath lately seen the light.^d

Mr. Perrault, of the French Academy, hath very lately published the Third Part of his *Parallele des Anciens & des Modernes*, relating only to Poetry.^e

We have now the second Edition of Mr. Lock's Essay concerning the human Understanding; carefully revised with the addition of a whole Chapter of Identity, large Indices, and marginal Summaries, and some Alterations in the Chapter of Power, which the Author thought necessary. The first Edition of that great Work was universally esteemed by all Persons of eminent Learning; yet several tho' highly sensible of his merit, have opposed him in some things; and particularly in that part of his Book, in which he would prove there are no innate Ideas or Principles in the Soul of Man, who is said to acquire them as he grows up, either by the Sences or his

^a March, 1694.

^b March, 1692.

^c May, 1692.

^d Aug., 1692.

^e Dec., 1692.

Reflections on his own Operations. I am told that a French Physician has wrote a Book, now printing in Holland, in which he contradicts Mr. Lock in this point; a little time will show us how he has done it; if his Book is written with as much Judgment, Wit and Exactness as his learned Adversary's, it will doubtless be very welcome to the World.⁶⁴

Rapin's Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesy, Englished by Mr. Rymer with his admirable Preface, is reprinted being very scarce before.⁶⁵

The Opera of which I have spoke to you in my former, hath at last appear'd and continues to be represented daily; it is call'd, *The Fairy Queen*. The Drama is originally Shakespears, the Music and Decorations are extraordinary. I have heard the Dances commended, and without doubt the whole is very entertaining.⁶⁶

I need not say any thing of Mr. Congreve's *Double-Dealer* (the only new Play since my last) after the Character which Mr. Dryden has given of it.⁶⁷

Mr. Dryden has compleated a new Tragedy, intended shortly for the Stage, wherein he has done a great unfortunate Spartan no less justice than Roman Anthony met with in his *All for Love*. You who give Plutarch a daily reading can never forget with what magnanimity (under all his tedious misfortunes) Cleomenes behaved himself in the Egyptian Court. This Hero, and the last scene of his Life, has our best Tragic Poet chose for his fruitful Subject.⁶⁸

The kind reception of Mr. Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage: or, The Innocent Adultery* is commented on, and the non-success of Mr. Settle's tragedy, *The Ambitious Slave: or, The Generous Revenge*.⁶⁹

The "novel" or "adventure" easily makes the chief appeal to a modern reader. It is the seventeenth-century form of the short story. Over thirty-one appear in the *Gentleman's Journal*, all more or less alike. Only one owes any inspiration to the heroic romances, the *Grand Cyrus's* or *Clélies* of the day. None are glorifications of primitive man as is Mrs. Behn's *Oroonoko*. With but one exception they portray contemporary types, contemporary manners.

⁶⁴ May, 1694.

⁶⁵ Dec., 1693.

⁶⁶ May, 1692.

⁶⁷ Nov., 1693.

⁶⁸ Feb., 1692.

⁶⁹ March, 1694.

For the most part they are localized in London or its environs. Thus, in *The Generous Mistress*,⁷⁰ Richly and Courtlove agree to meet at a tavern in the Strand, and refer to The Buffalo's Head and Pawlet's in the Haymarket as coffee-houses of familiar rendez-vous. Sophia, in *Love's Alchemy*,⁷¹ on a visit to London sends her maid to see the tombs at Westminster. In *The Friendly Cheat*,⁷² the story is laid "not far from old Verulam." The characters of *The Cure of Jealousy*⁷³ live in the city of Augusta, and take a trip to the Wells, stopping at the Queen's Arms on the way. But *The Picture: Or, Jealousy Without a Cause*⁷⁴ is about events supposed to occur "in a considerable Town in the Netherlands," and the heroes of *The Lover's Legacy*⁷⁵ and *Hypocrisy Out-done: Or, The Imperfect Widow*⁷⁶ cross to Flanders. A few are not localized at all. In *The Noble Statuary*⁷⁷ events are said to have taken place "somewhere in Albion," while the civilization is not of the present but of a chivalric past.

The heroes and heroines are almost uniformly from the upper middle class, although *The False Friend: Or, The Fatherless Couple*⁷⁸ and *The Quakers Gambols*⁷⁹ have to do with a lower social stratum.

These "novels" are in the main composed of the same stuff that was drawn upon for the plot of a contemporary comedy. They hinge upon a love situation, usually involving intrigue. Some verses from the *Journal* sum up the philosophy of life reflected in these stories:

The beauteous Sex were first for Love design'd,
And Nature will prevail in all we find;
Men will enjoy if Women will be kind.⁸⁰

⁷⁰ Sept., 1693.

⁷¹ March, 1692.

⁷² Feb., 1692.

⁷³ April, 1694.

⁷⁴ Dec., 1692.

⁷⁵ March, 1693.

⁷⁶ June, 1693.

⁷⁷ Jan., 1692.

⁷⁸ May, 1692.

⁷⁹ Nov., 1693.

⁸⁰ Oct.-Nov., 1694.

When Motteux departs from this theme of perennial interest in *The Living Ghost: Or, The Merry Funeral*, which is an account of a practical joke, he comments at the end: "Your Friends of the fair Sex will scarce pardon me for relating an adventure wherein Love has no share. A Novel or a Play, without it seldom pleases them."⁸¹

The stories fall into two well defined groups. The first includes those, frequently coarse and unmoral, where by dint of trickery and duping the sharpest carries the day. Here wives deceive suspicious or unsuspecting husbands, or husbands, wives, in true Decameronian fashion. Such are *The Winter Quarters*⁸² and *The Cure of Jealousy*. The former, by the "Ingenious Mr. Fransham," is notably conscienceless. The hero Captain Beau, "a Gentleman equally qualified for Love and War," is in love with the wife of Mr. Friendly, with whom he makes friends. Mr. Friendly offers him rooms in his house, which Captain Beau agrees to take, and to which he brings Mrs. Beau, his wife (no other than his valet in disguise). Captain Beau soon gains the love of Mrs. Friendly, who denies him nothing. But the valet has also fallen in love with her and meets with equal success, though without his master's knowledge. In the spring the captain is ordered elsewhere. Up to the last he hoodwinks Mr. Friendly, and obtains favors from his wife. When they are exchanging farewells, the valet, still masking as Mrs. Beau, says waggishly to Mr. Friendly, "I must confess, that upon the retiring of your Lady and Mr. Beau, I was a little ting'd with Jealousy, well knowing the power of her Charms, upon which I was very uneasy; but I have been performing the part of a ghostly Father, and have brought her to a serious Confession, which has given me a great deal of sat-

⁸¹ Jan.-Feb., 1694.

⁸² Oct.-Nov., 1694.

isfaction, since she averr'd with all imaginable sincerity, that the Captain never went further towards the Horning of Mr. Friendly than myself." The author comments, "This report, without doubt, added much to the present content of his (Mr. Friendly's) mind, and made the parting very satisfactory on all hands."

In *The Friendly Cheat*⁸³ two knights of lustful and wanton courses fall in love with each others' wives, but, by a friend to whom they confide all, they are brought to the arms of their own wives whom they take for their mistresses; thus the deceivers are again deceived. In *The Adventures of the Nightcap*,⁸⁴ a husband whose suspicions are aroused by a prying neighbor, discovers that the wearer of his own nightcap is none other than his wife's sister, just come up to town from the country. "The young Sister was of a wild, pleasant humor, and the Husband's Night-Cap lying on the Toilet, she jocularly had clapped it on her head, saying to her sister, That she would be her Husband that day." Revelations follow as to the prying neighbor's own reputation. *The Widow by Chance*⁸⁵ revolves about the winning of a wager. At the end it is impossible to say from the sudden turn of affairs who has won the stakes. The influence of Italian *novelle* or their French imitations on this group is obvious.

The second group comprises the "novels" of a romantic character, where interest centers in the course of a true love that may be far from smooth, but that reaches a conclusion satisfying to the reader's sense of poetic justice. Except for the contemporary setting, these are not unlike romantic *novelle*, but occasionally a new note is introduced. At least one, *The Treacherous Guardian*, is an approach to the Richardsonian type of sentimental novel, while one or two others have markedly sentimental moments.

⁸³ Feb., 1692.

⁸⁴ April, 1692.

⁸⁵ Jan., 1693.

Yet *The Treacherous Guardian*⁸⁶ is, after all, only slightly suggestive of Richardson. The events related, and the emphasis on the heroine's chastity, may be considered Richardsonian, but the art of Richardson, the minute analysis of the heroine's states of mind in her hours of trial, and the outpouring of her soul in copious correspondence, are all absent. Constantia from her childhood has been looked upon by her father Kindman as the prospective bride of Heartly, whom she loves. When she is of marriageable age her father dies, leaving her to the care of a guardian, Viperly. Heartly has a false friend, Richmore, who takes base advantage of his introduction to Constantia and conspires with Viperly to force her to receive him as her husband. Viperly gives Richmore every opportunity to violate Constantia's honor, concealing him in her bedroom. She saves herself by seemingly consenting to the marriage. She is forced to write her change of mind to Heartly, but interlines the note with invisible ink, describing her plight. Heartly comes at once to rescue her and so prevails with Richmore that the latter comes to a sense of honor and relinquishes Constantia. Viperly, actuated by greed in the first place, is forced to hand over to the lovers their estates, up to this time in his keeping.

*Love Sacrific'd to Honor*⁸⁷ reveals a mingling of various contemporary influences. Trueman discovers on his return from a long absence that his friend Sparkly has been trifling with his own lady, Theodosia, so that her reputation has suffered. Meeting with Sparkly, he takes him to a field and draws upon him. Sparkly's sword breaks, whereupon he suddenly sees the evil of his ways and cries out, "Pursue the advantage Heaven has giv'n you in the defence of the Innocent and take my hated Life!" True-

⁸⁶ April, 1693.

⁸⁷ Oct., 1692.

man refuses to do this on the ground "That Heaven who gave it him should take it," whereat Sparkly by way of reparation offers to marry Theodosia! Poor Trueman's nice sense of honor forces him to agree to this arrangement. The story ends: "But Trueman thought it not convenient, at least, not very satisfactory, to be present at that Solemnity, since he thus sacrific'd his Love to his Mistresses Honour." Sentimental is the characterization of the wronged and virtuous Trueman, who refuses to take revenge when it is in his power, and sentimental the sudden change of heart of Sparkly. Events lead up to a dilemma, in *novella* fashion, but to such a dilemma as is of constant recurrence in heroic romance and heroic drama, where the hero is called upon to choose between love and honor, with the inevitable recognition of the superior claims of honor. The whole closes with a humorous touch characteristic of Motteux.

The stories differ as to the naming or no-naming of the characters. In several the characters have no names. When they are named, the names indicate their prevailing humor. Heroines such as Arabella⁸⁸ and Sophia,⁸⁹ and a hero, Franc. Jessamin,⁹⁰ are exceptions.

Little emphasis is laid on characterization as such, the name being evidently regarded as a sufficient index. Formal characterization such as we find at the beginning of *The Adventure of the Night-Cap*⁹¹ is unusual. Here the two chief personages are described and contrasted, one of them in as formal a manner as Earle might have painted another She Precise Hypocrite for his collection of *Characters*. The heroine is a beautiful young woman married to a gentleman of estate. Her wit is greater than her

⁸⁸ June, 1693.

⁸⁹ March, 1692.

⁹⁰ May, 1692.

⁹¹ April, 1692.

beauty. "Her admirable good Humor, and free Conversation, made her not only the Esteem, but Love of all that knew her; and her Husband giving her all the Liberty imaginable, she seldom wanted Visitants; the Park, the Play, Musick-Meetings, Cards, Balls, were her daily Enjoyments." She has hosts of admirers.

However her facility of access and freedom, did not pass altogether uncensured. Many said, That the Ear is not so freely lent, without a design to win the Heart. And tedious Lectures were preached to her upon this Text, by a She-Friend, of a Character quite opposite to hers, who was a Woman of a grave and morose outside, handsom, tho' somewhat declining; and who regarding with an Eye of pity all those that draw on themselves the suspicion of an intrigue, used to affect a cautious, or rather superstitious Regularity, able to damp the most presumptuous Addressers. There was no familiarity to be had with her. The least freedom in Conversation would strike her dumb. She was always as serious as a Hypocrite at Prayers, and shunned all opportunities of appearing at publick places, unless it were a Church. In short, the name of Precisian seem'd to be esteemed by her beyond all other Enjoyments. She was not insensible to pleasure for all this, and how reserved soever she desired to be thought, had her private hours, which she managed cunningly. But, by a Maxim which hath its Followers as well as others, she was persuaded that Scandal alone makes the Crime, and indeed the resemblance of Vertue pleased her much better than Vertue it self.

The use of dialogue varies in amount and naturalness. Sometimes Motteux merely reports conversation in the third person. Dialogue is apt to be more natural in the "novels" of the first group, and all too frequently stiff and melodramatic in the second. There is a general limbering up when Motteux or one of his infrequent coadjutors becomes humorous. "Mr. E. S." in *The Disappointment*,⁹² his burlesque of a heroic romance, aims at reproducing the pert and lively conversation of a clever young lady who rails, fashionably, at what she secretly admires,

⁹² August, 1693.

and seeks to satisfy a lover by mere sophistry. " 'Twas in the Spring, when Eugenio, stolen from the noisy Town, had retired to the Sweets and Felicities of a Rural Solitude," where he, aged forty, falls in love with the lady Albisinda, "one of the fairest works of the Creation," and just seventeen. "The generous Albisinda's descending goodness" has this effect on Eugenio that "he was rapt up into no lowest Heaven. In short, to Groves, to Grotts, to Shades and Bowers, to purling Streams and murmuring Fountains, who handed the fair Albisinda but the blest Eugenio?" A Sebastian breaks into their paradise of Platonic devotion. At the news Albisinda breaks out with, "Good Heaven, what Stars am I born under, that I must be forced to leave such Wit as Eugenio's, such truly delightful Conversation, to give Audience to the Impertinence of Sebastian. . . . and what's worst of all, . . . he comes to tire me with Love too, bold, sawcy, impudent Love. 'Tis true he is of some Birth and Quality, and so are half the Fops of London. And then he is young and handsome; so is my Lap-dog. And withal he has a great many Acres, Dirt like himself. But what's all this to the Charms of a Man of Wit," and she begs Eugenio's help in the approaching torment. Eugenio, who declares his love, is made happy by the maiden's favorable reception of it, and has small fear of a rival, when he suddenly hears that Albisinda and Sebastian are married. When he next sees Albisinda he is overcome. But she chides him, "What because I have married Sebastian, can that raise all this Cloud? No more for shame Eugenio. Yes, I have married him; the poor young Fool, a thing good enough for a Bedfellow, the Master of my idle sleeping hours; and much good may do him. No, my Eugenio, thy Right, thy sacred Right is uninvaded. I reserve thee for my darling Platonic."

Situation, as can be seen from the preceding summaries, is the prime consideration in these "novels." They are elaborated by characterization, description for the sake of background, narration of previous events, only as much as is necessary to lead up to the climactic situation. An ending is then promptly made. Many are little more than slightly expanded anecdotes. Very few have what can be called a plot, developed by a series of sustained situations. The two extremes are illustrated by *The Relation of an uncommon tho very true Adventure*⁹³ and by *Love's Alchemy; Or, A Wife got out of the Fire*.⁹⁴ The former is stripped well nigh as bare of characterizing detail as the telling will permit. A young don of one of the two universities and a young lady with a natural inclination to learning become mutually attracted. She extols Platonic love and he falls in with her ideas. After three years she longs for something more substantial and begs him to give up his college fellowship and marry her, as she has enough for both. He is confounded, and leaves without a reply. He soon sends his answer to her in verse, declaring his unwillingness to change their relation of Platonic lovers. She dies in six weeks of grief. He, broken-hearted, dies a month after her. "This account," says Motteux, "I have from the very person who carried the Letter, who is a Reverend Divine." The original is scarcely more expanded than the above summary.

Love's Alchemy is one of the most entertaining stories. The figure of Dulman suggests at once the immortal Tony Lumpkin of *She Stoops to Conquer*. Sophia, a Canterbury belle, is designed by old Greedy, her father, for Dulman, her first cousin and her antipathy. "The unbred Thing was as lewd as his Capacity would permit him, and

⁹³ April, 1692.

⁹⁴ March, 1692.

would at any time Club for a scurvy Debauch of Beer and Brandy; for Wine he could not endure, unless at another Man's Cost. Gaming and Whoring were his other two greatest Accomplishments, and he scorned to flinch or start at All-Fours, or Putt; but would set you up whole Nights and Days most devoutly with some Rascally Pot-Companion, or Drunken Tory-Rory, smoaking Strumpet. However, this was the Monster to whom our Virgin was to be sacrificed; and, in order to her better Accomplishments for so rare a Match, she was sent to an Aunt of her's here in Town, to learn to Sing, Dance, and so forth, as well as to see the Court, the Playhouse and Fashions. From thence, in five or six months, she was to return to her Father's house, and then be led to the place of Execution." In London she comes to know one Sightly who lodges in the same house with her aunt. "He could talk sensibly on any Subject, but Love, Chemistry, and Poetry, gave him the greatest Elocution." Of course they fall in love with one another. One evening he dines with Sophia and the aunt when Dulman has come to town, and he sees how coolly Sophia treats her intended husband. "All Dinner time Dulman's Mind ran on the merriment he promised to himself with his Gang at the Hole in the Wall in Baldwyns Gardens; and as soon as the Table was cleared, told her, He was sorry that he was forced to leave her: But truly he must go to see how his Horses were served, for he would not trust any Servant in England to look after them; ending with the old Proverb, The Master's Eye makes the Horse fat. So, without more Compliment, he left her, to go to much worse Beasts than those he mentioned. She could not forbear taking notice of his abrupt and uncivil departure before Sightly, tho she confessed Dulman's absence was what she most desired." Sightly at

once declares his passion for her "with an Address . . . so moving and effectual, that she had much ado to forbear a discovery of hers for him at the first Parley." The aunt, however, warns them that Sophia will lose her portion if she marries without her father's consent. Still they resolve to hazard all. But Sophia's woman betrays her to her father, who comes posting up to town just in time to break up the plans for immediate marriage. They see him from the house in the early morning, and suspect they have been betrayed. Sighly, with his wits about him, sends Sophia and her aunt out the front door, while he goes out at the back, promising to be in Kent before her, but not before they have had time to vow eternal constancy, "and so with a Kiss, a Sigh, and a Tear, they bid Farewel." Sighly passes "through as many Avenues as an Alsatian that walks by day" to escape detection, and orders his man to go on to the Horn at Gravesend with the "baggage." "Mean while the Aunt and Niece were seized by Greedy, who asked them, Whither they were going so early? To which his Sister returned, That they designed for the Park, to take the morning's fresh Air. Ay, ay, said the old Curmudgeon, I see you are both very airy, but I hope that Canterbury Air will better agree with my Daughter; and so, said he, good, sweet, obedient Daughter, pray get you ready for a march home. But where is that generous Bridegroom of yours, that adventurous Knight, that dares venture on you without my leave, that is, without a farthing?" So she is taken home.

Greedy soon hears of a famous alchemist who has arrived in town, and goes to the Coffee-House to see him. He is much taken with him, and brings him to his house, where the alchemist apparently performs the experiment of turning copper into gold by a sly insertion of gold in

the crucible. This he buys of the alchemist, who returns the money with the gold, begging Greedy to distribute it among the poor. "Ay (said Greedy to himself) Nine shillings will do as well for them, 'tis more than I owe them, I'm sure, by the Parish-Book." Now Greedy has but one desire, to keep the alchemist by him, and so he offers him his daughter. Poor Sophia is dismayed at the smutty person thrust upon her. "Madam, (said our Vulcan) can you like me for a Husband? Ah! Sir, cryed she, If you have not more Humanity than my Father, I am lost forever, I cannot marry you. Then Madam, (returned he) you must marry your own first Cousin. I confess, Sir, (said she) were I at my own disposal, I should rather chuse you than him—But—I am not." When they are by themselves the alchemist shows her a ring, saying, "No more denials, Madam, read there your destiny: She took it and was startled by the Po'sie, when looking on him wishfully, she found he was her very numerical London Lover: My Sightly! (cry'd she) My Sophia! (he reply'd). It was not then the accidental blackness of his complexion that could frighten her from his arms. After they had taken a chearful bait on a few kisses, he led her on their Journey to happiness with this instruction, That on the return of her Father she should consent, on condition that he gave the same Portion with her that he propos'd to Dulman." The consent of the old man is quickly won and the wedding comes off. After this event Sightly casts off his disguise. He further reveals his trickery about the gold to Greedy, who is discomfited on all sides.

No real parallel can be drawn between the present-day magazine and the *Gentleman's Journal* in the matter of an advertising section. Periodicals of the time differ

as to the presence of advertisements. Such a monthly as the *Journal* might be expected to contain booksellers' notices in the space left otherwise vacant at the end of a number, but none are inserted except at the close of the February, 1692 number, where three books are advertised.

Illustrations appear in *Le Mercure Galant*. These are of medals, of a triumphal arch, of a Cupid hovering over a landscape and under a ribbon on which is written a "posy;" he holds a fringed cloth marked like a sun-dial, with an arrow stuck through the cloth for the pointer; under it all are verses. Then there is a picture of Mademoiselle in court dress. But there are no illustrations in the *Gentleman's Journal*, save in connection with two scientific articles. One on snow crystals is accompanied by drawings of the crystals.⁹⁵ *Observations on a late Mock-Sun at Paris* ⁹⁶ by Mr. de la Hire, has a cut of that phenomenon.

Motteux had no such exalted idea of his performance as Dunton had in bringing out the *Athenian Mercury*. Motteux's object is confessed in his dedication of Volume I to William, Earl of Devonshire: "My *Journals* aspire no higher, than to attend your Lordship when you enter into your Closet, to disengage your thoughts from the daily pressure of Business," or when his lordship retires to his country seat. So should the *Journal* be looked upon, as agreeable pastime for an idle hour. It must have been an invaluable adjunct to the drawing-rooms of the circles for which it was designed, with its air of gallantry, its preoccupation with the pseudo literary and scientific interests of the world of fashion, its irreproachable list of contributors offering many an anonymity to be guessed, its enigmas to be solved, and its songs to be warbled.

⁹⁵ March, 1694.

⁹⁶ July, 1694.

To-day the *Gentleman's Journal* is a delight to turn to for the light it throws on the literary tastes of its contemporary readers. But it is further significant as the *first* magazine of light literature in English that offers a real parallel to our own magazines of similar nature. And it appeared seventeen years before the *Tatler* and nineteen years before the *Spectator*.

DOROTHY FOSTER.

III.—SCHILLER'S *TELL* AND THE *VOLKSSTÜCK*

There seems to be universal agreement among Schiller's critics that his last drama, *Wilhelm Tell*, means a serious change of attitude toward the ideal which had guided the poet in its predecessors. Some scholars candidly regret its looseness of form, calling this a mistake which the poet should have avoided. Others endeavor with all possible pains to fit the play into the straight-jacket of the established model, and to justify the poet's willful deviations from the rules he himself had laid down. A third group asserts with much praise that the poet has written a real *Volksstück*—i. e., in this case, a play for the people—by choosing intentionally a popular style and form, and by making a whole people the hero of his play.

In my opinion, these last interpreters express better than any other group Schiller's real intentions, yet do not go far enough. *Tell* is obviously a *Volksstück*, not only in the general sense of the word as applied by these critics, but also in the sense of close relationship to what is technically known as a *Volksstück* in the history of German literature.

We know that even during the development of the German drama to its classical magnitude and beauty in the eighteenth century, the *Volksstück* remained alive, and really began to flourish, in spite of the watchword "*Über Goethe hinaus*," in the first half of the nineteenth century. Its native soil was Austria, but *Volksstücke* were known everywhere in Germany—particularly in the southern states and Switzerland, where the many *Tell* plays of which we have knowledge furnish proof of this fact. These *Volksstücke* were mostly plays of very inferior workmanship. Their authors were frequently managers,

who wrote for their own troupes, and depended for their very existence upon the success of their productions. They had to satisfy the taste of the people to whom they catered. They were not men sufficiently educated to search through history or mythology for suitable material; if they ever chose their plots from these fields of knowledge, they relied mostly upon hearsay. Certain territories, however, had their favorite heroes, or their traditional myths and sagas, as the managers were shrewd enough to bear in mind. The Swiss people did not grow tired of seeing their popular hero *Tell* in an ever-increasing number of plays; neither did the German people in general ever weary of the various forms of the *Faust* story in the puppet plays. Besides these favorites, current events, accidents to which the authors had been eye-witnesses, and reports of all sorts of crimes furnished the greater number of acceptable plots. Many of the plays that were produced on such foundations were closely related to the notorious *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*. They had to be sentimental and melodramatic in order to give the audience the expected thrill and shudder. The plots were loosely constructed; no rules were observed, for there were none. Vital points and important turns of the plot were discussed in soliloquies. In the midst of the dialog, the author often let his characters relate essential facts in narrative form. They were also made to display as much coarse wit and sarcasm as the author was capable of. Among the entertaining features, the songs (*Couplets*), adapted to the popular taste, played a very prominent part, especially in Vienna, where the audiences would occasionally join in the refrain. The upper classes were often subjected to a good deal of scolding for their extravagances or other shortcomings; general remarks, or even rather long reflections about the low morality of the times or the decadence of society,

were not at all uncommon. For, after all, the *Volksstück* did not merely wish to entertain, but attempted at times a real uplifting of society. Naturally, this object could be attained only in very small measure, and could be no higher than the moral standard of the author.

Before comparing these plays with Schiller's *Tell*, we ought to produce evidence that he was more or less familiar with these pseudo-literary productions. W. v. Molo's excellent, but somewhat fictitious, account of the poet's youth might be quoted here; but it seems to be based largely on the novelist's imagination. No definite assertion is made that the poet had seen one or the other of the *Volksstücke*. Nevertheless, in view of their popularity, it is hardly possible that Schiller was entirely ignorant of their existence. In an exhaustive study Roethe¹ has come to the conclusion that Schiller must have consulted at least the *Urner Spiel*, Bodmer's scenes, "and the two plays of Ambiehl's"; regarding three other plays, he has not reached a definite opinion. Kettner² has disputed the correctness of these conclusions. It seems, however, that Kettner chiefly objects to Roethe's citation of several passages in *Tell*, written presumably under the influence of one or the other of these plays. Roethe evidently never intended to maintain "dass die dramatische Technik des *Tell* auf die primitive Stufe des *Urner Spiels* zurückgleite."³ But in view of the facts established by Roethe there can no longer be any doubt "dass Schiller sich mit Bewusstsein der Manier des alten Volksstückes angepasst habe."⁴

In fairness to Schiller, who was at the time of writing *Tell* at the very height of his development as a dramatist

¹ *Forschungen zur deutschen Philologie, Festgabe für Hildebrandt*: "Die dramatischen Quellen des Schillerschen Tell," pp. 224-276.

² *Marbacher Schillerbuch*, III, pp. 64 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

of the best classical traditions, we must say that this formulation of Roethe's view does not do Schiller full justice. It would be more nearly correct to say that he adopted much of the form, style, and diction of the old *Volksstück*, but that with his artistic skill and his mastery of metrical form he created a play which, in spite of many resemblances to the *Volksstücke*, towers high above them all. We may formulate our thesis thus: In his *Tell*, Schiller gives to the *Volksstück* his stamp of approval; but by imitating it, he raises it to a high artistic level.

That Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* has many characteristics in common with the *Volksstück* can hardly be questioned. The real plot opens with the thrilling account of a murder committed by a husband defending the honor of his wife. This is followed by the long exciting dispute over the rescue of Baumgarten. The same first act then brings another sensational report of an Austrian atrocity, the blinding of Heinrich von der Halden and the persecution of his son Melchtal, to which is joined a lament over the state of blindness. All these features are to be found in one or the other of the *Tell* plays. The poet finds them useful for his exposition, and even inserts among them one of his own invention, the scene of the slater's accident. As bare facts they are, no doubt, melodramatic in character and apt to arouse the feelings of any audience, even one of more than common education. But Schiller makes them subservient to a higher purpose, namely, to show the oppression under which a community of upright, unpretentious people is suffering; or, in more general terms, to expound the value of that political freedom which guarantees to the individual the full enjoyment of his possessions, the security of his family, and an independent choice of the means of gaining a livelihood.

The play abounds in similar scenes full of agonizing

situations; among them can be counted the apple-shooting scene and the arrest of Tell, his escape, the pleading of Armgart, and the killing of Gessler. In no other play (with the exception of *Wallensteins Lager*) has Schiller included so many scenes of an almost exclusively sentimental value, scenes that were intended to appeal to a wider class of people than those who could appreciate *Wallenstein*, *Maria Stuart*, or the rest of his plays.

A further feature of *Tell* that has its analog in the *Volksstück* is the occurrence of three songs, one beginning the first, the other the third, and the last ending the fourth act. To be sure, the *Räuber* has a number of songs interwoven into the text, and the first and the last parts of the *Wallenstein* trilogy have the well-known troopers' song and the mournful elegy of Thekla. Only one of them, however, can be considered as being of the type of the *Tell* songs, namely, the cavalry song in *Wallensteins Lager*. This is not surprising, since the spirit and the tone of the two plays show a certain similarity. It seems, the poet considered songs of this type essential means for creating the proper atmosphere of informality that characterizes the life of the common people. The first set of strophes, *der Kuhreigen* and its variations, with their reflections on the occupation of the singers, recalls at once the *Schnaderhüpfeln* and the *Couplets* of the *Volksstück*. The second song is a genuine folk-song, and nothing more needs to be said about its popularity: it has become a favorite of German youth. The third song, the funeral dirge of the monks, has no direct bearing on the action; it expresses in very simple words the sentiment obviously shared by every one who has witnessed the governor's last moments. All three songs, therefore, do not represent in any way Schiller's *Gedankenlyrik*, but in their simplicity, plain sentiment, and directness of thought they excel any series of

lyrics that Schiller ever wrote. This is not to say that Schiller stooped to imitate often vulgar songs of the *Volksstück*, but that he raised the indispensable songs like the other characteristics to a very high level and gave them poetic and dramatic value.

An almost universal peculiarity of the *Volksstück* is that in it the characters are given symbolical names. In this respect the poet had very little choice or freedom, inasmuch as his principal sources, Tschudi and J. Müller, furnished him with at least the most essential names and personages. There is, however, the famous passage, "Wär' ich besonnen, hiess' ich nicht der Tell!", which might be pressed into the argument at this point. Schiller has this expostulation in common with the *Urner Spiel*; that he adopted it shows that he considered it of some value for the plot; and the passage, if it really refers to some obsolete meaning of the name Tell, as some commentators say, may be cited as another instance of carrying a *Volksstück* element into the play. But it is hardly necessary to make use of such petty details in order to prove our thesis. If further proof is necessary, the long narrative passages, Tell's extended soliloquy, the jubilant greeting of the people and the Parricida action, or, in a word, the whole much discussed fifth act, may be mentioned as further evidences of similarity in style and structure. The contentions regarding the fifth act lead us to the very crux of the problem, namely the technique of the entire drama. The lack of unity of Schiller's *Tell* has been deplored as much as it has been denied. But whether we admit that three distinct plots are blended into one action, or maintain that the variety of actions does not interfere with the unity of the drama, we cannot deny that the structure of the play does not show the careful planning and fitting of Schiller's other plays. If *Tell* were

as rigorously symmetrical and regular as the *Jungfrau von Orleans* or *Maria Stuart*, it might no longer enjoy its great popular favor. The very looseness not only of the plot, but of the whole structure, a distinct element of the *Volksstück*, largely accounts for the extent of its popularity.

Moreover, we must not forget that Schiller actually intended to cater to the popular taste. He writes in 1803, "Auch bin ich leidlich fleissig und arbeite an *Wilhelm Tell*, womit ich den Leuten den Kopf wieder warm zu machen denke. Sie sind auf solche Volksgegestände ganz verteuelt erpicht, und jetzt besonders ist von der schweizerischen Freiheit desto mehr die Rede, weil sie aus der Welt verschwunden ist." Similar statements we find in several letters of 1804, especially in those addressed to Iffland, to whom he writes that his play "soll die Bühnen Deutschlands erschüttern;" *Tell* is being written "für das ganze Publikum." If Schiller was serious in regard to this intention, what else could he mean than that he wished thoroughly to satisfy this public's taste? The whole public included those people whose only intellectual food consisted in *Volksstücke* and *Kalendergeschichten*. Further evidence that he actually wanted to please these people we may find in statements of his such as that the Flurschütz Stüssi was supposed to occupy the place of the clown in the old English tragedies. Did he ever consider introducing a similar figure in any of the other plays? The clown was so dear to the people whom he thought to uplift that even for the clown he tried to find a place and the possibility of transformation into a nobler character.

"Man muss es wagen, bei einem neuen Stoff die Form neu zu erfinden," said Schiller to Goethe, 26 July, 1800, when discussing the outline for the *Jungfrau von Orleans*. In *Tell* he had "einen neuen Stoff" and a

new purpose, and he had the courage to find a new form. Through *Die Braut von Messina* he had found out that classical traditions in the drama can be appreciated only by a few select minds. The public in general was not mature enough for the æsthetic subtleties of such a play. But as a poet he had a mission to the whole public, and he was seriously determined to fulfill this mission. The classical form was his ideal; that in spite of his yearning for this ideal he could for a purpose temporarily turn away from it, is all the more to his credit. The outlines for a new form were given in the *Volksstück*; from it he does not merely draw a few details and facts for his plot, but, with the true instinct of an artist, he adopts the whole atmosphere. Thus, he does not vulgarize his classical achievements; on the contrary, he elevates a vulgar and coarse means of amusement to as high a level as he can in a first and only attempt. Walzel⁵ says; "Mit einer bei seinem Temperament und seiner souveränen Bühnenbeherrschung doppelt wunderbaren Kraft der Einfühlung hat er dem Stoffe sein künstlerisches Gesetz abgelauscht."

The credit for having discovered and practised as one of the first of his followers this artistic law belongs to L. Anzengruber, the greatest *Volksspielfdichter* of the nineteenth century. There can be no doubt that his plays have many technical points in common with *Tell*; e. g., the peculiar character of the soliloquies, the songs, and the narrative passages, the use of the local atmosphere and setting for the action, and the form in which characters are described or delineated. Although Anzengruber never mentioned special instances, he nevertheless acknowledged more than once in general terms his indebtedness to Schiller, and spoke of himself as being spiritually akin to the

⁵ Schiller's *Werke*, Säkular Ausg., Cotta, XVI, p. xxv.

great master. What else could that mean but that he had discovered in Schiller and his *Tell* something that strengthened his own artistic convictions and appeared to him worthy of emulation in his *Volksstücke*?

To what extent, however, Schiller himself had consciously worked out that artistic law of which Bulthaupt speaks, is an open question—the more so, because it is still an unsettled problem how far Schiller consciously and intentionally attempted to apply to his own works the dramatic theories he had emphasized in his æsthetic writings. It would be an interesting study to determine whether *Tell* or the *Jungfrau von Orleans* is the more remote from meeting these æsthetic requirements. So much is sure: the two plays cannot be placed in one and the same category. But if categorizing there must be, it seems to me far more satisfactory, for sentimental reasons at least, to admit that Schiller attempted in *Tell* a model *Volksstück* in metrical form, than to quibble over details and actions, just because they cannot be fitted into the customary system of dramatic technique.

ADOLF BUSSE.

IV.—A TYPE OF BLANK VERSE LINE FOUND IN THE EARLIER ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

Some time ago in an article on *Lochrine and Selimus*¹ I showed the futility of discussing questions of the authorship and chronology of plays written between 1585 and 1595 on the evidence of parallel passages. I endeavored to show that the occurrence of such parallels is much more likely to be evidence of different authorship than of common authorship. If, now, this kind of evidence, by itself, is to be considered of small value, where shall we look for other evidence that may have more weight and certainty? I believe that something of significance can be found if we search carefully for characteristics of style,—forms of expression more or less rhetorical, peculiar arrangement of terms, favorite collocations of words, devices to “bum-bast out” the blank verse.

Evidence of this nature concerning only one characteristic of style will, by itself, have very little weight, but it is possible that by collecting evidence concerning many characteristics and carefully collating it we may reach conclusions that will have a reasonable degree of certainty. Several years ago I made a study of one such characteristic; the results are set forth in an article, *Repetition and Parallelism in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama*;² in the present paper I propose to examine another characteristic, a certain type of blank verse line, and indi-

¹ *Shakespeare Studies by Members of the Department of English of the University of Wisconsin*, Madison, 1916, pp. 31-35. Cf. Schröer, *Ueber Titus Andronicus*, pp. 67 f., 75 f.

² *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xx, pp. 360-379.

cate its bearing on some of the problems of authorship and chronology.

It should be borne in mind that when we speak of the style of any one of the group of dramatists called the predecessors of Shakespeare the term does not imply definite and unvarying characteristics for all his plays. The development of dramatic writing proceeds with wonderful rapidity in the years in which these dramatists wrote, and this is reflected very plainly in their work; the style is constantly changing, and general statements with regard to it will usually hold good for not more than two plays, in some cases for not more than one play.³

I pass now to a description of the type of line to be considered. Many readers of *Tamburlaine* have probably noticed the rather frequent occurrence in that play of lines constructed on the model of the following:

The fainting army of that foolish king

I *Tamb.* II, iii, ll. 660.⁴

The naked action of my threatened end

I *Tamb.* III, ii, ll. 1079.

The golden statue of their feathered bird

I *Tamb.* IV, ii, ll. 1549.

A line of this type consists of two symmetrical parts joined by a preposition or conjunction. Each part consists of an article or some other pronominal word, followed by an adjective, which is in turn followed by a noun; this may be formulated, *pronominal word* plus *adjective* plus *noun*. The pronominal word may sometimes be wanting or may be replaced by some other part of speech, without changing the characteristic structure.

³ Cf. *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 18.

⁴ *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1910.

The *savage* captain of a *savage* crew

Loocrine, I, i, 134.⁷

For *common* cause of this our *common* weal

Jocasta, III, i, 54.⁸

In six cases positive and negative adjectives emphasize the antithesis.

A *quiet* end of her *unquiet* state

Jocasta, IV, iii, 56.

Thou *trusty* guide of my so *trustless* steps

Jocasta, III, i, 1.

The cases of antithetical construction are scattered among a large number of plays. In only one play are there enough of them to give the effect of a characteristic of style. In *Jocasta*, by Gascoigne and Kinwelmersh, there are eight examples; six of these have positive and negative adjectives, and one has the adjective repeated. All of the examples, with one exception, are found in the part of the play (Acts II, III, V) written by Gascoigne; the exception, IV, iii, 56 (quoted above) is substantially a repetition of III, ii, 16.⁹

Lines of the general type discussed above (p. 69) are found in the earlier non-dramatic blank verse, but their occurrence is comparatively rare. I have examined all the non-dramatic blank verse before 1585, with the exception of two pieces;¹⁰ in only two cases has more than one example been found. In Surrey's translation of the second and fourth books of the *Æneid* there are seven examples (*and* 2, *of* 2, other prepositions 3), all in the

⁷ The *Shakespeare Apochrypha*, edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1908.

⁸ *Supposes and Jocasta*, edited by John W. Cunliffe, Boston, 1906.

⁹ "Brings quiet end to this unquiet life."

¹⁰ Turberville's *Heroical Epistles of Ovid*, and the 170 lines in Barnabe Rich's *Don Simonides*. Cf. A. Schröer, *Ueber die Anfänge des Blanko-verses in England, Anglia*, IV, pp. 5-9.

second book. In Spenser's blank verse "sonets," in Van der Noodt's *Theatre*, 1569, there are six examples (of 4, other prepositions 2).

THE ENGLISH SENECA PLAYS

Connective	<i>and</i>	<i>of</i>	Other prepo- sitions	Total
<i>Gorboduc</i>	10	32	17	59
<i>Jocasta</i>	2	21	12	35
<i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>	5	8	2	15
<i>Misfortunes of Arthur</i>	4	5	0	9
<i>Wounds of Civil War</i>	9	21	7	37
<i>Tancred and Gismunda</i>	2	8	4	14
<i>Lochrine</i>	2	21	0	23
<i>Selimus</i>	4	7	2	13
<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	5	4	6	15

In the Senecan Plays, with a single exception,¹¹ the occurrence of these symmetrical lines is a fairly well marked characteristic. Considered with respect to this characteristic, the plays fall into two groups. *Gorboduc*, *Jocasta*, *The Wounds of Civil War*, and *Lochrine* have a large number of examples; *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Tancred and Gismunda*, *Selimus*, and *Titus Andronicus* have a smaller number of examples, but more than other plays that do not show Senecan characteristics.¹² Some of the Senecan plays call for more special notice.

Gorboduc

In the first English tragedy the number of these lines (59) is greater than that found in any tragedy of later date. Other early tragedies with a large number are *Jocasta*, 35, *Tamburlaine I*, 44, *Tamburlaine II*, 32, *Wounds of Civil War*, 37. *Gorboduc* is the joint production of

¹¹ *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, with nine cases.

¹² *Tamburlaine* is, of course, an exception to this statement.

Sackville and Norton; Acts I, II, and III are by Norton, Acts IV and V by Sackville. An examination of the distribution of these lines between the two authors shows that Norton uses them more than twice as often as Sackville.¹³ It is further noticeable that Sackville has no lines with *and* as the connective.

Jocasta

The facts concerning the joint authorship of this play have been stated above (p. 71). The number of symmetrical lines in the play is 35; of these 19 are in the part written by Gascoigne and 16 in that written by Kinwelmersh. The percentage, however, is twice as great for Kinwelmersh as for Gascoigne. Kinwelmersh seems to be especially fond of the type with the connective *of*; his percentage of these lines is three times as great as that of Gascoigne. I have already called attention to Gascoigne's fondness for antithesis.¹⁴

Locrine, a play of the extreme Senecan type, rich in all manner of florid rhetorical ornament, has 23 cases of symmetrical lines. Some scholars hold that this play is the work of Peele.¹⁵ The play of Peele's that is nearest to *Locrine* in form and subject is *The Battle of Alcazar*, but in this play the number of cases is only 12. There is, then, nothing here to support the contention that Peele is the author of *Locrine*; the evidence is rather against it. I have shown in another place¹⁶ that the evidence from a comparison of the plays with respect to repetition and parallelism is of the same nature.

¹³ In Norton's part the percentage is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in Sackville's it is 2 per cent.

¹⁴ See p. 71.

¹⁵ See W. S. Gaud, *Modern Philology*, I, pp. 409-422; F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, II, p. 404.

¹⁶ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, p. 347.

Selimus, a play showing characteristics of both *Tamburlaine* and the Senecan plays, has 13 examples, about half as many as *Locrine* shows. Grosart¹⁷ has attempted to show that *Selimus* is the work of Greene. The only play of Greene's that uses the symmetrical line to any extent is *Alphonsus of Arragon*, with 16 examples. With respect, then, to this characteristic there is likeness between the plays.

The Misfortunes of Arthur, as noted above, has but a small number (9) of these lines. This is noticeable, because the play has the general Senecan characteristics in a very marked degree.

Lodge's Senecan play, *The Wounds of Civil War*, shows a large number (37) of symmetrical lines. This is in striking contrast with *A Looking Glass for London and England*, in which Lodge collaborated with Greene; here only one example is found.

MARLOWE

Connective	and	of	Other prepo- sitions	Total
<i>Tamburlaine I.</i>	14	19	11	44
<i>Tamburlaine II.</i>	5	24	3	32
<i>Faustus</i>	3	5	0	8
<i>Jew of Malta.</i>	0	3	0	3
<i>Edward II.</i>	0	1	3	4
<i>Massacre at Paris.</i>	0	2	3	5
<i>Dido</i>	2	0	3	5

The *First Part of Tamburlaine* has more examples (44) of these symmetrical lines than any play examined except *Gorboduc*. That Marlowe was fond of this rhetorical form when he wrote the play is shown not only by this large number of lines, but also by the variety of connectives that he used. In the *Second Part of Tamburlaine*

¹⁷ *Huth Library, Greene's Works. Temple Dramatists, Selimus.*

the number of examples (32) is smaller; and it is to be noticed further that three-fourths of these have the connective *of*, in sharp contrast with the variety of connectives noted in the *First Part*.

In other plays of Marlowe such lines are rather rare,—*Faustus* 8, *Jew of Malta* 3, *Edward II* 4, *Massacre at Paris* 5, *Dido* 5. This fact probably indicates nothing more than that this was one of many rather artificial rhetorical forms used in *Tamburlaine* and abandoned in the later plays. It is a good illustration of what was said above¹⁸ concerning the changing style of these dramatists, and shows plainly that we have here to do with a characteristic of Marlowe's *earlier* style. Marlowe shows nearly twice as many examples as any other of the predecessors of Shakespeare.¹⁹

KYD

Connective	<i>and</i>	<i>of</i>	Other prepo- sitions	Total
<i>Spanish Tragedy</i>	5	8	2	15
<i>Cornelia</i>	3	3	4	10
<i>Soliman and Perseda</i>	0	4	1	5
[<i>Jeronimo</i>]	0	3	2	5

Of the plays with which Kyd's name is connected, the *Spanish Tragedy* is the only one that has more than a small number of examples. The *First Part of Jeronimo* has only five examples, as against fifteen in the *Spanish Tragedy*. This may be regarded as a small grain of corroborative evidence in favor of the contention of those who hold that *The First Part of Jeronimo* was not written by Kyd.²⁰ It will be noticed that in respect to this

¹⁸ See p. 69. ¹⁹ Marlowe 101, Peele 58, Greene 40, Kyd 35.

²⁰ Cf. Boas, *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, Introduction, pp. xxxix-xliv; Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, I, pp. 308-9. Thorndike, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xvii, pp. 143-4.

characteristic *The Spanish Tragedy* is in sharp contrast with *Tamburlaine*; this fact may be interpreted as evidence of its independence of Marlowe's play.

GREENE

Connective	and	of	Other prepositions	Total
<i>Alphonsus of Arragon</i>	5	7	4	16
<i>Orlando Furioso</i>	0	2	3	5
<i>Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay</i> ..	0	6	1	7
<i>James IV</i>	5	2	3	10
<i>Looking Glass for London and England</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>Pinner of Wakefield</i>	0	0	1	1

In Greene's plays examples are rare, except in *Alphonsus of Arragon*, where there are sixteen. This larger number in *Alphonsus of Arragon* is probably due to the strong influence of *Tamburlaine* upon that play.²¹ The number of examples in Greene's other plays is insignificant.

PEELE

Connective	and	of	Other prepositions	Total
<i>Arraignement of Paris</i>	0	4	2	6
<i>Battle of Alcazar</i>	1	7	4	12
<i>Edward I</i>	1	5	3	9
<i>David and Bethsabe</i>	6	20	3	29
<i>Old Wives' Tale</i>	0	2	0	2

The most noticeable point in Peele's use of these symmetrical lines is the very large number (29) in *David and Bethsabe* as compared with the number in his other plays. It is possible that this comparatively large number of examples in *David and Bethsabe* may help to fix its date. The play was printed in 1599, after Peele's death.

²¹ See Hübener, *Der Einfluss von Marlowe's Tamburlaine auf die zeitgenössischen und folgenden Dramatiker*, Halle, 1901, pp. 5-15.

Most authorities make no attempt to date its composition, and of those that give a date only one, Fleay, gives a reason for the date assigned. Bullen says, "the date of its composition is unknown."²² Fleay (*Chronicle History*, II, p. 153) says, "May fairly be dated c. 1588. The situations in the play are strikingly suggestive of Elizabeth and Leicester as David and Bathsheba, Uriah as Leicester's first wife and Absalom as Mary Queen of Scots. The disguise of political allusions by change of sex was not unknown to the early stage." Oliphant Smeaton in the introduction to his edition of *The Arraignment of Paris* (*Temple Dramatists*)²³ follows Fleay. Ward²⁴ rejects Fleay's idea of political allusions in the play, but suggests no date.²⁵ "The diction of the play," he says, "is suggestive of mature workmanship." Gummere²⁶ has nothing to say concerning the date. Schelling²⁷ says, "perhaps written as early as 1589," but gives no ground for this conjecture. W. S. Gaud²⁸ says, "Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* was published in 1584. *David and Bethsabe*, published in 1599, was probably written next." We have, then, two dates assigned to the play, 1588, 1589. The only ground given for either date is the wild conjecture of Fleay noted above.

Let us consider now whether the large number of symmetrical lines in the play may have any significance as evidence for determining the date. The large number of such lines in *Tamburlaine* would lead us to expect to

²² A. H. Bullen, *The Works of George Peele*, London, 1888, Introduction, p. xli.

²³ Pp. x-xi.

²⁴ *History of English Dramatic Literature*, I, pp. 376-7.

²⁵ "The date of its composition is unknown."

²⁶ C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, I, pp. 335-341.

²⁷ F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, 1908, I, p. 42.

²⁸ *Modern Philology*, I, p. 410, n. 2.

find them in later plays related to it in style and manner. This we have seen to be the case in Greene's *Alphonsus of Arragon*. Now the play of Peele's that is nearest in style and manner to *Tamburlaine* is *The Battle of Alcazar* and after that *Edward I*, but these plays do not show this characteristic so strongly as does *David and Bethsabe*,²⁹ which is not in the manner of *Tamburlaine*. It is, therefore, a fair inference that *David and Bethsabe* is nearer to the date of *Tamburlaine* than either of the other plays. Now *The Battle of Alcazar* was played at least as early as 1592, possibly as early as 1589.³⁰ The date of *Edward I* (printed 1593) is undetermined, but it is, no doubt, close to that of *The Battle of Alcazar*. If, then, *David and Bethsabe* is nearer to *Tamburlaine* than either of the other plays, its date must be about 1588 or 1589. It must be admitted that this is very slight evidence upon which to determine the date of the play; slight as it is, however, I think that it may be called stronger than any other evidence yet brought forward.

SHAKESPEARE'S HISTORICAL PLAYS

Connective	and	of	Other prepo- sitions	Total
<i>Richard III</i>	8	23	4	35
<i>Richard II</i>	10	22	8	40
<i>King John</i>	8	26	6	40
<i>I Henry IV</i>	7	6	2	15
<i>II Henry IV</i>	2	4	4	10
<i>Henry V</i>	4	2	4	10
<i>I Henry VI</i>	0	9	2	11
<i>II Henry VI</i>	1	7	2	10
<i>III Henry VI</i>	0	2	1	3
[<i>Contention</i>]	0	2	2	4
[<i>True Tragedy</i>].....	2	1	2	5

²⁹ *David and Bethsabe*, 29; *The Battle of Alcazar*, 12; *Edward I*, 9.

³⁰ Bullen, *The Works of George Peele*, I, Intro., p. xxxvii; *The Battle of Alcazar*, Malone Society Reprint, Intro., p. v.

With respect to the use of the symmetrical lines, the historical plays of Shakespeare whose authorship is well established fall into two very distinct groups. *Richard III*, *Richard II*, and *King John* have these lines in great abundance; in this respect, in fact, they are surpassed by only *Tamburlaine*, *Gorboduc*, and *The Wounds of Civil War*.³¹ On the other hand, *I Henry IV*, *II Henry IV*, and *Henry V* show a comparatively small number. The use of symmetrical lines, then, is a strongly marked characteristic of Shakespeare's earlier historical plays.

It remains to consider the three parts of *Henry VI*. Without entering into the bewildering mazes of the question of the authorship of these plays, one may venture a brief statement of the case. First, there is fairly general agreement that Shakespeare did not write the *First Part*; second, the *Second Part* is a revision and enlargement of an earlier play, *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster*, and the *Third Part* a revision of an earlier play, *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*; third, the relation of the two earlier to the two later plays is a matter of much dispute; fourth, over the question of the authorship of both the earlier and later plays there goes on an apparently interminable conflict of Shakespeare scholars. Peele, Greene, and Marlowe are the playwrights who are held to have shared with Shakespeare the authorship of these plays, or to have produced them without his collaboration, working either separately or jointly in various combinations. To the solution of this vexed question the present investigation may perhaps contribute a small bit of significant evidence.

It has been shown above that the use of symmetrical

³¹ See pp. 72, 74.

lines is a strongly marked characteristic of Shakespeare's earlier historical plays. Now, in this respect, the three parts of *Henry VI* show a striking difference from *Richard III*, *Richard II*, and *King John*. The three latter plays have respectively 35, 40, and 40 cases; the three parts of *Henry VI* have respectively 11, 10, and 3 cases. In this respect also the second and third parts of *Henry VI* agree with *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*, which have respectively 4 and 5 cases. The second and third parts of *Henry VI*, then, and the two earlier plays (*Contention*, *True Tragedy*) differ in a striking manner from the earlier historical plays of Shakespeare with respect to this characteristic; they agree, however, in this respect, with the later plays of Peele, Greene, and Marlowe.³² Our bit of evidence, then, shows that these four plays (*II Henry VI*, *III Henry VI*, *Contention*, *True Tragedy*) are closer to the style of the later plays of Peele, Greene, and Marlowe than to the earlier historical plays of Shakespeare. Just how significant this evidence may be, must be left to the judgment of those who are especially familiar with all the aspects of this long disputed question.

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³² Cf. tables, pp. 74, 76.

V.—WALTER MAP'S *DE NUGIS CURIALIUM*: ITS PLAN AND COMPOSITION¹

Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, which is preserved in a unique manuscript of the latter part of the fourteenth century,² has been twice edited; in 1850 by Thomas Wright,³ and in 1914 most admirably by Dr. Montague Rhodes James.⁴ It is apparent, even to the casual reader, that the work was not written continuously from beginning to end, but was redacted from fragments composed at various times and at various degrees of leisure; both editors, however, assume that Map himself arranged the fragments and published the book substantially as it now stands,⁵ though Dr. James fully appreciates the formlessness of the work, and admits that "the plan . . . is to seek."⁶

With precisely the purpose of seeking the plan I began my study, as a consequence of which I am convinced that, whether Walter Map had originally a plan, or not, the crudities manifest in the disposition of materials are not due to the author's slovenliness or mental incoherence so much as to the fact that he never completed his editing, but

¹ This study is a revision of a chapter in the thesis submitted by me in 1915 for the degree of doctor of philosophy at Harvard University.

² MS. Bodley 851; on its age, see Dr. James's edition of *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. v-xiii.

³ *Publications of Camden Society*, No. 50. Referred to hereafter as DNC, Wright.

⁴ *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series*, Part XIV. Referred to hereafter as DNC, James.

⁵ DNC, Wright, pp. ix-xi, James, pp. xxiv-xxix.

⁶ DNC, James, p. xxvii.

left his materials fragmentary and unpublished; such arrangement as our text of the work may boast is due chiefly to a later hand. It, therefore, becomes important first to analyze critically the composition which has come down to us. When we know surely what it is that we have, we can better discern how it became so.

In analyzing the work, we should remember that we have only one manuscript, and that dating from a time nearly two centuries after the book was written.⁷ In this manuscript, the frequent rubrics give a specious impression of finished and ordered composition, an impression that is heightened in the printed texts by drawing these half-marginal guides into the unequivocal position of chapter headings. As a rule, however, they are without authority. An indication of this is in the spelling of the author's name, which occurs five times in the titles of *De Nugis*,⁸ and once elsewhere in the manuscript.⁹ In all six instances it appears as "Mahap," while in the text of *De Nugis* it is "Map,"¹⁰ the only form ever used by the contemporaries of Walter.¹¹ From this curious bit of evidence, I suspect

⁷ DNC, James, p. vi.

⁸ DNC, James, pp. 1, 40, 256, 257, 259.

⁹ DNC, James, p. xi (ms. f. 118 v.): "Apocalipsis Magistri Galteri Mahap."

¹⁰ DNC, James, p. 246, ll. 16, 21, 30; p. 247, ll. 3, 9, 17; p. 248, ll. 3, 5, 16, 18.

¹¹ Giraldus Cambrensis regularly wrote "Mapus" (see indexes to his *Works* in the *Rolls Series*). Hue de Rotelande (*Ipomédon*, ed. Kölbing and Koschwitz, pp. vi-vii and 11), Map's Westbury charter (Wright, *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, p. xxix), the St. Peter's charter (*Cartularium S. Petri Gloucestriae*, v. II, p. 146), the two Flaxley charters (A. W. Crawley-Boevey, *Cartulary of the Abbey of Flaxley*, pp. 35, 162-63, 230-31), the entry in the *Close Rolls* (*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 1833, v. I, p. 106), the *Pipe Rolls* (see indexes to years 19, 24 and 31 Henry II), the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (ed. J. F. Dimock, p. 280), and Ralph de Diceto (ed. Stubbs, v. II, p. 150) all give "Map." The

that the rubrication, and consequently, I think, the compilation of Map's fragments were not accomplished until some time after his generation; but I forbear to press the point.

The rubrication, furthermore, is often unsystematic, even incorrect. For example, in the first six columns of the manuscript occur the following titles: *Assimulacio Curie regis ad infernum. Capitulum primum, De inferno. ii, De Tantalo, De Sisipho. iii, De Yxione. v, De Ticio. vi, De germinibus noctis.* In *Capitulum primum*, however, there is no reference to *infernus*; the court is tested by definitions of *tempus*, *genus*, and *fortuna*. Furthermore, the rubrics from *De Tantalo* on are mere sub-heads to *De inferno*; and *De germinibus noctis* belongs to only the first few lines of the long section that follows. Clearly these, with exception of the first, were once no more than marginal annotations, rubricated as chapter headings by a later copyist. In confirmation, it should be noticed that *De Yxione* is intruded so as to break incorrectly the initial sentence which belongs to that title.¹³ Only the first of these titles, therefore, is to be assigned to the original rubricator, whether Map, or another; yet the chapter numbering of the entire *Distinctio* follows from them.

Another instance of taking a marginal note as a new chapter heading is Dist. v, cap. iv, *De Cnutone rege Dacorum*,¹⁴ which irrationally breaks the romantic life of Earl Godwin into two parts; either the story should be sub-

same spelling is used for the Wormesley Maps (H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, v. i, pp. 736 ff.), and the contemporary Map in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham (ed. Stevenson, p. 19). The erased name in this last place is "Maph"; and the *Invectio* of Bothewald gives the name "Walterum Mat" (Wright, *Latin Poems*, p. xxxv).

¹³ Dnc, James, p. 4. Compare the same sentence on p. 250, ll. 23-24.

¹⁴ Dnc, James, p. 210.

divided into all its episodes, or it should not be interrupted at all. Likewise the rubrics *Conclusio epistole premissæ* and *Finis epistole premissæ*¹⁶ are unwarrantably thrust into the *Epistle of Valerius*, and numbered as chapter titles.

The contrary fault of insufficient rubrication is especially manifest, as would be expected of a flagging scribe, in the last *Distinctio*. Following the title *De primo Henrico rege Anglorum et Lodowico rege Francorum*,¹⁶ is a medley of anecdotes about a variety of personages; the title applies properly to none but the first anecdote. So it is with the next title *De morte Willelmi Rufi regis Anglorum*.¹⁷ The chapter runs on through an historical sketch of subsequent English kings, and includes a digression on the emperor Henry V. These two rubrics, together with *De Cnutone rege Dacorum*, may probably be assigned to the later copyist. If so, the *Distinctio* originally must have been almost unbroken. The final chapter,¹⁸ which purports to be a recapitulation of the introductory comparison of the court to hell, contains none of the sub-titles found in the opening pages.

Attention has already been called to the misplacement of the rubric *De Yxione*.¹⁹ A similar case is in Dist. i, cap. xxvi, *Recapitulacio Grandimontensium*.²⁰ In both these places Dr. James has restored the text with certainty. Not unlike is the curious situation of Dist. v, cap. iii, *De origine Godwini comitis et eius moribus*.²¹ Immediately after this title are some eighteen lines on prognostications of several

¹⁶ DNC, James, pp. 157-58, Dist. iv, cap. iv-v.

¹⁶ DNC, James, p. 218, Dist. v, cap. v.

¹⁷ DNC, James, p. 232, Dist. v, cap. vi.

¹⁸ DNC, James, pp. 248-55, Dist. v, cap. vii.

¹⁹ Cf. p. 83, above.

²⁰ DNC, James, p. 54. Possibly also Dist. i, cap. xx, p. 29.

²¹ DNC, James, p. 206.

captures of Jerusalem, after which abruptly begins the long story of Earl Godwin; there is no conceivable relation between the two themes, and no ingenious connection, such as Map might have made. Obviously Map did not write that title; if he had, it would follow the exposition of omens, not precede.

The fragmentary passage on omens may have been complete originally, and a leaf of the manuscript may have been lost; but after the loss, and before the title was inserted, the whole passage must have been copied once, running the fragment into the Godwin romance so closely that the rubricator supposed it had some mysterious appropriateness to that context. Oddly enough, no one has since complained of the incoherence.

Another curious instance is at the beginning of Dist. iv, where the titles run as follows: *Prologus i*, *Epilogus ii*, *Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum philosophum ne uxorem ducat iii*, *Conclusio epistole premissæ*, *Finis epistole premissæ v*.²² An inspection of the text will convince anyone that the final lines of the chapter entitled *Epilogus* were written expressly to introduce the *Epistle of Valerius* when the author conceived the purpose of including that earlier composition in *De Nugis Curialium*, and also that he wrote at the same time the lines headed *Finis epistole premissæ*, in which he comments on the popular reception accorded the *Epistle*, the disbelief in his authorship, the general badness of contemporary judgment, and the particularly reprehensible neglect of the venerable Gilbert Foliot, who, Map says, is still alive. This gives us a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the preceding pages, February, 1187.²³

²² DNC, James, pp. 138-159.

²³ *Radulphus de Diceto*, Rolls Series, v. ii, p. 47. DNC, James, p. 158: "Gillebertus Foliot nunc Lundunensis episcopus."

If, now, we look back, we find cause for surprise. In the opening lines of the *Epilogus*, Map declares that he is writing two years after the death of Henry II,²⁴ that is, about July, 1191. Thus we find a chapter (Dist. iv, cap. ii), hitherto regarded as a coherent unit, which was apparently begun in July, 1191, and finished before February, 1187. There are two possible explanations of this curious phenomenon: either Map himself fitted the two compositions together when he wrote the 1191 passage, or he intended those opening lines of cap. ii for a real epilogue, and they have been placed by accident where they stand. In the former case, Map cannot be the author of the title *Epilogus*, since it is absurd in such a position. In the latter case, the text itself is badly confused.²⁵

There is one more instance of poor rubrication that deserves notice. The title of Dist. iv, cap. viii, reads: *Item de fantasticis aparicionibus*.²⁶ This title is like several in Dist. II, as follows: cap. xi, *De aparicionibus fantasticis*, cap. xii to xvi, *Item de eisdem aparicionibus*.²⁷ But in Dist. iv, there is no such tale before the chapter mentioned above, and, as I show later,²⁸ the chapter in Dist. iv was written earlier than those in Dist. II. Hence the title must be referred to a copyist.²⁹

In review, then, we have seen that Map's name is consistently misspelled in the rubrics, that the rubrication in general is unsystematic, irregular, unauthentic, that it has

²⁴ DNC, James, p. 141: "Verumtamen audita morte domini mei predicti regis post biennium ad puteal exsurgo."

²⁵ For the present I reserve my opinion on these alternatives; see pp. 91 f., below.

²⁶ DNC, James, p. 173.

²⁷ DNC, James, pp. 72-80.

²⁸ See pp. 104, 111, below.

²⁹ Of course, if Map were editor, he might have written the title; I rely on the other evidence that he was not editor of *De Nugis*.

in two cases disguised the fragmentary character of the contents of the book, unrelated materials being forced under a single heading. It is apparent, then, that the titles are in general devoid of authority, and further that the text must originally have been rubricated so insufficiently that we can hardly believe the author edited and published it.

Now that it is clear that the titles are not all authentic, let me direct attention to one particular title, that of the last chapter: *Recapitulacio principii huius libri ob diversitatem litere et non sententie*.⁸⁰ By italicizing repetitions of phrase, Dr. James has made it easy to compare this chapter with the composition that introduces *De Nugis*; one finds that where the idea of the introduction is reproduced the words are almost identical, but that the illustrative matter, digressions, and so forth are often different; in short, there is, the title notwithstanding, more diversity of *sentencia* than of *littera*.

I notice this inaccuracy of title because I doubt that Map intended this composition as a recapitulation. As the book stands now, the chapter has the place of an epilogue; but it fulfills the function of epilogue indifferently, for the theme which it recapitulates has not been developed in the work, but is confined to the introductory pages. It cannot be said that *De Nugis Curialium* as a whole is concerned with showing the wickedness and hardships of the court; on the contrary, a large part of Dist. v, as Dr. James observes, has for its "professed object . . . to show that modern times have produced heroes as remarkable as those of antiquity."⁸¹ These heroes are kings, counts, and

⁸⁰ DNC, James, p. 248.

⁸¹ DNC, James, p. xxix. This accurately describes the purpose of chapters i, ii, and v; chapters iii and iv may be included.

barons, many of whom Map had met during his courtly life; a eulogy of them is not a good approach to a comparison of the court to hell. It must be admitted that whoever put Map's fragments into their present order intended to round out the work by making it end where it had begun; but, in view of the circumstances which I have noted, the intention was unfortunate. I think this so-called *Recapitulacio* is probably nothing but an early draft of the composition that introduces the entire work.

There are other instances of repetition in *De Nugis Curialium*.²² The story of Edric Wilde and his son Alnod is told at length in Dist. II, and summarized briefly in Dist. IV, with an inconsistency as to the form of the tabu laid on Edric.²³ Likewise, the story of the Cluniac monk who embarked in temporal affairs and was slain is related in Dist. I and Dist. IV with inconsistencies of detail.²⁴ There is no reference in either case to the other narration of the same incidents.

More remarkable is the repetition of the *filii mortuae* story, which is in Dist. II and Dist. IV.²⁵ In the former place (p. 78, l. 5) the words, "ille Britonum de quo superius," refer unmistakably to the same story on pages 173-74. Here, it must be observed, pages 173-74 must not only have been written before page 78, but must also have been intended to precede page 78, so far as the author had a plan of arrangement. If Map had edited his fragments

²² Dist. I, cap. xxvi, xxviii recapitulate cap. xvi, xvii (DNC, James, pp. 25-27, 54-56); and the battle of Brenneville is treated on pp. 218 and 228. But these repetitions are within the limits of one composition, either written continuously, or arranged by Map from bits written at about the same time; the second occurrence in each case refers explicitly back to the former.

²³ DNC, James, pp. 75-77, 176, Dist. II, cap. xii, Dist. IV, cap. x.

²⁴ DNC, James, pp. 19-20, 172-73, Dist. I, cap. xiv, Dist. IV, cap. vii.

²⁵ Dist. II, cap. xiii, Dist. IV, cap. viii.

and arranged them for publication in their present order, he surely would have deleted the misleading reference cited above.

On page 59, there is another reference that should have been deleted. After a series of accounts of various religious orders, Map mentions the Knights of St. James, adding: "de quibus superius sermo decessit." There is, however, no other mention of them in *De Nugis Curialium*, and yet there is apparently no lacuna in the pages that treat of the religious orders.³⁶ Unquestionably Map wrote a chapter on the Knights of St. James, and it has disappeared. If Map wrote these accounts on separate sheets, and never combined them into a continuous treatise, the loss of exactly one chapter would not be surprising. After the combination into one composition, it is unlikely that the single chapter on the Knights of St. James could have vanished without taking with it a part of one or two other chapters. The chapter must have been lost before the fragments were compiled; yet the reference to it on page 59 was not removed, as Map would doubtless have done if he had been the final editor of his work.

In *De Nugis*, moreover, there are several incomplete chapters. The story of the Seneschal of France³⁷ barely begins before it stops short, though there is nothing in our manuscript to mark the lacuna. Similarly, the story of Earl Godwin breaks off in the very midst of a well-known motive,³⁸ that of a death-letter altered to the hero's ad-

³⁶ The composition is not continuous between the several articles throughout cap. xvi-xxviii (DNC, James, pp. 25-56) which deal with religious orders; with cap. xxviii, however, it becomes continuous, and is so through p. 59 (cap. xxx), where the above mentioned reference occurs.

³⁷ DNC, James, p. 102, Dist. II, cap. xxxi.

³⁸ DNC, James, p. 218, Dist. V, cap. iii-iv.

vantage; we have the tale complete in the *Vita Haroldi*.³⁹ At both these places, Dr. James infers that a leaf was lost in the archetype of our manuscript. It may be so; but is it not curious that in both cases the lost leaf ended exactly at the end of the chapter? For immediately after each of these abrupt breaks, there follows a title and a new chapter. The safer inference seems to be that two imperfect chapters were allowed to take place in the edited *De Nugis Curialium*.

Besides, it will be remembered that the first eighteen lines after the title *De origine Godwini comitis et eius moribus* are a fragment entirely unrelated to what follows,⁴⁰ and equally so to what precedes. Was there a lost leaf at the beginning of the Godwin story as well as at the end? I do not think it a safe explanation. All these imperfect fragments, it may be noted, are unconnected with their preceding context by any transitional device, and are not clearly related in theme.

Again, the chapter *De Andronico imperatore Constantinopolitano*⁴¹ is probably imperfect. It looks as if Map started to tell something about the mercenaries in Constantinople, made a digression on the degeneracy of the modern Greeks, and broke off without telling his anecdote. Dr. James is doubtless correct in assigning this chapter to a date after 1185;⁴² and since in that year Andronicus was assassinated, we should expect Map to have finished his account of that adventurous life. As in the former cases, this chapter is unlinked to its context; like them it is an isolated fragment thrust incomplete into the book.

³⁹ See Walter de Gray Birch, *Vita Haroldi (Life of King Harold)*, pp. 13-15, F. Michel, *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, v. II, pp. 152-54.

⁴⁰ See pp. 84 f., above.

⁴¹ DNC, James, pp. 85-87, Dist. II, cap. xviii.

⁴² DNC, James, p. xxv.

But of all the evidence that Walter Map did not give *De Nugis Curialium* its actual arrangement, I find the most convincing in the first chapters of Dist. iv, which have already claimed some attention. The first chapter, entitled *Prologus*, begins as a prologue might well begin, but does not lead up to anything; in fact its conclusion seems so abrupt to Dr. James that he suspects another imperfect chapter.⁴³ It was written, Map tells us, in June, 1183.⁴⁴ Chapter ii is entitled *Epilogus*; now this is a strange place for an epilogue, but the chapter begins more like an epilogue than any other in the book. It is necessary to summarize its contents.

Map declares that he has written "this little book" by snatches (*raptim*) in the court of Henry II, constraining the unwilling Muses. After the death of his master, he had mourned his loss for two years, but now at last he has come to realize how blest he is in his freedom from the arduous and distasteful duties of court attendance. Here the word "*quiete*" which he has used of his present life strikes him as ironical, and he deplores the anarchy that had followed Henry's death, declaring that literary lawlessness befits such times; therefore he will no longer shrink from unworthy entrance into the lists (the Muses cannot avenge themselves), and so he sends forth his "little book," well aware that the ungodly into whose hands it will come will scorn it without reading it. But, he declares, if it behooves him to jot down what occurs to him, he will insert here a letter that he once wrote to a friend who was on the brink of marriage.⁴⁵

Thereupon he gives the *Epistle of Valerius*, which, as we have noticed, is immediately followed with a passage, obviously written at the time that the letter was first inserted in the *De Nugis* materials, in which Map mentions

⁴³ DNC, James, p. 140, note.

⁴⁴ Cf. DNC, James, p. xxv.

⁴⁵ DNC, James, p. 142, ll. 11 ff.: "..... inuident priusquam uideant. Incidencia uero si notare fas est, incidit. Amicum habui, uirum uite philosophice, etc."

Gilbert Foliot as alive, though nearing the end of his days.⁴⁶ In this place I will merely state that the subsequent chapters as far, at least, as chapter xii (pp. 183-85) were clearly arranged into their sequence by Map himself; a detailed consideration will come later.

What, then, is the rationale of the arrangement of Dist. iv, cap. i-xii? First comes a "Prologus" that seems to justify its title, but ends abruptly and leads up to nothing. Next we have an "Epilogus" that begins epilogue-wise, but somehow becomes an introduction to a long series of chapters ingeniously linked together by the author. The *Prologus* may be dismissed; certainly it was not intended as a prologue to this *Distinctio*.

The *Epilogus* is more puzzling. If Map had edited cap. ii-xii, as they now stand, he could not have called cap. ii an epilogue. If, on the other hand, it was not so entitled in Map's manuscript, what scribe would have been mad enough to designate "Epilogus" a chapter in the very heart of the work? Necessarily we must infer that Map wrote the first part of the chapter as an epilogue to something, and himself inscribed the title above it. If he did so, he cannot be held responsible for the inclusion in this chapter of the paragraph that introduces the *Epistle of Valerius*.

As soon as one comprehends this, one realizes that the apparent continuity of this chapter is the result of chance, not of design. The passage beginning, "Incidencia uero si notare fas est,"⁴⁷ does not really cohere well with what now precedes it, but might just as well follow some other chapter in *De Nugis Curialium*. For example, let the reader place it after Dist. i, cap. xii (p. 19), and see how

⁴⁶ DNC, James, p. 159. Gilbert died in February, 1187.

⁴⁷ DNC, James, p. 142, ll. 12 ff.

well it fits. Hereafter I show reason for believing that it probably belongs there.

Let us review the evidence up to this point. Many of the titles in *De Nugis Curialium* are inserted by copyists; the deletion of these spurious titles would leave long passages inadequately divided into chapters, and would, in general, reduce the rubrication to such irregularity as to forbid the idea that the book was really edited. Two stories are repeated without cross reference, and with inconsistency of details. Another story appears twice with a reference from the first occurrence to the second, as if that preceded. Map refers to one chapter that was lost before the present arrangement of his work. The *Recapitulacio* at the end of *De Nugis* is not what its title professes; the title is probably unauthentic, and the chapter was not intended for the place it occupies. There are several incompleted compositions in the book which are not satisfactorily explained away by supposing lost leaves in the archetype of our manuscript. In two chapters alien matter is quite irrationally included. The first two chapters of Dist. iv, though entitled *Prologus* and *Epilogus*, have no connection whatever with the rest of the *Distinctio*. Later we shall find that there are other interruptions in the continuity of the thought, other chapters and groups of chapters unconnected with their context.

From all this it is evident that Walter Map left his materials in a fragmentary, at best half-edited, state, and that they were put together by some compiler with little effort to make them coherent. The book is not to be judged as a finished work. To understand it more thoroughly, we must ascertain, as far as possible, at what times the several coherent fragments were written, to what extent, and in what way, the author gave a partial order to his composition.

In a few instances, the date at which Map was writing can be determined precisely from references to contemporary events. In others, the limits, or a single limit, of time can be set. These data can be supplemented by an analysis of the book into fragments whose continuity of thought and explicit transitions from topic to topic show either that their composition was continuous, or that the chapters were arranged in order by the author. I have analyzed the book into twenty such fragments, some long, and some extremely short. These I will now take up in the order in which they stand in the manuscript.

FRAGMENT I

Dist. 1, cap. i-xii, pp. 1-19.¹

The first eighteen pages of *De Nugis Curialium* were written consecutively just as they now stand, except for a few interpolated lines which I shall consider shortly. Map begins with a parody on St. Augustine:² "I am in the court, I speak of the court, yet I know not, God knows, what the court is." Thereupon he tests the meaning of the term *curia* by definitions of *tempus*, *genus*, *fortuna*, and *infernus*. The last affords the most pleasing analogies, and accordingly Map elaborates the comparison at length, digressing occasionally, but ever returning to the same theme. His conclusion³ is that the court has decided resemblances to hell, but the King is not to blame, since only all-seeing God can discern the hearts of men and so control them. Hence all courts are unquiet, but the English court most

¹ Page references are to Dr. James's edition of *De Nugis*.

² See DNC, Wright, p. 1, note. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, xi, 25; Map quotes from memory freely, "In tempore sum et de tempore loquor, ait Augustinus, et adiecit, nescio quid sit tempus."

³ DNC, James, p. 12, Wright, p. 14.

harried and restless of all. Amid such disturbances, Map protests, he is bidden to write; a miracle is required of him. But he begins the next chapter (cap. xi) with the words: "Yet legends tell of one, and only one, court like this of ours." ⁴ The story of King Herla follows.

This story is a sort of *exemplum* to cap the foregoing dissertation. Its point of application comes properly at the end. After recounting the last appearance of Herla's host, which occurred in the first year of Henry II's reign, Map concludes: Moreover, these phantom travellers ceased from that hour, as if, to their own relief, they had turned over to us the curse of perpetual wandering; it would, you see, be better for you to enjoin silence on me, unless you wish to hear how deplorable is the lot of a courtier;—do you wish, though, to hear of some recent happenings? ⁵

The next chapter (cap. xii) begins: "A King of Portugal, who is now living and, after his fashion, still reigning, etc." ⁶ The story of this king is followed by further reflections on the wickedness and turbulence of courts, especially that of England, which is "*procellosa pre ceteris mater afflictionum et irarum nutrix*," ⁷ and on the impossibility of obtaining literary leisure in such surroundings. Under protest, Map consents to his friend's request, though contrasting his circumstances with the favorable situations of three contemporary authors, Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, and Baldwin, Bishop of Worcester: "*Hii temporis huius philosophi, quibus nichil deest, qui omni plenitudine refertam habent residenciam et pacem foris, recte ceperunt, finemque bonum consequuntur. Sed quo mihi portus, qui vix vaco vivere?*" ⁸

⁴ DNC, James, p. 13, ll. 13-14.

⁵ DNC, James, pp. 15-16.

⁶ DNC, James, p. 16, l. 4.

⁷ DNC, James, p. 17, ll. 31-32.

⁸ DNC, James, pp. 18-19.

Throughout these eighteen pages the thought is perfectly continuous. If Map had already written the stories of King Herla and of the King of Portugal, we must believe he made them over at the time when he wrote the introductory composition, since the accompanying moralizations continue directly the train of thought in the pages that precede. The transitions, so far, are natural and easy. At the end of these eighteen pages, however, there is a break in the thought; at that point a new fragment commences.

Throughout Fragment I, it is evident to the reader, Map's point of view is consistently that of an actual member of the court;⁹ and, since he tells us elsewhere that he withdrew from court-life when Henry II died,¹⁰ he must have written this Fragment before July, 1189. Even more precise limits are set by his reference to the three bishops who were writing at the same time as he;¹¹ that reference must have been made between August 10, 1180 and December 15, 1184.¹²

⁹ See particularly: *DNC*, James, p. 1, l. 6, "quod in curia sum"; p. 4, l. 11, "Quis ibi cruciatus qui non sit *hic* multiplicatus?" also ll. 14, 18, 28; p. 8, l. 16, p. 12, ll. 15 ff., Henry II, who is meant beyond doubt, is still alive; p. 13, ll. 1 ff.; p. 15, ll. 25-26, "anno primo coronacionis nostri regis Henrici," surely must refer to the reigning sovereign; p. 17, ll. 31-32, "Et tu inter has precipis poetari discordias."

¹⁰ *DNC*, James, p. 141, ll. 4-8.

¹¹ *DNC*, James, p. 18, ll. 20-30.

¹² Gilbert Foliot was Bishop of London from April 28, 1163, until his death, February 18, 1187 (*Radulphus de Diceto*, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, I, p. 309, II, p. 47, *Benedictus*, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, II, p. 5), Baldwin was Bishop of Worcester from August 10, 1180, to December 16, 1184, when he became Elect of Canterbury; Dr. James's date (p. xxiv) obviously refers to his consecration as archbishop, not to his election (cf. *Benedictus*, I, p. 321, *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, *Rolls Series*, I, p. 52, II, p. 241, IV, p. 384). Bartholomew was Bishop of Exeter from 1161 until his death, December 15, 1184 (*Diceto*, I, p. 304, *Annales Monastici*, I, p. 537, II, p. 243, IV, p. 385,

I have taken pains to make it clear, first, that this Fragment was written consecutively and in pursuance of a continuous train of thought, rather than pieced together, and, secondly, that it was written not only before the death of Henry II (1189), but before December 15, 1184, because it contains a later interpolation of a few lines, which misled Dr. James as to the date at which the whole context was composed.¹³ In the very midst of the introductory comparison of the court to hell, comes the following passage:

. . . . verumptamen venatores hominum, quibus iudicium est datum de uita uel de morte ferarum, mortiferi, comparacione quorum Minos est misericors, Radamantus rationem amans, Eacus equanimis. Nichil in his letum nisi letiferum. [Hos Hugo prior Selewude, iam electus Lincolnie, reperit repulsos ab hostio thalami regis, quos ut obiurgare uidit insolenter et indigne ferre, miratus ait: "Qui uos?" Responderunt: "Forestarii sumus." Ait illis: "Forestarii foris stent." Quod rex interius audiens risit, et exiuit obuiam ei. Cui prior: "Vos tangit hec parabola, quod, pauperibus quos hii torquent paradisiu ingressis, cum forestariis foris stabitis." Rex autem hoc uerbum serium habuit pro ridiculo, et ut Salomon excelsa non abstulit, forestarios non deleuit, sed adhuc nunc post mortem suam litant coram Leuiatan carnes hominum et sanguinem bibunt. Excelsa struunt, que nisi Dominus in manu forti non destruxerit non auferentur.] Hii dominum sibi presentem timent et placant, Deum quem non uident offendere non metuentes. Non dico quin multi uiri timorati, boni et iusti nobiscum inuoluantur in curia, nec quia aliqui sint n hac ualle miserie, iudices misericordie, sed secundum maiorem et insaniorem loquor aciem.¹⁴

Roger de Hoveden, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, II, p. 289, Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 31). Dr. James's dates are not quite accurate (p. xxiv).

¹³ I infer that Dr. James is misled from the following facts: in his table of "notes of time" in *De Nugis* (p. xxiv) he records none of the indications that Henry II was alive except that on p. 15, ll. 25-26, which he qualifies, "Possibly in Henry II's lifetime"; he does record the mention of Henry's death which occurs in the interpolated lines here under consideration; and on p. xxviii he expresses his opinion that Dist. IV is the earliest part of *De Nugis*.

¹⁴ DNC, James, p. 5, l. 16 to p. 6, l. 6.

Hugh was elect of Lincoln from May 24 to September 21, 1186;¹⁵ hence the incident here related happened at least two years after Map wrote the passage referring to the three literary bishops. Furthermore, the words, "nunc post mortem suam [sc. Henrici II]," show that this anecdote was written after July, 1189. Since all indications in the context lead to the conviction that it was written during the lifetime of Henry II, we see that the tale of St. Hugh and the foresters must have been inserted, perhaps marginally, several years after the completion of Fragment I.

I have bracketed the interpolated lines. If one compares the context with the corresponding part of the *Recapitulacio*¹⁶ (Dist. v, cap. vii), it will be observed that the words that here follow the interpolation are closely paraphrased, though there is nothing about foresters in the *Recapitulacio*. The bracketed lines may be omitted without breaking the continuity of the thought.

Thus we find that Fragment I, comprising the first eighteen pages of *De Nugis Curialium* (Dist. i, cap. i-xii), is a continuous and coherent composition, written between August 10, 1180 and December 15, 1184. It purports to be an introduction to the book which Map was planning, and cannot be reasonably regarded otherwise. Since, therefore, I show later that most of Dist. iv, was written about September, 1181, the time of composition of Frag-

¹⁵ *Radulphus de Diceto*, II, pp. 41-42, *Benedictus*, I, pp. 345, 353. The same anecdote is found in *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, Rolls Series, p. 176.

¹⁶ DNC, James, p. 253, ll. 26 ff.: "Et cum ipse fere solus in hac valle miserie iusticie sit minister acceptus, sub alis eius venditur et emitur. Ipsi tamen fit a ministris iniquis reuerencia maior quam Deo; quia quod ei non possunt abscondere recte facient inuit[at]i; quod autem Deo manifestum sciunt, peruertere non verentur; Deus enim serus est ultor, hic velox. Non in omnes loquor iudices, sed in maiorem et [in] insaniorem partem."

ment I may confidently be put between August 10, 1180, and September, 1181.

FRAGMENT II

Dist. I, cap. xiii-xiv, pp. 19-20

With cap. xii, the first fragment certainly ends.¹ Cap. xiii, begins abruptly, without indicating any connection in thought with the preceding chapter. On the other hand the transition from cap. xiii to cap. xiv is explicit, and the theme of these two chapters is identical; each tells the story of a monk who temporarily left the cloister. There is no sort of connection between cap. xiv and what follows. Fragment II, therefore, consists of only two chapters, Dist. I, cap. xiii and xiv.

Map here declares that Humbert de Beaujeu was at that time in conflict with his son.² But Humbert died in 1174.³ If these chapters, then, were written during his lifetime, they cannot have been intended for *De Nugis*. It seems rather likely that Map was mistaken, confusing Humbert with some other Burgundian baron. If so, this Fragment cannot be dated at all.

FRAGMENT III

Dist. I, cap. xv, pp. 21-25

Fragment III consists of a single rather long chapter, a lamentation over the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin. It

¹ Dr. James (p. xxvii) seems to force a connection: "The idea of 'making a good end' by retiring from the court to live in peace, suggests the stories of monks who left the cloister." There is in the text no indication of this; and since the ideas are directly contrary, I do not feel the force of Dr. James's suggestion.

² DNC, James, p. 19, ll. 4-5.

³ *Art de vérifier les dates des faits historiques, etc.*, ed. Saint-Allais, Paris, 1818-44, v. x, pp. 505-06.

has no mark of transition between it and either contiguous chapter, nor is it related in thought, but is a unit of composition, dissimilar in character to all the other chapters of *De Nugis Curialium*. Apparently it was written very soon after the news of Jerusalem's fall reached England, that is, in October or November, 1187.¹ Evidently, then, this Fragment belongs in its present place neither by virtue of its time of composition, nor by logical connection. Such conditions discredit the notion that Map himself edited and published *De Nugis Curialium*.

FRAGMENT IV

Dist. I, cap. xvi-xxxii, pp. 25-63

Unlike the first three Fragments, the fourth Fragment was not continuously written, but was pieced together from a number of chapters which, though composed individually, follow a common plan. Map apparently began a sort of encyclopedia of religious orders; naturally the several articles are not linked together by any transitional devices. He wrote up the Carthusians (cap. xvi), the Grandimontensians (cap. xvii), the Templars (a long account, now divided by several chapter titles, xviii-xxii, but perfectly continuous), the Hospitalers (cap. xxiii), and the Cistercians (cap. xxiv). At this point is inserted a long chapter entitled *Incidencia magistri Gauteri Mahap demonachia* (cap. xxv, pp. 40-54), which, I believe, was not originally intended for *De Nugis Curialium*, but was an independent lampoon on the Cistercians, later taken into

¹ *Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series, I, pp. 388-89, says the news of the capture of Jerusalem reached the Pope before his death, which befell October 19, 1187, and "in brevi" the news of both events came to England.

the *De Nugis* materials, as was the *Epistle of Valerius*; it does not directly continue cap. xxiv, but is quite properly placed where it stands.

The next chapter (cap. xxvi) recurs to the Grandimontensian order, referring back explicitly to the former treatment. A similar "recapitulation" of the Carthusians is taken up in cap. xxviii. Between these two, there now stands a brief article on the order of Sempringham, which may have got out of place. If it were removed, we should find that with cap. xxvi, Map began to write straight ahead on whatever topic occurred, or was suggested to him by what he had already written; for cap. xxvi, begins, "Et hos religionis cultus nouitas adiuuenit; est etiam alia, ut supradictum est, Grandimontensium secta,"¹ and cap. xxviii, begins, "Iterum, est alius modus, ut predictum est, in Griseuoldano repertus."²

In this chapter, as Dr. James observes, "there is a marked and sudden break. After a single sentence about the Carthusians, Map says in effect: 'After all, all the numerous ways of following the simple life in the externals seem ineffective. King Henry dresses splendidly, but is humble of heart.' This mention of Henry II suggests the topic of that King's zeal against heretics. Heretics are the topic of the next few pages."³ The chapters on heretic sects (cap. xxix-xxxi) are followed by an anecdote of three phenomenally pious hermits, which, Dr. James declares, is "dragged in rather awkwardly."⁴ Truly it is so, but there can be no doubt that Map alone is responsible; the concluding words of the chapter on the Waldenses, "quia caritas perfecta que celestis est foras mittit timorem,"⁴

¹ DNC, James, p. 54, ll. 10-11.

² DNC, James, p. 56, ll. 2-3.

³ DNC, James, p. xxviii.

⁴ DNC, James, p. 62, ll. 16-17.

suggested the hermits to Map, for he closes their story, and the *Distinctio*, with the same Biblical quotation.⁵

In Fragment IV there are several indications of date. The whole was composed in the lifetime of Henry II, who is directly referred to as alive in three of the chapters.⁶ In one chapter Gilbert of Sempringham is said to be alive;⁷ this moves the *terminus* back a few months, to February 3, 1189. The stories of the Templars must have been written before the fall of Jerusalem, October 2, 1187, since Map, commenting on their vow of poverty, declares that "they are poor nowhere but at Jerusalem."⁸ In view of Map's affectionate regard for Gilbert Foliot, I do not believe he would have mentioned his name, as he does,⁹ in the year 1187 without expressing regret at the venerable man's death, which came on February 18, 1187. That date, then, may be taken for the latest limit of the composition. Cap. xxv, mentions the capture and sack of Limoges, which occurred in June, 1183;¹⁰ but I have already stated my belief that this chapter may have been written independently of the rest of Fragment IV. If so, we have no early limit for the Fragment as a whole.

⁵ DNC, James, p. 63, l. 16.

⁶ DNC, James, p. 55, ll. 9 ff.; p. 56, ll. 10 ff., and ll. 19 ff.; cap. xxvi, xxviii, xxix.

⁷ DNC, James, p. 55, l. 20.

⁸ DNC, James, p. 30, l. 15. A few lines below Map writes of the loss of territory by the crusaders, but does not mention the loss of Jerusalem.

⁹ DNC, James, p. 39, l. 8.

¹⁰ DNC, James, p. 47, ll. 3-10. Judged by the chroniclers, Map exaggerates the looting, which was probably small compared with that suffered at the hands of the Young Henry and Geoffrey of Brittany; no other event of Henry's reign, however, can be here referred to. See *Benedictus*, Rolls Series, I, p. 303, *Geoffrey of Vigois* in Labbé, *Novae Bibliothecae*, Paris, 1657, II, pp. 332-37, and F. Marvadt, *Histoire des vicomtes de Limoges*, I, pp. 244-57.

FRAGMENT V

Dist. II, cap. i-xvi, pp. 64-80

Distinctio II opens with a formal prologue, in which Map contrasts the "victory of the flesh" with the "triumph of the spirit." He declares that he has written heretofore two instances of God's judgment and mercy, which have not afforded delight, but rather have proved tedious; his readers clamor for fables of the poets and the like, but they shall be disappointed, for awhile at least, since he proposes to relate first a few miracles. The two instances of God's mercy and judgment cannot be identified in the preceding Fragment, or the preceding *Distinctio*. For this reason, and because there is absolutely no explicit transition, I feel sure that this prologue begins a new Fragment.¹

Map proceeds with two miracles witnessed by himself (cap. ii-iii), the second of which was wrought by Peter of Tarentaise. Accordingly, Map relates other miracles of Peter about which he had only heard (cap. iv-v). The last of these was accomplished through confession and penance; it suggests another miracle wrought by similar means (cap. vi). So far, there is perfect continuity of composition. The next chapter (cap. vii), *De Luca Hungaro*, I believe, was inserted somewhat later; for the present let me pass over it.

Cap. viii, *De indiscreta devotione Walensium*, which alone of cap. ii-ix does not relate a miracle, catches up the phrase, "zelum secundum scientiam," which Map had used

¹ Dr. James writes (p. xxviii): "The story of three remarkable hermits, dragged in rather awkwardly, leads over into Distinctio II, whereof the first seven chapters deal with good men of his own time." There is nothing, however, to indicate this connection; formally the breach is perfect.

in cap. vi,² and begins thus: "In omni gente, ut alias dicitur, qui timet Deum acceptus est ei. Rarus in Walensibus nostris est *timor Dei secundum scientiam*." ³ Once among the Welsh, Map recalls two miracles of wild Wales (cap. ix-x), and then expressly abandons the topic of religious wonders for the more enticing field of Celtic legend (cap. xi).⁴ Probably soon after this he wrote cap. vii, *De Luca Hungaro*, and inserted it just before the Welsh tales, thus breaking the sole, and tenuous, link between that series and the preceding.

In cap. xi, as we have noticed, Map turns to Celtic legend and relates the story of Wastin and his fairy wife. That leads on through a series of similar tales (cap. xi-xvi), all dealing with *fantasmata*, as Map calls such supernatural phenomena. All except cap. xiv, which, being a witch story, is quite proper to its context, distinctly refer to each other, or to the general topic of the series. The chapters that follow, however, have not the slightest connection; hence I take cap. xvi, as the end of Fragment V.

For this Fragment we can fix a *terminus a quo* at some time in 1182, when Jean aux blanches mains became Archbishop of Lyons.⁵ In addition to this, there is a reference on p. 78 to a story now found in Dist. iv, cap. viii.⁶ It is likely, therefore, that Fragment V was composed soon after that chapter, while Map's recollection was clear. Since I hereafter date that chapter (in Fragment XIV) about September, 1181, we may infer that the present Fragment was written very near its *terminus a quo*, that is, within the year 1182.

² DNC, James, p. 68, ll. 17-18.

³ DNC, James, p. 71, ll. 4-6.

⁴ DNC, James, p. 72, l. 24: "Aliud non miraculum sed portentum Walenses referunt."

⁵ DNC, James, p. 65, l. 29: Cf. *Gallia Christiana*, II, col. 1180.

⁶ DNC, James, p. 78, l. 5: "et ille Britonum de quo superius."

FRAGMENTS VI, VII, VIII

Dist. II, cap. xvii, xviii, xix, pp. 81-85, 85-87, 87-89

The next three Fragments are the three stories of Gado, of Andronicus, and of Gillescop. They are mutually unconnected, and have no special appropriateness for the position they occupy, since they are not related in subject, either to each other, or to the adjacent Fragments, and furthermore they are longer and more elaborate than the stories of Fragment V, and of Fragment IX, which follows them. Only one of them can be dated; Fragment VII (Andronicus Comnenus), was written certainly after 1183, the date of the last incident related, and probably after 1185, since Lucius III appears to be no longer Pope.¹

FRAGMENT IX

Dist II, cap. xx-xxx, xxxii, pp. 80-103

Fragment IX begins abruptly with some observations on Welsh character. The composition is unbroken through cap. xx-xxiii. The next four chapters (cap. xxiv-xxvii), though not linked by transitional phrases, continue smoothly the train of thought; all the stories so far are of Wales. The last mentioned chapter, however, relates a vampire tale, introducing a topic of sufficient interest to divert Map from the Welsh; he tells of another vampire on English soil (cap. xxviii), then of a demonic manifestation of which he had read "in the book of Turpin" (cap. xxix), and finally of a harmless ghost (cap. xxx). I pass over cap. xxxi, temporarily; cap. xxxii, is a brief epilogue:

¹ Dnc, James, p. xxv, note to p. 86, l. 14: "usque ad tempora Lucii pape, qui Alexandro pape tercio successit."

Silum uobis et materiam, non dico fabularum, sed faminum appono: cultui enim sermonum non intendo, nec si studeam consequar; singuli lectores appositam ruditatem exculpan, ut eorum industria bona facie prodeat in publicam. Venator vester sum, feras uobis affero, fercula faciatis.

This is suitable enough for the short stories of Fragment IX; it is not appropriate to the whole of Dist. II, in which we find the more elaborate stories of Gado, Andronicus, and Gillescop.

In Fragment IX there are two notes of time: Gilbert Foliot is said to be "nunc" Bishop of London,¹ and reference is made back to the time of Roger, Bishop of Worcester.² Thus the limits are set at August 9, 1179 and February 17, 1187.

FRAGMENT X

Dist. II, cap. xxxi, p. 106

Fragment X is the incomplete story of the Seneschal of France, which in some way has slipped in after cap. xxx. It has no relation to the preceding chapters, but, like the lines on omens at the beginning of the story of Earl Godwin,¹ attained its position by accident.

FRAGMENT XI

Dist. III, pp. 104-37

Fragment XI comprises the entire third *Distinctio*, which in marked contrast to Dist. II appears to have been written in a leisurely and careful manner. It has unity and balance beyond any other part of *De Nugis Curialium*.

¹ DNC, James, p. 99, ll. 27-28.

² DNC, James, p. 100, l. 19. cf. *Benedictus*, I, p. 243, *Diceto*, I, p. 432, *Annales Monastici*, I, p. 52.

³ See pp. 89 f., above.

A formal prologue introduces the romance of Sadius and Galo (cap. ii), which holds up to admiration the virtue of loyalty in friendship. Over against it is expressly set¹ the story of the envious disloyalty that disrupted the friendship of Parius and Lausus (cap. iii). At the end of that chapter Map declares that both those tales are of ancient days; he will now endeavor to please with anecdotes of modern events.² Accordingly he narrates the dire consequences of Raso's injudicious confidence in his wife (cap. iv), and balances against that³ the more fortunate outcome of Rollo's magnanimous trust (cap. v). Nothing but a formal epilogue is lacking to make a perfectly symmetrical book.

In the Prologue, Map says that men who are engaged in the cares of state often delight to lay aside their burdens, and bend to conversation with the humble, refreshing themselves with light, amusing talk; hence he hopes his book will entertain.⁴ From this, one would infer that he was writing for someone of importance in state affairs, perhaps for the King himself. A few lines below, however, he refers to a request that he write a book, in almost identical terms which he used in Fragment I of his friend "Geoffrey's" request.⁵ In the next chapter, moreover, Map declares that Sadius was, in all respects, "qualem te uelles fieri";⁶ here he seems to be writing for a young lad just approaching manhood. There is no doubt, however, that the Prologue goes with the story of Sadius; for it introduces a key-note sentence, "Acetum in nitro qui cantat

¹ DNC, James, p. 122, ll. 20-22.

² DNC, James, p. 134, l. 31.

³ DNC, James, p. 130, ll. 19-20.

⁴ DNC, James, p. 104, ll. 3-5.

⁵ DNC, James, p. 104, ll. 13-14: "Scribere iubes posteris exempla quibus uel jocunditas excitetur uel edificetur ethica." Cf. p. 18, ll. 15-16: "ut recitacio placeat et ad mores tendat instructio."

⁶ DNC, James, p. 105, ll. 8-9.

carmina cordi pessimo," that is re-echoed twice in the romantic tale that follows.⁷ Perhaps if we knew who Geoffrey was, the riddle of these apparently conflicting indications would be solved; as matters stand, I can do nothing. There is no other evidence of time in this Fragment.

FRAGMENT XII

Dist. iv, cap. i, pp. 138-40

The so-called *Prologus* to Dist. iv constitutes Fragment XII. Whether it is in itself incomplete, as Dr. James thinks,¹ or not, this chapter, which seems so like a real prologue, does not connect with anything else in *De Nugis Curialium*. Map wrote it, as he declares, in that eventful month, June, 1183;² evidently he did not find an opportunity to continue his composition at that time. The chapter owes its position to the compiler.

FRAGMENT XIII

Dist. iv, cap. iia, p. 140—p. 142, l. 12

Fragment XIII consists of cap. ii, as far as the words, "inuidēt priusquam uideant" (p. 142, l. 12). I have already shown the necessity for dividing this chapter into two parts, the first of which is a genuine epilogue, and the second an introduction to the *Epistle of Valerius*.¹ The epilogue portion, that is, Fragment XIII, was written two years after the death of Henry II,²—about July, 1191.

⁷ DNC, James, p. 104, ll. 19-20; p. 106, l. 1; p. 122, l. 18.

¹ DNC, James, p. 140, note to l. 25.

² DNC, James, p. 139, ll. 2-4, and p. xxv.

³ See pp. 85 f., 91 f., above.

⁴ DNC, James, p. 141, ll. 4-6.

FRAGMENT XIV

Dist. iv, cap. iib—xvi, pp. 142-94

With the lines that introduce the *Epistle of Valerius*,¹ begins Fragment XIV, which extends throughout the rest of Dist. iv. The *Epistle*, Map tells us, was not originally written for *De Nugis Curialium*,² and it had attained considerable popularity before he began that work.³ When he decided to include the earlier composition in his new book, he wrote the brief explanatory introduction,⁴ and the chapter that follows the *Epistle*,⁵ in which he berates contemporary critics, especially those who had spoken ill of Gilbert Foliot. At the end of the chapter, however, Map suddenly declares that *now* those critics are beginning to repent,⁶ and says they deserve to undergo either the penalty of Empedocles, or the penance of Eudo. Thus the story of Eudo (cap. vi), is dragged in.

The story of Eudo, in its conclusion, raises the question of unusual penances and of salvation under exceptional conditions; to illustrate this, Map tells about a monk of Cluny who engaged in military affairs, and died without regular confession. The story begins, "Queri eciam potest de salute monachi Cluniacensis."⁷ The next chapter (cap. viii) begins, "Quia de mortibus quarum iudicia dubia sunt incidit oracio";⁸ the story (*Filii Mortuae*) is not very apt and leads the author off to the entirely different subject of marriages with supernatural beings. Cap. ix-xi continue that topic, and cap. xii, which is explicitly linked to cap. xi,⁹

¹ DNC, James, p. 142, ll. 12-30.⁵ DNC, James, p. 157, ll. 20-30.² *Ibid.*⁷ DNC, James, p. 172, l. 3.³ DNC, James, p. 158, ll. 7 ff.⁸ DNC, James, p. 173, l. 29.⁴ DNC, James, p. 142, ll. 12-30.⁹ DNC, James, p. 183, ll. 7-8.⁶ Cap. v, pp. 158-59.

although not of the same type as the preceding stories, recounts a monstrous instance of necrophilia that may have been, in Map's opinion, analogous to marriage with fairies or other demonic creatures.

The connection of this with the next chapter (cap. xiii), *De Nicholao Pipe homine equoreo*, is not so apparent; but is nevertheless discernible. As the whirlpool in the Gulf of Satalia suggested Charybdis to Map (p. 185, l. 13), so Charybdis suggested Nicolaus Pipe, who was associated with the neighboring straits in medieval legend.¹⁰ Thus Map goes from one wonder to another, until he is led away to a new invective against the court, which ends: "Arise, then, let us go hence, for amid the works of him whom we renounced in baptism, we have no leisure to appease, or to please, God. Here every man is either 'marrying a wife, or proving yokes of oxen.' Harken how Salius shunned such excuses."¹¹

Accordingly we have the story of Salius (cap. xiv), which repeats at its end, "He did not 'marry a wife,' or 'prove oxen'";¹² and cap. xv, makes from that text a strikingly artificial induction: "But Alan Rebrit . . . married a wife under unfavorable auspices."¹² The story of Alan rambles through the intrigues, murders, and wars of two generations, and is at last given a pretense of unity by the declaration that all these ills were the fruit of avarice, which vice, Map proceeds, was also the seed of dissension between Sceva and Ollo,¹³ whose story follows, and ends Dist. iv and, with it, Fragment XIV.

* See F. Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia*, Hannover, 1856, pp. 11-12, H. Ullrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tauchersage*, Dresden, 1884, *Mélusine*, II, pp. 223-30, Schnorr's *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte* (1886), XIV, pp. 69-102, etc.

¹¹ DNC, James, p. 188, ll. 6-10.

¹² DNC, James, p. 189, ll. 4-7.

¹³ DNC, James, p. 197, ll. 14-19.

Thus, throughout this miscellaneous composition, Fragment XIV, we find a distinct thread of continuity,—continuity of such a curious sort that, I am convinced, it must be the result of continuous composition under the guidance of Walter Map's vagrant and unfettered fancy; I would not willingly think that any man had taken pains to put this patchwork together from independently written chapters. Since it appears that cap. xi was written in September, 1181,¹⁴ we may, therefore, take this as the date of composition for the entire Fragment XIV.

FRAGMENT XV

Dist. v, cap. i-ii, pp. 203-06

Fragment XV consists of the prologue to Dist. v and the anecdotes of Appollonides in cap. ii. In the prologue, Map declares that the heroes of ancient days live in our memory by virtue of the epics which celebrate their deeds, while modern heroes are rewarded only with oblivion. Perhaps our times, he says, have something not unworthy of the buskin of Sophocles; but authors are not honored, and poetry declines. Caesar survives in the praises of Lucan, Aeneas in those of Maro; the divine nobility of Charlemagnes and Pepins is celebrated only in the vulgar rhythms of mimes; and of present Caesars no one sings at all.¹

To supply the lack, Map apparently determined to show by examples that there was epic material in the twelfth century, if one would only look for it. The chapter on "Appollonides" affords a curious indication of the plan

¹⁴ Dnc, James, p. 183, ll. 2-5: "et nunc hodie a Romanis electus est Lucius papa, etc."; *hodie* must, of course, refer to the arrival of the news. The election was on September 1, 1181.

¹ Dnc, James, p. 203.

originally conceived for presenting these stories of his contemporaries. Appollonides is called a "King in the western parts," who was known and hated by Walter Map.² Obviously the name is fictitious; doubtless some Welsh chief is meant, since the cattle-raid is more consonant with the martial adventures of Wales than of any other nation with whose rulers Map was acquainted well enough to feel personal hatred.³ At the end of the first anecdote, Map exclaims: "Hoc ercle dictum et factum stilo dignum Homeri censeo, et me tam eleganti materia indignum."⁴ Similar references to the theme of the prologue of this Fragment are found also in Fragment XVIII.⁵

FRAGMENT XVI

Dist. v, cap. iiii, p. 206, l. 10—p. 207, l. 3

Fragment XVI consists of the lines on the omens of the several captures of Jerusalem, which have been included erroneously in cap. iii of Dist. v. These lines were probably written soon after the fall of Jerusalem, but long enough thereafter for the memorial couplet¹ on that year to become current, let us say, early in 1188.

¹ DNC, James, p. 205, l. 4, p. 206, l. 1.

² Dr. James, p. 269, suggests that Appollonides is "possibly Henry II," or some other "King (of England or France) contemporary with Map." The reviewer in the *Athenaeum* (February 16, 1915, p. 116) prefers William the Lion, or the Count of Flanders; and Dr. Webb, in the *Classical Review* (xxix, pp. 121-23), prefers Richard I. The difficulty with all these is in Map's words, "Hunc regem uidi et noui et odi," and in the cattle-driving.

³ DNC, James, p. 205, ll. 19-20.

⁴ DNC, James, p. 226, ll. 30 ff.; p. 220, ll. 24-26.

⁵ DNC, James, p. 206, ll. 15-16.

FRAGMENT XVII

Dist. v, cap. iiib-iv, pp. 207-18

Fragment XVII is the story of Earl Godwin. It was probably not written as a part of Map's celebration of modern heroes; for elsewhere Map restricts *modernitas* to the twelfth century.¹ It will be noticed, moreover, that in Fragment XV Map distinguishes between the fate of the great men of the earlier middle ages, and of those of his own time: Aeneas had his Vergil, Caesar his Lucan, Charlemagne a nameless mime, but Henry II has no one to sing his praise. In Fragment XVIII, the incidents related of Henry I, Louis VI, Louis VII, Theobald of Blois, and others, are such as Map might have witnessed himself, or have heard from someone who had witnessed them. The story of Earl Godwin in this Fragment XVII, however, is made up from a mass of tradition that had assumed a thoroughly romantic character. It is, nevertheless, not improbable that Map put this Fragment (and also Fragment XIX) together with the modern heroes Fragments after he had lost his first enthusiasm for demonstrating the epic quality of twelfth-century life.

FRAGMENT XVIII

Dist. v, cap. v, pp. 218-32

Fragment XVIII consists of the series of anecdotes chiefly about Henry I, Louis VI, and Louis VII which are found in Dist. v, cap. v. The composition is continuous, and the entire chapter seems to have been written in one

¹ DNG, James, p. 59, ll. 17-19: "Nostra dico tempora, modernitatem hanc, horum scilicet centum annorum curriculum, cuius adhuc nunc ultime partes extant."

piece. There are in it two references to the theme of the prologue of Fragment XV; on page 220, lines 24-26, "Meliori stilo plurimoque sermone dignus esset rex iste; sed de modernis est, nec ei fecit auctoritatem antiquitas"; and on pages 226-27, "Hec forte frivola sunt et magnis inepta paginis, sed meis satis apta scedulis, mihiq̃ uidentur stilo meo maiora." By reason of these indications, I feel sure that Fragments XV and XVIII were written at about the same time, as a part of a single attempt to celebrate contemporary heroes. This Fragment was clearly written during the reign of Henry II;¹ it cannot be dated more precisely than that.

FRAGMENT XIX

Dist. v, cap. vi, pp. 232-48

Fragment XIX consists of the sixth chapter of Dist. v, which, I feel sure, was written at one time, after the death of Henry II, probably as late as the year 1193.¹ It is thus

¹ DnC, James, p. 218, ll. 12-13: "Henricus rex Anglie, pater matris eius Henrici qui nunc regnat"; cf. p. 219, l. 3, p. 232, ll. 9-10 (Henry II is meant, and must be alive, or he would not be mentioned thus indefinitely).

¹ DnC, James, p. 237, ll. 11-12; Map's statement that Henry II reigned 36 years is incorrect, but the important point is that Henry was dead. DnC, p. 238, ll. 17-21, Geoffrey now Archbishop of York, i. e. 1191, or later; the great quarrel with his canons came in 1193, cf. *Roger de Hoveden*, Rolls Series, I, pp. 222-31. DnC, p. 241, ll. 9-14, assassination of Conrad de Montferrat (April 28, 1192, cf. *Radulphus de Diceto*, II, p. 104), and the accusations against Richard Cœur de Lion. DnC, p. 241, ll. 15 ff.; Dr. James, p. xxvi, declares, "Henry II seems to be still living"; but I should say that "fuit" in l. 16 sets the time of composition after Henry's death, the subsequent present tenses being pictorial. DnC, p. 246, ll. 18 ff.; Dr. James p. xxvi, thinks Geoffrey is "perhaps not yet Archbishop"; but, p. 246, l. 20, "ut est pretactum" refers back to p. 238, where he was called Archbishop.

the latest of all the compositions which compose *De Nugis Curialium*. In tone it differs markedly from the preceding Fragment; for, so far from eulogizing contemporary royalty, there is scarcely one royal personage unscathed in this chapter. William Rufus is not unfairly termed "regum pessimus";² Stephen is "industria preclarus, ad cetera fere idiota,"³ Henry II has his faults plainly set down, along with his virtues;⁴ and his favorite son, Geoffrey fitz Roy, is the object of the most insulting contempt.⁵ Matilda is characterized as "bonorum in medio pessima,"⁶ and Eleanor has old scandals rudely revived.⁷ Only Henry I appears to have been admired thoroughly by Walter Map,⁸ though Henry II, despite his faults, is declared to have been "in all respects lovable."⁹ When Map wrote this Fragment, he had forgotten the purpose that animated him in writing Fragments XV and XVIII.

FRAGMENT XX

Dist. v, cap. vii, pp. 248-55

Fragment XX is the so-called *Recapitulacio principii huius libri*, which I have already¹ declared to be probably a first draft of the introductory composition of *De Nugis*. Except for the title there is no explicit reference to Fragment I, which we should expect if this were really a recapitulation. It is clear that Fragment XX was written before the death of Henry II,² therefore before Fragments XIII

² DNC, James, p. 232, l. 12.

³ DNC, James, p. 238, l. 28.

⁴ DNC, James, p. 236, l. 25.

⁵ DNC, James, p. 237, ll. 5-8.

⁶ DNC, James, p. 241, ll. 15 ff.

⁷ DNC, James, pp. 234-36.

⁸ DNC, James, pp. 238, 246-48.

⁹ DNC, James, p. 241, l. 25.

¹ See pp. 87 f., above.

² DNC, James, pp. 248-49, Map still a courtier; so also, p. 251, l. 5; pp. 253-55, Henry II is referred to repeatedly in the present tense.

and XIX; hence this was certainly not Map's finishing touch, and if Fragment XIII ("Epilogus") is really an epilogue to *De Nugis* as a whole, it supplants the earlier written Fragment XX. This Fragment, it appears further, was written after the appointment of Ranulf de Glanville as Chief Justice, which occurred about April, 1180.^a

These twenty Fragments, as we have seen, vary greatly in length and in character. Fragments X and XVI consist merely of a few lines each, with which Map began a chapter that he presumably never completed. Fragments I, XVIII, XIX, and probably XIV, are continuous, but miscellaneous, compositions of some length, and Fragment XI is a well-balanced *Distinctio* in its entirety. The other Fragments range between these extremes.

In absence of any final arrangement by the author, all that we can do further is to determine, as far as possible, the order in which the several Fragments were composed, and so shape our conception of how the work developed. From what has been noticed of the casual manner in which Map wanders from one topic to another even while he is writing straight ahead, it is clear that he was not restrained by a definite plan; he wrote willingly upon whatever occurred to his mind, careless of the drift of his discourse. Indeed he shows a marked tendency to repeat a phrase, or a notion, that catches his fancy, and often makes such a slight matter the starting point of a new train of thought. Recurrences of phrases and ideas may, then, assist us in grouping together some of the larger Fragments, and so, perhaps, enable us to fix their dates more precisely.

^a DNC, James, p. 253, l. 7; cf. *Roger de Hoveden*, II, p. 215, R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*, p. 231.

The earliest date of composition that has been exactly determined is September, 1181, when, I believe, the whole of Fragment XIV was written.⁴ It is probable, however, that Fragment I, whose time limits are August 10, 1180, and December 15, 1184, was actually written first; it is such a formal introduction as an author would naturally begin with, and, since I have explained the misleading indication of late composition in the brief interpolation, there is nothing to forbid our believing Fragment I the earliest thing written specifically for *De Nugis Curialium*. Its earlier time limit, August 10, 1180, prevents us from putting it long before Fragment XIV.

If, moreover, we assume that Fragments I and XIV were both written at about the same time, we find confirmation for that hypothesis. The conceit that Herla's court obtained rest by giving over the curse of ceaseless wandering to the court of Henry II is briefly stated in Fragment I (p. 15, ll. 25-30), and elaborated in Fragment XIV (p. 186, ll. 17-19, 27 ff.).⁵ Likewise Fragment XIV contains an elaboration of the tribute to Gilbert Foliot in Fragment I (p. 18, ll. 20-27, cf. p. 158, l. 28—p. 159, l. 19),⁶ and in the same connection in both Fragments Map expresses the same opinion of contemporary judgment, and humorously declines to purchase fame by dying (p. 18, ll. 10-13, p. 158, ll. 10-11).⁷ Of less significance, but possibly worth adding, a quotation from Ovid, "res est ingeniosa dare," is found

⁴ Here and throughout the following discussion, the evidence for the dating may be readily ascertained by reference to my analysis of the Fragment in the preceding pages; hence I spare repetition in footnotes.

⁵ For the convenience of readers who happen to have only the old edition of *De Nugis Curialium*, I will give references in footnotes to Wright. Dnc, Wright, p. 17, ll. 10-15, p. 180, ll. 9-11, 18 ff.

⁶ Dnc, Wright, p. 19, ll. 32 ff., p. 153, ll. 19 ff.

⁷ Dnc, Wright, p. 19, ll. 24-28, p. 153, ll. 1-2.

in both these Fragments, but not elsewhere in *De Nugis* (p. 6, l. 23, p. 202, l. 13).⁸ Taken together, these echoes of Fragment I in Fragment XIV furnish some ground for thinking that the latter was written while the fancies of the former still possessed the author's mind.

I am inclined even to surmise that Fragment XIV was written directly after the completion of Fragment I. The stories of King Herla and of the King of Portugal (Dist. 1, cap. xi-xii) both proceed out of protestations that the author is in no position to write a book; he protests, and then says, in effect: "But if you insist, I will add this," whereupon we get another chapter. In the same manner the chapter on the King of Portugal ends with a repetition of Map's protestations, which concludes with the words, "*Sed quo mihi portus, qui vix vaco viuere?*"⁹ Fragment XIV begins: "*Incidentia vero si notare fas est, incidit.*"¹⁰ Something once preceded this opening; it was not Fragment XIII, for that was not written until 1191. In the nature of things we can only surmise; but I surmise that Fragment XIV was written as a sequel to Fragment I. Hence I date both Fragments about September, 1118.

I find it convenient to treat Fragments IV and V together, since each contains repetitions from the other and from Fragments I and XIV. Fragment V has a *terminus a quo* at some time in the year 1182. There is no certain *terminus a quo* for Fragment IV, since Dist. 1, cap. xxv, which was written after June, 1183, may very probably have been inserted in the already completed Fragment, as I have already admitted.

Let us consider the repetitions. In Fragment I and in Fragment V there is a description of Pan which is clearly

⁸ DNO, Wright, p. 8, l. 20, p. 194, l. 21.

⁹ DNO, James, p. 19, ll. 1-2, Wright, p. 20, ll. 12-13.

¹⁰ DNO, James, p. 142, ll. 12-13, Wright, p. 142, ll. 9-10.

made up of reminiscences from the comment of Servius on the second eclogue of Vergil (p. 13, ll. 17-20, p. 79, ll. 28 ff.).¹¹ In Fragment I and in Fragment IV, there is, in different context, but in the same incorrectly remembered form, a phrase taken from Porphyrius's definition of *genus* (p. 1, ll. 13-14, p. 41, l. 30).¹² In the same Fragments I and IV Map advances the notion that hypocrites are always sad, and the godly joyous (p. 2, l. 11, p. 63, l. 15).¹³

There are in Fragments IV and V more frequent echoes of Fragment XIV, as is natural if that was written later than Fragment I. The phrase, "zelum secundum scientiam," was persistently in Map's mind for awhile. It is found in Fragment XIV (p. 171, ll. 22-23), and in Fragment V (p. 68, ll. 17-18), which also has, "timor Domini secundum scientiam" (p. 71, ll. 5-6); and in Fragment IV, I suspect, Map was thinking of it when he wrote, "nescio quo zelo ductis" (p. 61, l. 19).¹⁴ The phrase is not found again in the later Fragments. Furthermore, in Fragment V Map refers back to a story he had related in Fragment XIV (p. 78, l. 5, p. 173, ll. 29 ff.);¹⁵

¹¹ DNC, Wright, p. 15, ll. 2-6, p. 84, ll. 3-6. Servius on Vergil, Ecl. II, 31; "Nam Pan deus est rusticus in naturae similitudinem formatus, unde et Pan dictus est, id est omne: habet enim cornua in radorum solis et cornuum lunae similitudinem; rubet eius facies ad aetheris imitationem; in pectore nebridem habet stellatam ad stellarum imaginem; pars eius inferior hispida est propter arbores, virgulta, feras; caprinos pedes habet, ut ostendat terrae soliditatem, etc." This is quoted by medieval mythologists, cf. A. Mai, *Classioi Auctores e Vaticanis Codicibus*, III, pp. 46, 102. For tracing the source of Map's description, I am indebted to Dr. James.

¹² DNC, Wright, p. 2, ll. 1-2, p. 45, ll. 10-11. See Wright's note on p. 1, in which he shows how Map has confused two sentences in Boethius's translation of Porphyrius.

¹³ DNC, Wright, p. 3, l. 1, p. 67, l. 12.

¹⁴ DNC, Wright, p. 165, ll. 34 ff., p. 72, ll. 20-21, p. 75, l. 12, p. 65, l. 26.

¹⁵ DNC, Wright, p. 82, ll. 12-13, p. 168, ll. 1-2.

this is the only instance in *De Nugis Curialium* of a reference from one Fragment to another, and, I believe, it indicates that Fragment V was written shortly after Fragment XIV. In Fragment V is elaborated a story (Edric Wilde) which had been summarized in Fragment XIV (pp. 75-77, 176);¹⁶ and in the same Fragments Map displays interest in the theological explanation of fairies and other such creatures (p. 80, ll. 2-5, p. 161, ll. 20 ff.).¹⁷ In Fragments IV and XIV Map writes in similar vein concerning each age's preference for some age before it (p. 61, ll. 19 ff, p. 158, ll. 21 ff); but this is a commonplace.

It is not likely, however, that all these repetitions would be found unless these Fragments were written within a single period, when the author's mind was, so to speak, in one phase. I will not attempt to say whether Fragment IV or Fragment V is earlier; both were probably written in 1182, and Dist. I, cap. xxv, was interpolated doubtless in 1183. I append a table of the earliest Fragments of *De Nugis Curialium*:

Frag.	Date.	Contents.	Dist.	Cap.	Pag.
xx	1181	First draft of introduction.	v	vii	248-55
i	1181 Sept. on.	Introduction; King Herla; King of Portugal.	i	i-xii	1-19
xiv	1181 Sept. on.	Valerius to Rufinus; Eudo; Cluniac monk; Filii Mortuae; Henno cum Dentibus; Edric Wilde; Gerbert; Satalia legend; Nicolaus Pipe and Herlething; Salius; Alan Rebrit; Sceva and Ollo.	iv	iib-xvi	142-202

¹⁶ Dnc, Wright, pp. 79-82, 170.

¹⁷ Dnc, Wright, p. 84, ll. 7-9, p. 156, ll. 3 ff.

Frag.	Date.	Contents.	Dist.	Cap.	Pag.
iv	1182	Monastic Orders; Heretic Sects; Three Hermits.	I	xvi-xxxii	25-63
v	1182	Miracles; Wastin; Edric Wilde; Filii Mortuae; Witch; Paul and Antony; Tournament of Louvain.	II	i-xvi	64-80
~~xxi~~ ^{<u>xlii</u>}	1183 June	Young King's Death.	iv	i	138-40

Some of the remaining Fragments can be grouped by reason of significant recurrences of phrases or ideas. I have already called attention to references in Fragment XVIII to the theme of the prologue to Fragment XV;¹⁸ both of these were written in honor of *modern heroes*, but neither can be dated more precisely than before July, 1189.

In both Fragments IX and XVII Map makes a curiously nice distinction between *probitas* and *bonitas* in words so similar that, I am satisfied, one passage must be definitely a repetition of the other.¹⁹ Fragment XVII is undated, but Fragment IX was written between 1179 and 1187.

Especially interesting are the repetitions from Fragment XI in Fragment XIII ("Epilogus"). In the pro-

¹⁸ See p. 114, above.

¹⁹ DNC, James, p. 89: "Compatriotae nostri Walenses, cum omnino sint infideles ad omnes tam ad inuicem quam ad alios, probi tamen sunt, non dico virtute boni vel viribus precipui, sed acerbitate in-pugnandi et acredine resistendi, sola scilicet improbitate probi." pp. 208-09: "Non dico virum bonum, sed probum et improbum. Generositatis est filia bonitas, cuius habere summam dat sapiencia; probitas autem tam est boni quam mali. Bonitas non nisi bonum, probitas utrumque facit. Hunc autem non dico bonum, quia degenerem scio, sed probum, quia strenuus in agendis, audax in periculis, in casus involans, etc." DNC, Wright, pp. 94, 200.

logue of Dist. III Map writes: "Non enim fori lites aut placitorum attempto seria; theatrum et arenam incolo nudus pugil et inermis, quem in armatos obtrectancium cuneos talem ultro misisti: theatrum tamen hoc et hanc arenam si Cato visitauerit aut Scipio uel uterque, veniam spero dum non districte iudicent."²⁰ In Fragment XIII, the so-called *Epilogus*, after declaring that in such times of anarchy as those following Henry II's death, the laws of art are themselves suspended, Map writes, "Quidlibet ut libet agimus Redeat Cato id agetur quod agitur,"²¹ and a little later, "Ideo tutus et inermis aggreddior quod trepidabam."²²

And, as these sentences echo those quoted from the prologue, so Map's next words echo another passage in Dist. III. In the *Epilogus*, he proceeds: "Tales nunc inueniat libellus lectores; hii me poetam facient, sed non sic impii legunt, non sic, et ideo misellum hunc uentilabunt, ut puluerem; oderunt enim antequam audierint, uilipendent antequam appendant, inuident priusquam uideant."²³ In Fragment XI (Dist. III), at the end of the story of Parius and Lausus, Map exhorts his readers to extract wisdom from his stories as bees do honey from both sweet and bitter flowers; then, with a revulsion of feeling, he bursts forth, "Non sic impii, non sic, sed oderunt antequam audierint, vilipendunt antequam appendant, ut sicut in sordibus sunt sordescant adhuc."²⁴

These sentences of the *Epilogus* seem so much like conscious references to those in Dist. III that one is tempted to infer that Fragment XIII (*Epilogus*) was designed for the epilogue to that *Distinctio* (Fragment XI). Against

²⁰ DNC, James, p. 104, ll. 8-12; Wright, p. 107, ll. 6-10.

²¹ DNC, James, p. 141, ll. 25-28; Wright, p. 141, ll. 27-30.

²² DNC, James, p. 142, l. 8; Wright, p. 142, l. 5.

²³ DNC, James, p. 142, ll. 9-12; Wright, p. 142, ll. 5-9.

²⁴ DNC, James, p. 130, ll. 16-18; Wright, p. 131, ll. 1-2.

that inference, however, it must be urged that Dist. III is almost the only Fragment of *De Nugis Curialium* that is not lawlessly written; it is hard to conceive Map as writing in regard to that particular composition, "Hunc . . . libellum raptim annotavi scedula." ²⁵ Yet it may be noted that Map writes deprecatingly in the *Prologus* to Dist. III. ²⁶ One thing is certain: the *Epilogus* was written at least two years after the latest preceding Fragment of *De Nugis*. ²⁷ Whether it was intended for an epilogue to the whole book, or merely to Dist. III, I do not think one can pronounce with certainty.

I append a second table, arranging in a tentative chronological order all the Fragments that can be dated approximately:

Fragment.	Date.	Dist.	Cap.	Contents.
xx	1181	v	vii	First draft of introduction.
i	1181 Sept. on.	i	i-xii	Introduction; King Herla; King of Portugal.
xiv		iv	ii-b-xvi	Valerius to Ruffinus; Eudo; Cluniac monk; Fili Mortuae; Henno; Edric; Gerbert; Satalia; Nicolaus Pipe; Herlething; Salius; Alan Rebrit; Sceva and Ollo.
iv		i	xvi-xxxii,	Monastic orders, heretics; three hermits.
v		ii	i-xvi	Miracles; Wastin; Edric; Fili Mortuae; Witch; Paul and Antony; Louvain.

²⁵ DNC, James, p. 140, l. 27; Wright, p. 140, l. 26.

²⁶ DNC, James, p. 104; Wright, p. 107.

²⁷ DNC, James (and Wright), pp. 140-41: he declares "this little

Fragment.	Date.	Dist.	Cap.	Contents.
xii	1183 June	iv	i	Young King's Death.
vii	after 1185	ii	xviii	Andronicus Comnenus.
ix	before 1187	ii	xx-xxx	Welsh Tales; Vampires, etc.
xvii				
iii				
xvi	1187 Oct.	i	xv	Earl Godwin.
	1188	v	iii a	Fall of Jerusalem.
				Omens of captures of Jerusalem.
xv	before 1189 July	v	i-ii	Modern Heroes Prologue; Appollonides.
xviii				
xi				
	before 1189 July	iii	i-v	Henry I, Louis VI, etc.
	before 1189 July			Romantic Tales of Sotius and Galo, etc.
xiii	about 1191 July	iv	ii a	Epilogus.
xix				
	1193	v	vi	English Kings.

Fragments II, VI, VIII, and X, all very short, cannot be dated even approximately.

In thus arranging these Fragments, I am fully aware of the elements of uncertainty, and I do not insist on acceptance of my table in detail. The matter of prime importance is that *De Nugis Curialium* is not a finished work. I am confident that Fragments I, IV, V, XIV, and XX, which comprise nearly three-fifths of the book, are the earliest written, and date from the end of 1181 and from 1182, and that the other Fragments were written and compiled at intervals thereafter, and, finally, that about 1193 Map wrote the last Fragment, and abandoned, for the last time, all intention of welding his materials into a coherent work.

Some of the Fragments were circulated among Map's friends before, and doubtless after, he ceased writing on *De Nugis*.²⁸ Probably some were lost in that way; and

book" was written in Henry II's reign, and that now he has mourned Henry's death two years.

²⁸ DNC, James, p. 64: "Duo premisi Dei misericordiam et iudicium continencia, que non solum non delectant, sed tediosa sunt, et ex-

the inchoate book never attained completion, was never given to the world by its author. By some fortunate chance, however, the Fragments which we have, passed into hands that did not destroy them, but gave them a rude arrangement, and suffered this edited form to be copied.

The opinion, that Map never published *De Nugis Curialium*, is warranted by more than the mere probability that Map would not have consented to the publication of his work in such an unfinished state. There is no affirmative evidence that *De Nugis Curialium* was known to medieval men of letters, that is, none except the existence of our unique manuscript. So far as I know, Liebrecht alone has pronounced *De Nugis* the source of a later medieval tale,—the first *novella* of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone*; and he was, quite excusably, mistaken in that.²⁹

De Nugis is not mentioned by men who might have been expected to show knowledge of it. For example, Map relates a conversation he had with Louis le Jeune; Giraldus Cambrensis reports the *bon mot* uttered by Louis on that occasion, but does not mention Map, or his book, as authority for the story.³⁰ Neither does he refer to *De Nugis* elsewhere, although he tells a number of the same anecdotes as are found therein.³¹ Furthermore, the words which

pectantur sicut expetuntur fabule poetarum, uel earum simie;” Wright, p. 68. These words plainly show that fragments of *De Nugis* were submitted to friends while the book was in preparation. Fragments such as the *Valerius*, the *Incidencia de Monachia*, and possibly all Dist. III were not originally intended for *De Nugis*, and circulated independently perhaps.

²⁹ Felix Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, pp. 43-45. I hope soon to show that the true source of Ser Giovanni's *novella* is in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* (II, xii) of Giraldus.

³⁰ DNO, James, p. 225; cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Instructione Principum*, iii, 30.

³¹ See Dr. James's marginal references to Giraldus.

Giraldus declares Map spoke to him, "Multa, magister Giralde, scripsistis, et multum adhuc scribitis; et nos multa diximus. Vos scripta dedistis, et nos verba," if they do not prove, at least give ground for suspecting that Map was author of no published work. Of the private trifles written by Map for the entertainment of his friends, one, the *Epistle of Valerius*, attained great popularity.

This epistle, however, was almost never connected with Map's name, as it must have been if *De Nugis* had been published. Nicholas Trivet, who was born about a half century after Map's death, and studied and taught at Oxford,³² knew Map well enough by reputation to insert into a mention of him, which he borrowed from Diceto, the additional words, "de quo multa referunter jocunda";³³ and this same Trivet wrote a commentary on the *Epistle of Valerius*, in which he shows complete ignorance that Valerius was Walter Map.³⁴

Dr. James is unable to find any traces of the use of *De Nugis* in contemporary or later medieval writers, and declares: "No English medieval library catalogue contains an entry identifiable with the *de Nugis*. Neither Leland nor Bale had ever seen it. In short, its appearance in 1601 in the Bodleian Library seems to have been practically its first introduction to anything that could be called a public."³⁵

³² *Dict. Nat'l Biog.*, vol. LVII, pp. 234-36.

³³ *Annales sex regum Angliæ*, ed. Thos. Hog (Eng. Hist. Soc. 1845), p. 157. On sources, cf. Gross, *Bibliography of English History*, p. 305.

³⁴ DNO, James, pp. xxxv ff.

³⁵ DNO, James, pp. xiii-xiv. In regard to Dr. James's citations: Epistle 14 of Peter of Blois was doubtless written about 1175, soon after Peter left the court to become Archdeacon of Bath; Map's passage, as I have shown, was not written until 1181, and was, I believe, suggested by Peter's letter "to his friends, the clerks of the

So much for the outcome of Map's labors. We may now turn to a brief consideration of his original plan, or intention. Certainly he began to write at the request of one, Geoffrey,³⁶ whose identity is at present unguessed. Wright declared that this Geoffrey requested Map "to write a poem, the subject of which was to be, 'The sayings and doings which had not yet been committed to writing.' Mapes in answer proceeds to compile a work in prose, in which his object seems to have been to show that it was impossible for anyone involved in the troubles of the court to apply himself to poetry with success; but as he proceeds he seems to have lost sight of his primary object, and goes on stringing together stories and legends which have no intimate connection with the general subject."³⁷

I think Wright misinterprets both the request of Geoffrey and the intention of Map. The request is stated as follows: "Et me, karissime mi Galfride, curialem, (non dico factum,—Puer sum, et loqui nescio.—sed dico,) in hac si vere descripta curia religatum et ad hanc relegatum hinc *philosophari iubes*, qui me Tantalum huius inferni fateor? Quomodo possum propinare qui sicio? Quiete mentis est et ad unum collecte *poetari*. Totam volunt et tutam cum assiduitate residenciam *poete*; et non prodest optimus corporis et rerum status, si non fuerit interna pace tranquillus animus: unde nec minus a me poscis miraculum, hinc scilicet hominem ydiotam et imperitum *scribere*, quam si ab alterius Nabogodonosor fornace novos pueros cantare iubeas."³⁸ There is here no discrimination between *poetari*, *philosophari*, and *scribere*; they are, as Dr. James

King's chapel." Higden's reference is pretty surely to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford; its position in Higden's list indicates as much.

³⁶ DNC, James, p. 13, ll. 1-11.

³⁷ DNC, Wright, p. x.

³⁸ DNC, James, p. 13.

declares, "synonymous and merely signify literary composition."³⁹

This is evident from Map's use of the words, *poeta* and *poetari*, elsewhere in *De Nugis Curialium*. A few pages later, still addressing Geoffrey, Map writes: "Et tu . . . inter has precipis *poetari* discordias? Videris me calcari-bus urgere Balaam quibus in uerba coegit asinam. Quibus enim aliis possit quispiam induci stimulis in *poesim*? . . . Fiam tamen asinus per te, quod iubes."⁴⁰ There is no indication that Map is conscious of obeying Geoffrey only in part.

Later, when we cannot be sure that Map is addressing Geoffrey, he writes: "*Scribere* iubes posteris exempla quibus uel iocunditas excitetur uel edificetur ethica. Licet impossibile mihi sit hoc mandatum, *quod pauper poeta nescit antra musarum*, etc."⁴¹ Shortly thereafter, Map urges his readers to obtain moral benefit from his stories, adding: "Amator sapientie quemlibet in aliquo *poetam* approbat, et ab omni pagina quam baiulauerit recedit doc-cior."⁴² Still again, we read of Chaerulus, Cluuienus, Bavius, and Maeuius, and then: "Talium tempora sunt *poetarum* . . . Tales nunc inueniat libellus lectores; hii *me poetam* facient."⁴³ And earlier in the book, Map had written: "Video me iam illis factum in detraccionem, et fabulam, ut Cluuieno me comparent poete, creta et carbone uso, insipido et ydiote scriptori. Hic ego sum certe; . . . *ineptum me fateor et insulsum poetam*."⁴⁴ In all these places, Map applies the term *poeta* to himself as author of this prose; it was a convention with him to assume the need of inspiration of the Muses before he could write his

³⁹ DNC, James, p. xxiv.

⁴⁰ DNC, James, pp. 17-18.

⁴¹ DNC, James, p. 104.

⁴² DNC, James, p. 130.

⁴³ DNC, James, p. 142.

⁴⁴ DNC, James, p. 53.

entertaining and moral tales,—a literary affectation, and nothing more. Geoffrey doubtless asked Map, not for a poem, but merely for a book.

I think that Wright was wrong also in crediting Map with the design of writing a book of stories all of which were to help prove that the court was no place for a "poet." Map must have known that continued repetitions of his protests would be inexpressibly tiresome; it is unjust to him to suppose otherwise. His own statement of his purpose is clear enough: "*Materiam mihi tam copiosam eligis, ut nullo possit opere superari, nullis equari laboribus; dicta scilicet et facta que nondum littere tradita sunt; quecunque didici conspexius habere miraculum ut recitatio placeat et ad mores tendat instructio. Meum autem inde propositum est nichil noui cudere, nichil falsitatis inferre; sed quecumque scio ex uisu uel credo ex auditu pro uiribus explicare.*"⁴⁵ Map here consents to Geoffrey's request, and accepts the comprehensive subject proposed. Entertainment and moral instruction are his aim,—*miscere utile dulci*; his material is his own observation and experience:

Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, discursus, nostri farrago libelli.

The title *De Nugis Curialium* is not inappropriate for such a work. The court of Henry II was a little world; a courtier could not escape contact with human life in countless phases. All that Map writes, he writes from the observation of one who, before all else, was a courtier of the English King. Any other member of the royal household with mind equally alert, with eyes equally quick to see, and ears to hear, might have stored his memory with the same impressions of the kaleidoscopic world.

Furthermore, the book is written for courtiers, if it is

⁴⁵ Dnc, James, p. 18.

not exclusively about them. The prologue to Dist. III is addressed to one, Geoffrey, Henry II, or another, who is engaged in the affairs of state.⁴⁶ In the *Epilogus* (Dist. IV, cap. II), Map declares that King Henry himself had urged him to write "this little book."⁴⁷ In the prologue to Dist. V, he addresses someone other than the King, but of sufficient importance to be named together with him.⁴⁸ These various addresses merely show that a number of friends at various times pressed Map to take up again the work which he was known to have begun; they may be held to afford further proof that he did not finish, since, we may feel sure, he would in that case have given the King first honor of inspiring its composition, as he does in the *Epilogus*.

We have seen that Map allowed himself wide range in the announcement of his subject. It is fortunate that he did so; for, like his heroes, Gado and Triunein, he despised narrow boundaries, and shows himself as restless in letters as Gado was in adventure. Map, however, was well aware of this discursive tendency; in the opening pages he finds himself digressing so far from his topic, the Court, as to be deep in a discussion of the fabulous longevity of certain animals, whereupon he remarks: "De curia nobis origo sermonis, et quo iam devenit? Sic incidunt semper aliqua que licet non multum ad rem, tamen differri nolunt, nec refert, dum non atrum desinant in piscem, et rem poscit apte quod instat."⁴⁹ To this liberal principle Map adheres throughout his work.

This waywardness is, indeed, not the least of his charms. So long as he is interesting, one need not complain that he follows no beaten paths, but leads us, at his whim, through the courts of earthly kings, or into a fairy hill, in monkish cloisters, or along the strand of Normandy, with Gado to

⁴⁶ DNC, James, p. 104.

⁴⁷ DNC, James, p. 140.

⁴⁸ DNC, James, p. 204, ll. 7-10.

⁴⁹ DNC, James, pp. 3-4.

the farthest Indies, or with Gillescop into the icy seas of the Scottish coast, with Gerbert from the woods of France to the papal throne, and in a trice whisks us away mid the splendors of Byzantine decadence and into pirate galleys commanded by an incomparable shoemaker. The uncertainty what scene will next claim attention is a delight,—if one loves romance.

As a story-teller Map has decided merits. When once he discards his Euphuistic balance and alliteration, puns, conceits, and classical mythology, he is a spirited narrator, with a curt, rapid style, and a natural felicity in words. At times narration is not swift or vivid enough, and he seizes on dramatic form with remarkable effect.⁵⁰ He has been denied power of characterization. But surely the queen in *Sadius and Galo* is not a puppet; her soliloquy,⁵¹ with its quick shifts of passion, alone would free Map from the charge that he was not concerned with the emotional life of his characters. Nor, do I think, could anyone but a shrewd observer of human nature have written the few lines that tell of the meeting of the lovelorn Resus with his scornful lady and her unsuspecting husband.⁵² There is little of this in *De Nugis Curialium*, but that little reveals latent powers beyond the average medieval teller of tales.

There is, however, one qualification of a narrative artist that Map does not give evidence of,—ability to construct. Most of his stories consist of a single episode, even of a single incident. Most of them must have come to him complete in plot; Map's only task was to relate them in an attractive manner. When his source lacked unity, Map does not improve matters; such a story is that of Alan Rebrit,⁵³ vivid indeed in some incidents, but as a whole intolerably rambling.

⁵⁰ DNC, James, pp. 109-10, 200-01. See also Map's description of his own household, pp. 8-11.

⁵¹ DNC, James, pp. 106-08.

⁵² DNC, James, p. 136, ll. 1 ff.

⁵³ DNC, James, pp. 189-97.

The only story in *De Nugis Curialium* that is compiled from several sources is that of Earl Godwin (Dist. v, cap. iii-iv). An examination of it shows Map's weakness in combining sources so as to produce a narrative that should have unity, proportion, and a definite artistic effect. He could not reject the unsuitable; he could not maintain one point of view, but must needs shift his sympathy with his source, or his source with his sympathy.⁵⁴ The same disposition that is manifested in his sudden transitions from one subject to another in the larger masses of his composition rules him also within the compass of this single story. There is no indication that the author of this work was capable of the sustained interest needed for such a work as the vast and leisurely *Lancelot*.

Leisureliness is, in fact, never a characteristic of Walter Map. The nervous brevity and compactness of his best stories impress one as the result, not of deliberate artistic effort, but of a habit of terse, energetic expression. Learning and false wit sometimes obstruct progress, as true wit often enlivens the way; but the author does not dally because he delights in lingering. He wrote stories well because he told stories well; his best style has something of the informality of speech. Despite his talk of the Muses, he was not an ambitious author, but an amateur in letters, whose sprightly conversation had brought upon him urgent pleas for a book. He lacked the incentive needed to finish even so small a work. I think, however, we have not lost greatly because his book remained inchoate; its excellence would never have been in its larger architecture, but in the charm of its component parts.

JAMES HINTON.

⁵⁴I have analyzed this story, and compared its episodes with historical, and quasi-historical, sources; the result I hope to publish soon.



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The annual volume of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* is issued in quarterly instalments. It contains chiefly articles which have been presented at the meetings of the Association and approved for publication by the Editorial Committee. Other appropriate contributions may be accepted by the Committee. The first number of each volume includes, in an Appendix, the *Proceedings* of the last Annual Meeting of the Association and its Divisions; the fourth number of each volume contains a list of the members of the Association and its Divisions.

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WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD,
Secretary of the Association,
39 Kirkland Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The next meeting of the Association will be held under the auspices of Yale University, at New Haven, Conn., December 27, 28, 29, 1917, and the next meeting of the Central Division of the Association under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin, at Madison, Wis., on the same days. Attention is called to the regulations printed on the third page of this cover, especially to the amended no. 2.



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VI.—THE *SPECULUM VITAE*: ADDENDUM

The present paper is intended to form a postscript to the last section of my study of the authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*, published in 1910.¹ In the earlier article the traditional attribution of the poem to Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, was attacked, and in conclusion a clue was followed which seemed to lead towards the *Speculum Vitae*, a similar Middle-English poem still unedited. A connection between the two poems had apparently been built up by J. Ullmann,² in an elaborate analysis of similar stylistic peculiarities found in both, and he had used the evidence, thus apparently deduced, to urge the ascription (found in one copy of the *Speculum*) to Rolle, then always credited with the authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*. Ullmann's conclusion as to the common authorship of the two poems was used in the discussion as to the authorship of the latter by turning them

¹ *Studies in English and Comparative Literature*, Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 15, Boston and New York, pp. 115-170.

² *Englische Studien*, VII, pp. 415 ff. The poem is described and the first three hundred lines are quoted.

about: since two other copies of the *Speculum* gave the work to William of Nassington,³ it was suggested, when Rolle's authorship of the *Prick of Conscience* seemed impossible, that the true author might be found in Nassington, who was possibly the author of the very similar *Speculum*. However, since the latter work was not in print, and had not at the time of writing been accessible to me in manuscript, the discussion as to the connection between the two works could only be incomplete and tentative.

Since 1910, I have examined thirty-one manuscripts of the *Speculum*,⁴ and other material connected with it

³ The attribution runs as follows:

" . . . pray specialy
For Freere Johan saule of Waldby,
That fast studyd day and nyght,
And made this tale in Latyne right. . . .
Prayes also wt deuicion
For William saule of Nassyngtone,
That gaf hym als fulle besyly
Night and day to grete study
And made this tale in Inglys tonge."

This ending is quoted from Reg. ms. 17 C. viii in Warton-Hazlitt, *History of English Poetry*, London, 1871, iii, p. 116, n. 2. Hatton ms. 19 gives substantially the same. Both manuscripts belong to the early fifteenth century. It may be noted that nine of the thirty-one manuscripts of the poem which I have examined are imperfect at the end, where an attribution would occur.

⁴ I wish to thank here the owners of the manuscripts described for the courtesy which I have everywhere received. I do not list the copies of the *Speculum* because a complete list will appear in the second part of the *Register of Middle-English Poetry* of Professor Carleton Brown (Oxford University Press, Pt. I, 1917). I wish to thank also the librarians of Syracuse, Cornell, and Columbia Universities, who have courteously allowed me access to their shelves at various times. The notes made from manuscripts have unfortunately not been read with the originals since they were taken in 1910 when I held the fellowship of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. This paper was "read by title" at the meeting of the Association in 1914.

has been studied. The present paper therefore will set forth the results of this research, and terminate the discussions begun in the earlier one, in so far as they concern the *Speculum Vitae*, and have in any way been altered by the more complete evidence available in that connection, since the first paper was written. The material here described does not lead to complete conclusions as to the origin of the *Speculum Vitae*, but it is hoped that it will be useful as far as it goes. The larger investigation, that of the manuscripts of all the works of Richard Rolle, and of those of the *Prick of Conscience*,—to which it has been subordinate,—will be presented in later papers, and will complete the main discussion of the paper in 1910, as the present paper is intended to complete that of the last section.

A surprising result of the recent investigation of material connected with the *Speculum* has been to discredit completely the specific evidence on which Ullmann built up his conclusions. It has been discovered that the classifications of stylistic peculiarities which he applied to the two poems were for the most part derived—sometimes *verbatim*—from three studies of the style of Old-French writers. These are: *Benoit de Sainte-More. Eine sprachliche untersuchung über identität der verfasser des "Roman de Troie" und der "Chronique des Ducs de Normandie,"* by F. Settegast,—a study made in 1876 (several years before Ullmann's), also at Breslau; *Der Stil Crestien's von Troies*, by R. Grosse, *Französische Studien*, i, pp. 127 ff.; and *Guillaume, le clerc de Normandie, insbesondere seine Magdalenenlegende*, by A. Schmidt, *Boehmer's Romanische Studien*, iv, pp. 493 ff. Ullmann sometimes refers to stylistic peculiarities in *romanzen-poesie* similar to those with which he is concerned here, but he cites no authorities, though his use of the authors

just listed amounts sometimes to plagiarism. Since the characteristics which he found that the two poems possessed in common are thus discovered not to be peculiar to them, no value of course remains in the use by Ullmann of these similarities as a criterion of common authorship. The relation of Ullmann's work to his sources will be illustrated in another paper, where it will form the basis for another discussion. It must be said here, however, that nothing has appeared to make the hypothesis of a common authorship for the *Speculum Vitae* and the *Prick of Conscience* untenable, though there is now no special evidence on which this hypothesis may be grounded.

It must be said at once that the examination of the manuscripts of the *Speculum* has increased the uncertainty as to its authorship. The name of William of Nassington has not been found attached to more than the two copies already known, and no name of another author has been substituted. Nothing has been added to our information as to this person, and he may or may not be the author of the *Speculum*. It is also somewhat disconcerting to find that the Latin prose *Commentary on the Pater Noster* of John de Waldeby, Provincial of the Augustinian Friars in England at the close of the fourteenth century, of which many copies still exist, is not the source of the English poem. This treatise is a long work of which the prologue begins with the text: *Septies in die laudem dixi tibi*. . . . (a beginning also quoted from a *Commentary on the Pater Noster* ascribed by Tanner to "Thos. Colby.")⁵ In Reg. ms. 7 E 11 and other copies of Waldeby's *Pater Noster*, his *Commentaries on the Angelical Salutation and the Creed* immediately follow, and the authorship of the latter is put beyond all doubt by the appearance of a prefatory letter

⁵ See A. G. Little, *Initia operum latinorum*, Manchester, 1904.

addressed to Thomas, Abbot of St. Alban's, who, the letter states, when at Tynemouth at the translation of the relics of St. Oswin, had spoken of Waldeby's sermons delivered at York. Some fame for this letter is apparent from its inclusion in a "model letter-writer" in Trinity College Cambridge ms. 1285, f. 72b.

It may of course be possible that a second commentary by Waldeby was the source of the *Speculum*. Considerable material exists for the study of his writings, and it is evidently in confusion. He has apparently been confused with his brother, the Archbishop of York, Robert (*v. D. N. B.*), perhaps with a "Jean de Galles" who lived in London in 1368,⁶ and also perhaps with the famous Minorite of the thirteenth century (as famous in France as in England), Joannes Wallensis. For example, Lambeth ms. 352 contains a copy of Waldeby's *Pater Noster* already referred to, under the title "Itinerarium Salutis."⁷ An "Itinerarium" is one of the three parts of the "Ordinarium" of the Minorite (*v. D. N. B.*), and Haenel notes as, apparently, a separate work, "Ioan. Wallensis itinerarium."⁸

A lengthy list of the writings of the Augustinian can be made out from the catalogue of books in the Austin Friars' library at York, compiled in his lifetime,⁹ perhaps

⁶ See *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxv, pp. 179 f. Perhaps this is the Johannes Wellis, Monk of Ramsey, who was one of the bitterest opponents of Wycliffe. See *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, Rolls Series, London, 1858, pp. 113 *et passim*, and *Monumenta Franciscana*, Rolls Series, London, 1858, p. 598. In the *Fasciculi* John de Waldeby is evidently confused with his brother, when he is called Archbishop of Dublin (p. 356).

⁷ The work is found with the same title in Corpus Christi College Cambridge ms. 317, and Laud Misc. ms. 296.

⁸ *Catalogi Librum Manuscriptorum*, Leipzig, 1830, p. 123.

⁹ *The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars, York*, ed. by M. R. James, in *Fasciculus J. W. Clark Dicatus*, Cambridge,

during his residence there.¹⁰ Some of these works are unknown except for their mention here, but more could certainly be found than are listed in the *D. N. B.*¹¹ It may be noted that, in a ms. of Waldeby's *Pater Noster* quoted from by M. Petit-Dutaillis, he is referred to as "Professor of Holy Writ at Oxford,"¹² and he is called "Professor of Holy Writ" in Lambeth ms. 352. Probably we cannot be absolutely sure whether or no Waldeby had a connection with the *Speculum* till the manuscripts of all his works are worked over, and it is possible that "Joannes Wallensis" may be found to be the author of the source. He died c. 1303, and his dates would therefore combine better with Nassington's—who died in 1359 (if the identification made in my former paper is correct)—than Waldeby's, who died apparently in 1393.

An English prose *Mirror* is found in three copies, and, as quotations made at the end of this paper will show, it is evident from a superficial comparison with the *Speculum* that they both render the same work. The *Mirror* throws no light on the origin of the poem, and the relation of the two is uncertain. A line-by-line comparison has not been

1909. Several entries occur here of a *Comment on the Pater Noster* ascribed to Waldeby, some of which are followed by the same two pieces as in the Reg. ms.; but we have no means of knowing whether they all refer to the same work.

¹⁰ He is referred to as "Eboracensis" in Laud Misc. ms. 77.

¹¹ Laud Misc. ms. 77 of the early fifteenth century may specially be pointed out as interesting for the study of Waldeby. Latin *Sermones Dominicales* are here followed by some English alliterative verses, and a set of stories for preachers. The whole is entitled *Novum opus Dominicale*. The date of composition is given as 1365. (I quote from the catalogue.) The title *Novum opus* is applied in the York catalogue to two works by Waldeby—a *Doctrinale*, and a work *De Sanctis* (p. 77). The catalogue was compiled in 1372.

¹² *Études d'histoire du moyen-âge, Dédicées à Gabriel Monod*, Paris, 1896, pp. 384 ff. He quotes from Caius Coll. ms. 334.

made, but, failing that, a few observations can be hazarded on the subject.

It is possible that the *Mirror* is derived from the *Speculum*, for, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was the fashion in France, at any rate, to put out versions of old poems in a "desrimé" form,¹³ and there are even signs, at that time, of a prejudice against verse as a vehicle not sufficiently serious for truthful compositions.¹⁴ Against this hypothesis must be put the fact that there seem to be few traces of this fashion in England. Moreover, the beginnings of the two works differ entirely, and the easiest explanation for their divergence would be on the ground of their being separate translations of the same original.

¹³ Dès la fin du XIII^e siècle, on avait commencé, selon l'expression du temps, à "desrimer" les anciens poèmes français (*Histoire Littéraire*, XXIII, p. 326).

¹⁴ Warton quotes prologues of prose works which declare that "*Estoire rimee semble mensonge*," "*Nus contes rymes n'en est vrais*," (II, p. 137), and Froissart is quoted in the same strain (*Le Prince Noir*, ed. F. Michel, London, 1863, p. x, n.). Professor G. L. Hamilton has kindly pointed out similar statements in the following works: a prose version of the *Roman de Troie* (A. Joly, *Benoit de Sainte-More et Le Roman de Troie*, Paris, 1870, I, pp. 422, 423, n.); a version of the *Pseudo-Turpin* (*Romania*, XVI, p. 61); a history of Philip Augustus (*op. cit.*, VI, p. 495); a *Bestiaire* (*Notices et Extraits*, XXXIII, Pt. I, p. 22). He also points out the apology which the author of the *Anglo-Norman Romans de tute chevalerie* (probably "Master Eustace") feels it necessary to make for his use of verse (P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1886, I, p. 221, v. 43). The reasons urged against the use of verse are generally its use by minstrels, and its addition of extra words. Master Eustace is an Englishman, but, aside from his work, the nearest analogy to be found in England is the following, from the Dialogue prefixed by Trevisa to his version of the *Polychronicon*. The Lord answers to the clerk, when asked whether he prefers a translation in rhyme or prose, "In prose, for commonly prose is more clear than rhyme, more easy and more plain to know and understand" (*Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, ed. A. W. Pollard, *An English Garner*, vol. XII, p. 207).

As will be seen later in the illustrative quotations, the introduction of the *Speculum* contains two elements not found in the *Mirror*,—namely, the declaration of the utility of its subject-matter, as compared to that of romances,—a list of which is enumerated,¹⁵—and the explanation of the choice of the vernacular as the medium for the work.¹⁶

¹⁵ Innumerable examples of the same sort are to be found in Old French and Anglo-Norman works,—“Combien de fois n'a-t-on pas opposé les aventures des saints à celles des preux et des chevaliers!” (Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, Paris, 1896, I, p. 20). See for examples, *Romania*, XII, p. 147, XVI, p. 66, Angier, *Dialogues de St. Grégoire*, ed. T. Cloran, Strasburg, 1901, p. 14. English examples of the same kind are cited in Warton, II, pp. 122, 125. Similar comparisons are made in sermons,—see quotations from Robert de Sorbon and Gerald de Liège made by M. Ch. V. Langlois in his article, “L'éloquence sacrée au Moyen-Age” (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1893, p. 190; *multi tamen compatiuntur Rolando et non Christo*); and a Lollard tract in Camb. Univ. MS. II. vi. 26, f. 131,—“But summan seiþ, I prieie þee leuee þees spechis And telle me a mery tale of giy of warwyk, Beufiz of hamtoun, eiper of Sire (??), Robyn hod, eiper of summe wel farynge man of here condiciouns and maners.” The fact that Middle English literature simply perpetuates in such examples a fashion begun in Anglo-Norman appears from comparison of the thirteenth-century *Passion of Our Lord* (*EETS*, No. 49, p. 37) with the *Josaphat* of the almost contemporary Anglo-Norman Chardry (*Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, I, p. 74); or the Middle English *Mirrour* and the Anglo-Norman *Miroir* (see my article in *Modern Philology*, XIII, p. 741). These comparisons—like the prejudice against prose already mentioned—were doubtless part of the competition of monastic writers with writers of romantic fiction (as is noted by Miss Laura Hibbard, *Romanic Review*, IV, p. 183). A reason for their popularity can be found in the fondness that has been noted in the Middle Ages for all kinds of catalogues. From this point of view the present examples come very near to the second part of *Sir Thopas*, and our impression is confirmed that they represent an almost stereotyped form (see *Chaucers Sir Thopas*, by J. Bennewitz, Halle, 1879, p. 15).

¹⁶ A long tradition for such explanations existed in Old French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English, as will be shown in another paper. Examples in which a Middle English work derived such an

Both these *motifs* were what might be called fashionable elements in the introductions to popular works during several centuries; they had been very frequent in French and Anglo-Norman literature for laymen for generations before they passed into Middle English. The introduction of the *Mirror*, on the other hand, is purely theological,—opening as it does with the exposition of a text,—and it is such as would be suitable to a *Summa* on the Pater Noster,—which is the sort of work that we can imagine the source of the *Speculum* to be. It may be useful as a clue for searching out the direct source for that work. A motive can be seen for substituting in a composition seeking to be popular with laymen, the sprightly introduction, after a popular manner, which is found in the poem, whereas no motive can be seen for supplanting the introduction found in the *Speculum* by that found in the *Mirror*.

As a matter of fact, several cases are to be noted in which the reference to romances was interpolated into prologues in which it was not originally present. The comparison with a list of romances in the *Cursor Mundi* is inserted into one group of the manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*;¹⁷ one copy of the *Bible* of Geffroi de Paris contains a prologue contrasting the story of Roland with the Passion (this is altogether the commonest antithesis made),¹⁸ and a lengthy example of the same sort is borrowed from the *Calendrier* of the Anglo-Norman Raüf de Linham in an Anglo-Norman poem on the Nine Daughters of the Devil.

element from the Anglo-Norman are the *Mirrur*, already referred to, and the *Lamentation of Mary* (see *Modern Philology*, *loc. cit.*, and xiv, pp. 255-6).

¹⁷ See my article on "the Manuscript Evidence for the Authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*," now under preparation.

¹⁸ *Les Traductions de la Bible en vers français au moyen âge*, par J. Bonnard, Paris, 1884, p. 52.

M. Meyer says of the interpolation . . . "que je ne saurais expliquer d'une manière satisfaisante. . . . L'emprunt est assurément singulier."¹⁹ The extreme popularity of such introductions seems sufficient reason for such an insertion; the *lieux communs* found in edifying literature appear to be as much the subject of fashions as the *motifs* of romances. It would be natural therefore to explain the prologue of the *Speculum* as an attempt to follow the current fashions, and not necessarily an exact reproduction of its original. However, the relation of the *Speculum* and *Mirror* cannot, of course, be settled in the present state of our knowledge.

The *Speculum* occurs in three copies²⁰ with a title such as, *Liber de Pater Noster*, and in fact it is, as has already been noted, a *Summa* on the Pater Noster which we may expect to be the source. Though the direct source has not been found, some clues can be given as to its elements. The exact outline and in some passages the exact material is given in an anonymous Latin tract on the Pater Noster existing in at least five copies. This work has been noted, but its connection with the *Speculum* has never before been recognized.²¹ It apparently enjoyed considerable authority, since, as is here pointed out for the first time, the first part was used in the popular compendium entitled the *Speculum Spiritualium*.²² It has

¹⁹ *Romania*, xxix, p. 54.

²⁰ Ll. i. 8, McClean 130 (at the Fitzwilliam Museum, formerly "ms. A" of Samuel W. Singer, as Brit. Mus. Addit. ms. 22, 558 is "ms. B"), and Bodl. ms. Eng. Poet. d. 5 (formerly the Corser ms.).

²¹ See *infra*, p. 156.

²² Cap. xxvii, Fol. lxxvii. This work, of which partial copies at least go back to the late fifteenth century (v. ms. Dd. iv, 54), was printed by W. Hopyl in 1510 in Paris at the expense of William Bretton, a London citizen. The work is confessedly designed primarily for the use of contemplatives, and it quotes largely from the English mystics. The author withholds his name, but it is given in the *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery* (ed. Mary Bateson,

not been compared line by line with the *Speculum*, but it is clear from sporadic comparisons throughout the text that it gives a far briefer and more purely theological treatment of its subject than the *Speculum Vitae*; the picturesque passages giving glimpses of the familiar life of the time are all lacking, but the relation of the poem to the tract is nevertheless unmistakable.

In the material in general the Middle-English *Speculum* and *Mirror* stand very near to the famous *Somme* of Frère Lorens, the source of the *Ayenbite of Inwit*. The *Speculum* has been said to be founded on the *Somme*, and again, no complete comparison has been made; but enough has been done²³ to show that the true relation is uncertain and complicated. Parts are identical, as the quotations at the end of this paper will prove, but again the *Somme* will give only the sketch of what is found in the *Speculum*. Much of the picturesque realism of the poem is derived from the *Somme*,²⁴ but, on the other hand, the best of such

Cambridge, 1898, p. 202) as "Adam, monachus Carthusiensis." I wish to thank the librarian of Union Theological Seminary for the use of his copy—of which I learned through a reference by Professor T. F. Crane in the *Romanic Review*, vi, p. 220.

²³ The relation of the two works is pointed out in the description of Addit. ms. 22, 283, in the catalogue of the manuscripts of the British Museum.—A Middle English prose version by a "knyght of Kyng henrye, conqueroure of Normandye," writing in 1451, is found in the Bodl. ms. E. Mus. 23, with the curious title *Auenture and grace*, which is thus explained: "þer as I was not perfecte of the langage of frensch by symple vndirstondyng of the langage, methought it was vertues I adventured to drawe it in to englich, and in many places ther I coude not englich it, grace of the holy goste safe me englich acordyng to the sentens, wich come of grace. So þe ferste bygonn with aventure, and so folowid grace" (f. 261). Other English versions are noted in the preface to the *Ayenbite of Inwit* (*BETS*, No. 23).

²⁴ For example, the account of the "miracles of the Devil" who sends a man into a tavern with his wits, and out without them (in the account of Gluttony, ms. li. i. 26, f. 88b., *Romania*, xxiv, p. 68).

material is new. In the prologue, as the quotations will show, the *Speculum* uses the *Somme* less than the tract on the Pater Noster, but the two latter for a few sentences coincide. What may be the general relation between these two sources is uncertain. There were a multitude of *Summae* of their type circulating during the Middle Ages, as has especially been shown by the studies made in the effort to settle the source of Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*;²⁵ and the research that they have so far received has done no more than disclose the problem of their history. The exact particulars given in many manuscripts of the *Somme*, as to the date and circumstances²⁶ of its composition, are very definite, and one would expect plain sailing for the student of this most famous of all mediæval *Summae* for laymen; nevertheless, the origin and structure of the work are actually involved in such obscurity that the best that can be done at present is to state the problem, since, owing to the relation which exists between the *Speculum* and the *Somme*, it has some relation to our present enquiry as to the origin of the former.²⁷

²⁵ See *Radcliffe College Monographs*, No. 12, *The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, by Kate O. Petersen, Boston, 1901, especially p. 80, n. 1: R. E. Fowler, *Une Source française des poèmes de Gower*, Macon, 1905.

²⁶ The book is said to have been compiled in 1279, by Frère Lorens, of the Order of Preachers, Confessor of the King, Philip, at whose request the work was undertaken. Professor G. L. Hamilton has pointed out to me the interesting note in the *Revue des langues romanes*, LVI, pp. 20 f., which quotes the epitaph of Lorens. He is thereby proved to have been tutor of the King's children as well as confessor to the King, formerly Prior of the convent at Paris, and, apparently, a native of Orleans. A reference to his *Somme* seems to lie in the mention of his ethical teaching. His death is put between 1296 and 1300.

²⁷ See *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 1881, pp. 48-9; 1892, pp. 68 ff.; *Romania*, XIV, pp. 532 ff., XXIII, pp. 449 ff., XXVII, pp. 109 ff. C. Boser made a valuable study of the Provençal

M. Paul Meyer, to whom we owe our principal information on the subject of the *Somme*, as on so many other important questions of mediæval literary history, has divided the work into six parts,²⁸ and since most of these parts occur separately, he concludes that Frère Lorens's share in the work was no more than the consolidation of separate tracts, already old, and probably the composition of the last member.²⁹ A very puzzling element enters the situation from the appearance of a work very similar to the *Somme*, but not identical with it, known as the *Miroir du Monde*.³⁰ This work exists in an earlier and a later form, and the latter, which is especially similar to the *Somme*, even carries the same colophon as to the composition by Frère Lorens, at the request of the King in 1279.

texts in *Romania*, XXIV, pp. 56 ff., and planned an investigation of the *Somme* and all derivatives, but this enterprise was cut short by death (*op. cit.*, XXV, p. 338).

²⁸ *Bulletin*, 1892, *Romania*, XXIII.

²⁹ *Romania*, XXIII, p. 454. He refers (p. 450) to the part on the *Pater Noster*—"Qui par le style se distingue assez bien de ce qui précède, et de ce qui suit." It does not seem that M. Meyer's arguments for the composite origin of the *Somme* are conclusive, since he nowhere points out a copy of a part which antedates the time of Lorens. There is no reason why the latter might not have collected his own work, originally published separately. The style of the *Somme* is in general so unusually vivacious for mediæval theology that a composite authorship is a little hard to accept.

³⁰ *Bulletin*, 1892, *Romania*, XXIII. This work is in print, edited by Felix Chavannes, *La Mireour du Monde*, Lausanne, 1845, *Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande*. The *Somme* of course is not in print, except in the Middle English translation, the *Ayenbite of Inwoit*, but large excerpts from the original are published by R. W. Evers, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und textkritik von Dan Michel's Ayenbite of inwoyt*, Erlangen, 1888. Other studies of the relation between the *Somme* and *Ayenbite* are to be found in *Englische Studien*, I, pp. 379 ff., II, pp. 98 ff. Harvard University possesses a manuscript of the *Somme*, which was given by Dr. Furnivall during his last illness, as a memorial to Professor Child.

In the complex problem of the origin of the *Somme* and its connections,⁸¹ one or two details should be pointed out as of interest for the problem of the origin of the *Speculum Vitae*. A writer who has studied the various treatises just mentioned in an investigation of the sources of Gower's *Mirour de L'Omme*, is of the opinion from the evidence yielded by her research, that a *Summa* from which both *Somme* and *Mirour* were derived, existed in a more extended form than either derivative,⁸² in which, it must be noted, the references to the familiar life of the time would be especially abundant. It is a pity that she was not able to bring into her investigation the *Speculum Vitae*, which shows a distinct relation to the French treatises, but more realistic details than they. The question of a lost prototype of the *Somme* has also been discussed in connection with a peculiar Provençal text,—in which, it should be noted, the construction follows that of the *Speculum* more closely than does the *Somme*, since it also strengthens, though not by the same means, the connections with the Pater Noster which bind the whole treatise together.⁸³ Again, the resemblance of title between the

⁸¹ M. Ch. V. Langlois writes in his *Vie en France au moyen âge d'après quelques moralistes du temps*, Paris, 1908, p. v.: "C'est à peine si les premiers travaux d'approche pour l'étude des sources de la célèbre compilation intitulée la *Somme le roi* . . . ont été exécutées."

⁸² Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 ff. It may be remarked that Joannes Walensis, already mentioned, who was one of the most conspicuous figures in the theological world in both England and France during the thirteenth century, would be a most likely person to be the author of such a work. He is already known to be the author of several *Summae*, and A. G. Little, in his *Grey Friars at Oxford* (Oxford, 1892, p. 149), notes that an exposition on the Pater Noster is sometimes assigned to the Minorite.

⁸³ *Romania*, xxiv, pp. 56 ff. This text begins with the Seven Deadly Sins. It introduces the *De quinque septenis* of Hugo of St. Victor to assist in forming the framework (p. 83).

two works makes it probable that the *Speculum* has used the *Miroir* rather than the *Somme*, and it is to be noted that some manuscripts of the *Miroir* contain a prologue which is not printed by Chavannes.⁸⁴ This may have been used in the *Speculum*. It seems that the *Miroir*, as printed, also omits the latter part of the work,⁸⁵ and, altogether, the relation of the *Speculum* and *Miroir* cannot be determined from the printed text of the latter.⁸⁶ It should be noted that all the French works here discussed put the exposition of the Pater Noster at the middle or end of the work, and they usually begin with the Ten Commandments.⁸⁷ The *Speculum*, on the other hand, expounds the Pater Noster at the beginning, and uses it as the frame to which the other subjects are linked, thus giving the whole a continuity not found in the French works,—for the lack of which they have been several times criticised.⁸⁸ It would appear that the *Speculum* and *Mirror* derive their superior arrangement from the tract on the Pater Noster, already mentioned, though in the case both of this piece and of the French treatises it may be that the relation is collateral, and it is even possible that the English works represent the ultimate source, if such existed, more fully than any other derivative.

In conclusion a word must be said as to the following note, found in three copies of the poem:

⁸⁴ See *Bulletin*, 1892, p. 70, n. 2.

⁸⁵ Fowler, p. 21.

⁸⁶ The general confusion can be illustrated by the case of the *exemplum* regarding "Marion Torgan" used in the *Speculum* in the account of the Works of Mercy (f. 115b). This is not present in the tract on the Pater Noster, but it is found in the *Somme* (British Museum Addit. ms. 28,162, f. 108b.—"Marie doingines"), though not in the *Miroir* as printed. It is in the *Mirror* (f. 84).

⁸⁷ *Romania*, xxvi, p. 109.

⁸⁸ See *Histoire littéraire*, xxvii, p. 183, *Romania*, xxiv, p. 82.

Anno Domini Millesimo ccc^{mo} lxxxlii^{jo}, compilatio ista hoc modo Cantabrigiae erat examinata; dum a quodam sacerdote ad ligandum ibidem fuit posita a quibusdam scolariis, diligenter erat intuita, atque perlecta, et cancellario Universitatis ejusque concilio praesentata, propter defectus et haereses examinanda, ne minus litterati populum per eam negligenter fallant, et in varios errores fallaciter inducant. Tunc jussu cancellarii, coram eo et toto consilio universitatis, per quatuor dies, cum omni studio et diligentia fuit examinata, atque in omni collegio undique comprobata, die quinto, omnibus doctoribus utriusque juris et magistris theologiae, cum cancellario, dicentibus et affirmantibus eam de sacris legibus et libris divinis bene ac subtiliter tractatam, et ex auctoritate omnium doctorum sacrae paginae sapienter allegatam, id est affirmatam, necnon et fundatam. Ideo quicumque fueris, o lector, hanc noli contempnere, quia sine dubio si aliqui defectus in ea inventi fuissent, coram Universitate Cantabrigiae combusta fuisset.*

Though no positive certainty can of course be attached to such information, unsupported by other evidence, there is nothing, on the other hand, to render it positively suspicious,⁴⁰ unless it be the fact that the manuscripts containing it all belong to the early fifteenth century, and by that time the suspicion with which vernacular religious works were regarded on account of Lollardry was so great that a note like the present one was practically useful as a safe-conduct,⁴¹ and therefore likely to be fabricated. Claims like the present one were sometimes made fraudu-

* Quoted from Bodl. ms. 446 as above by J. O. Halliwell, *Thornton Romances*, Camden Society, London, 1844, pp. xx f. The same note is found in Cambridge University ms. II. i. 36, and Caius College ms. 160.

* It was accepted as authentic by C. H. Cooper (*Annals of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1842-1908, I, p. 128; v, p. 260. I am unable to trace the reference to the "Cambridge Portfolio"), and it is, on his authority, made the basis of a statement in *Old English Libraries*, by E. A. Savage ("The Antiquary's Books," London, 1911, p. 155).

"Books written "in the time of John Wycliffe or since" were subject to examination, by the Constitutions of Archbishop Arundel in 1408 (see Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, etc., London, 1737, III, pp. 314-9; see also pp. 338, 365, 378).

lently, merely for the sake of selling a book: for example, "Sir John Mandeville" says that he showed his work to the Pope at Rome, at a date when actually the Pope was at Avignon.⁴² Public examinations were, however, sometimes a fact, for Giraldus Cambrensis describes his own reading of his *Topography of Ireland* before the University of Oxford for three days,⁴³ and Rolandino of Padua read his Chronicle in 1262 before the University of Padua.⁴⁴ We may well believe that the conditions in the nation brought about by the rise of Lollardry were such as to make formal examinations of literary works especially likely in 1384, even though we have nothing of the kind testified to from other sources. This was the year of Wycliffe's death, when the Wycliffite movement had become definitely heretical, and its influence over the common people through preaching and literary propaganda (which had not yet been curbed) was probably at its height.⁴⁵ Under these circumstances it would seem very natural that the orthodox party in the church should authorise for laymen a safe and attractive manual of religious instruction, like the *Speculum*, and since Oxford was at the time a center of heresy, it may have fallen on Cambridge to initiate some of the propaganda of orthodoxy for the academic world. The part which Cambridge played in the Wycliffite controversy has not been investigated; one of the questions asked by Archbishop Arundel at his visitation of

⁴² *The voyage and traouile of Sir John Maundeuille, Kt.*, ed. H. O. Halliwell, London, 1839, pp. 314-5. This analogy was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. G. G. Coulton.

⁴³ *De Rebus a se Gestis*, Bk. II, chap. 16, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, 1861, Rolls Series, I, p. 72.

⁴⁴ See Coulton, *Mediæval Garner*, London, 1910, p. 268.

⁴⁵ Knyghton under the date, 1382, says that half the population was Wycliffite (*Chronicon*, Rolls Series, London, 1895, II, p. 185).

1401 was as to the presence of heretics, and it has been taken for granted that they were numerous, without any positive evidence being brought forward on the matter.⁴⁶ But, however this case may be, it is evident that Cambridge must have played a less important part in the Wycliffite movement than Oxford, the home of Wycliffe, and have been correspondingly more receptive of orthodox measures.

From early times the Church had attempted to define the *sine qua non* of a layman's proper religious knowledge, and the regulations seem to have become more exact after the fourth Council of the Lateran, in 1215, when special ordinances were made for the instruction of the clergy.⁴⁷ In England the basis of religious instruction for laymen during the later Middle Ages was the Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham of 1281,⁴⁸ though similar stipulations were made before this time;⁴⁹ and several compila-

⁴⁶ See Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the earliest times to the Royal Injunctions of 1535*, Cambridge, 1873, p. 258; see also p. 271.

⁴⁷ R. M. Woolley points out the large number of episcopal institutions put out in England after this time (*English Historical Review*, xxx, pp. 285 ff.).

⁴⁸ Wilkins, I, pp. 51-61; also Gasquet, *The Old English Bible and other Essays*, 2nd edit., London, 1908, p. 170. Four times a year, in the vernacular, the Articles of the Faith, Ten Commandments, Two Commandments, Seven Works of Mercy, Seven Deadly Sins, "and their progeny," Seven Virtues, and Seven Sacraments were to be preached. This statute is copied into many manuscripts, many of which are listed in Martin's edition of Peckham's *Letters* (Rolls Series, 1885, III, pp. cxxiii ff.).

⁴⁹ We find Roger de Wesham, "Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and principal favourite of Robert Grosseteste," composing a treatise for the use of his clergy which follows much the lines of the later works (see *Memoirs of the Life of Roger de Wesham*, by Samuel Pegge, London, 1761, p. 57). Grosseteste had laid down much the same in 1237 (see Cobb, *Alcuin Club Collections*, xviii, p. 53, n. 3). Stengel lists Anglo-Norman examples (*Digby ms. 86*, Halle, 1871, pp. 1 ff.).

tions for laymen distinctly mention the fact that they are composed to fulfill the requirements of Peckham's ordinance,⁵⁰ and many more,—of which, as will appear from extracts from the prologue printed below, the *Speculum* is one—tacitly fulfill the scheme of the ecclesiastical ordinances more or less closely. It is, in fact, to their relation to these decrees that the group of subjects treated in the *Speculum* and recurring in other treatises doubtless owe their wide and continued dissemination, and the practical usefulness which they served doubtless had its share in developing their arrangement into as compact and successfully didactic a compilation as possible. As we have seen, the *Speculum* went farther towards unifying the whole than its predecessors, and though it covered practically the whole range of subjects required for lay instruction according to Peckham's statutes, and more, yet it could be said to fulfill merely the single requirement also made, that the people should be taught the Lord's Prayer, an ordinance to which the tract on the Pater Noster, and the *Mirror* directly refer, as well as the *Speculum* (see *infra*, pp. 158-9).

With the rise of Lollardry the Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham took on still more importance, for by the Constitutions of Archbishop Arundel of 1408, already mentioned, vernacular preaching to laymen was rigidly limited to the subjects there laid down.⁵¹ It is possible—

⁵⁰ See the *Speculum Christiani*, one of the most popular works of the fifteenth century (of which, as it may be useful to note, the New York Public Library possesses a copy in an early printed edition), and the sermon of "Gaytring," compiled at the request of Archbishop Thoresby of York in 1359 (*EETS*, No. 118). It is altogether probable that other similar works were also inspired from above.

⁵¹ The Lollards put out treatises built on the traditional framework (see Arnold, *Select English Works of Wyclif*, Oxford, 1869-71, III), and (though the question is of course uncertain because of the uncertain date of the pieces) it may be that here, as in other cases, they were availing themselves of an orthodox ordinance as a cloak.

though on this subject we have no proof—that the practice of putting books, both Latin and English, into parish churches for “common use,” which is commonly recorded during the last century and a half before the Reformation, made also part of the “Counter-Reformation” which followed Lollardry.⁵² One of the most frequent of these books was the *Pupilla Oculi*, a Latin manual of popular religious instruction for the use of parish priests.⁵³ The authorship of this work is disputed, but it is generally ascribed to John de Burgh, who, it must be noted, was made Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1384, and would therefore be the Chancellor referred to by the note on the *Speculum*.⁵⁴ At the time, therefore, to which

⁵² See, for examples of such gifts, Savage, pp. 128 f. It may be noted that Queen Isabel of France ordered the *Somme* placed in a Paris church for the use of the people (Warton-Hazlitt, III, p. 103).

⁵³ Savage, p. 132. In the few examples which he chooses for quotation this book occurs four times.

⁵⁴ Miss Mary Bateson states of the *Pupilla*, without giving her authority, that it “may be by Grosseteste, Peter de Limoges, Johannes or Jo. de Burgo” (*op. cit.*, p. 191, n. 6). The four copies owned by Syon Monastery which she is describing are all anonymous, and this seems to be the case with most manuscripts of the work. Most writers on the subject accept the authorship of de Burgh, on the strength of the edition printed in 1510 in Paris for W. Hopyl, at the expense of Bretton (as was also the *Speculum Spiritualium*). The heading is quoted by Maskell as follows: “*Pupilla oculi, omnibus presbyteris præcipue Anglicanis summe necessaria: per sapientissimum divini cultus moderatorem, Johannem de Burgo, quondam almae universitatis Cantabrigien. cancellarium: et sacræ paginæ professorem, necnon ecclesiæ de Colingam rectorem; compilata anno a natali Dominico, M.ccc.lxxxv. In qua tractatur de septem sacramentorum administratione, de decem præceptis decalogi, et de reliquis ecclesiasticorum officiis, quæ oportet sacerdotem rite institutum non ignorare*” (*Monumenta Ritualia*, London, 1847, III, p. lxxix, n. 29). He notes another edition in 1514. The continued authority of this book appears also from the fact that it seems to have been used in the *Rationale* of 1540-3 (see edition by C. S. Cobb, already cited, p. 6, n. 1). Maskell notes that a “*Pupilla*” is referred to as early as

the note refers, not only was there a general situation existing in England in which the examination of an English manual of popular religious instruction, built on the frame-work furnished by Peckham, would be a suitable measure, and may have taken place as the beginning of the "Counter-Reformation" of which we have evidence at a later date, but the highest authority at Cambridge was apparently showing a special interest in the orthodox teaching of laymen. These facts do not, of course, prove the validity of the note, but they suggest that it is worth further investigation.

However far the *Speculum Vitae* may appear to us to-day from the type of work to which an academic sanction would be granted, there can be no doubt that it represented some of the best theology of its time, worked over, as it seems, by a compiler of some talent. The *Somme*,—which it is hard to appreciate in the barbarous Kentish dialect in which we have generally known it,—has received

1311 (*ibid.*); Gasquet notes a *Pars oculi* by William Pagula or Walter Parker, of the middle of the fourteenth century (*op. cit.* pp. 170-3), and Savage refers to "several books of this title" (p. 252). A *De Oculo Morali*, given to Grosseteste in many manuscripts, is described by Martin (*op. cit.*, pp. lxxxif.), and a reference to the description of the same work given by Little (*op. cit.*, p. 151) makes it probable that it has been confused with the *Pupilla* by Miss Bateson. A treatise on Prayer, not hitherto noted, exists in MS. 1053, of Trinity College, Cambridge, with the title "*Pupilla oculi interioris hominis*." It shows the influence strongly of Richard Rolle.—The *Pupilla Oculi* is quoted from frequently by Rock (*Church of Our Fathers*, ed. Hart and Frere, London, 1905). It would seem to offer, for parish clergy, a very suitable equivalent to what the *Speculum* offers for the direct use of the laity. If de Burgh is not the author of the *Pupilla*, it is possible that an approbation of the work by him may have been the cause of his connection. The authenticity of the heading of Hopyl is to some extent substantiated by the fact that it is certain that de Burgh became Chancellor of Cambridge in 1384 (see Cooper, I, p. 128).

its just measure of praise from the best French scholars. Quétif and Échard thought that with some alterations of language it would be as popular today as ever;⁵⁵ M. Léopold Delisle recognises it as "the manual of religious morals which had the greatest vogue during the last three centuries of the Middle Ages";⁵⁶ and M. Ch. V. Langlois calls it "'the Imitation of Christ' of the thirteenth century,—of which several portions are certainly the masterpieces of mediæval edifying literature."⁵⁷ To the virtues which it shares with the *Somme*—or the *Miroir*—the *Speculum* has added from the tract on the Pater Noster,⁵⁸ or a common original, a superior structure, and from some source unknown—or the invention of its compiler—considerable realism of an amusing sort. To the modern student, in any case, whatever the circumstances of its origin or whoever its author, it has great interest in offering a complete mirror of the orthodox mediæval instruc-

⁵⁵ Quoted in the *Histoire* of Petit de Julleville, II, p. 182.

⁵⁶ *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Paris, 1907, p. 236. He is commenting on the set of illustrations which accompany the *Somme* in many copies, and are an interesting sign of its currency among the rich.

⁵⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁸ It seems likely that this is an English production, though of course nothing definite can be arrived at on the subject. The six volumes of the *Notices et extraits* of B. Hauréau (Paris, 1890-3), probably the richest treasury available of information on such matters, contain no reference to this work, and no manuscript has turned up during a fairly extended perusal of catalogues of manuscripts in French libraries. M. Paul Meyer says (*Bulletin*, 1896, p. 43, n.) that there are several expositions of the Pater Noster in French, "surtout" that of *La Somme*, and that at the beginning of the Sermons of Maurice de Sully (on which see *Romania*, XXIII, p. 499). The *Speculum* uses an English proverb ("for men sayn on old englis," f. 138), and refers to the King of England (f. 147). Such references, however, could easily be added in the translation, and do not necessarily mean anything as to the source.

tion for laymen.⁵⁹ By its attachment to the Pater Noster of the whole theology and ethics of the Church, as they concerned laymen, it is a triumph of the mediæval art of hanging a universal theology to the exposition of texts, and it would seem that its carefully articulated schematism⁶⁰ solved the general problem of what might be called the architectonics of the *Summa* for laymen,—which was a form of literature for which the ecclesiastical statutes kept alive the demand, and to some extent fixed the elements.

The following parallel quotations will, it is hoped, illustrate the preceding statements.

The quotations from the *Speculum* are made from Ullmann's article, in which he uses ms. Ll. i. 8, supplemented by ms. Ii. i. 36, dated 1423 (one of the copies containing the note as to the examination).

The quotations from the *Mirror* are made from Harl. ms. 45, of the early fifteenth century, originally the book of "Dame Margaret Brent." Two other copies of the fifteenth century exist in the Bodleian library, viz.: E. Mus. 35, ff. 221-452^v, and Rawl. ms. A. 356, both imperfect at the beginning.

The quotations from the tract on the Pater Noster are made from Burney ms. 356, of the early fifteenth century,

⁵⁹ It is probably due to the superior quality of the elements out of which the *Speculum* is compounded, rather than to any superior talent in the compiler, that the *Speculum* is a work of distinctly better quality than the *Prick of Conscience*.

⁶⁰ The full intention operating in a work like the *Speculum*, with its—too—over-elaborate connections, cannot be understood unless the mediæval characteristic is understood which is signalled by M. Langlois in the following: "C'a été l'une des manies du moyen âge de croire fermement à la valeur des machines intellectuelles et d'en confectionner beaucoup: machines mnémotechniques, machines à penser, machines à prier, machines à prêcher" (*L'éloquence sacrée*, p. 193).

(ff. 8 ff.), in which it makes part of a compilation entitled *Flos Florum*, referred to by Gasquet, as a "manual in twenty-five books, the first being on the Lord's Prayer."⁶¹ The only other reference to the work is one made in Horstmann's *Yorkshire Writers*,⁶² in which he notes the text in Harl. ms. 1022, and gives it to Richard Rolle for no visible reason. Other copies are Harl. ms. 1648, Addit. ms. 15, 237—both at the British Museum—and ms. Rawl. C. 72, ff. 137 ff.

The quotations from the *Miroir* are made from Chavannes' edition. All the passages here quoted occur also in the *Somme*, in the text found in Addit. ms. 28, 162, of the British Museum,—which is the manuscript of the work here used.

The openings of the *Speculum* and *Mirror* are as follows:

Speculum

"Almyzty god in trinite," . . .
—After the invocation, and an apology for the author's imperfections, he goes on:

"I warne þow ferst at þe begynnyng,

I wil make no veyn spekyng
Of dedes of armes ne of amours,
Os don mynstreles and oþer gestours,

þat make spekyng in many a place

Of Octouian and Isanbrace." . .
(ll. 35 f.)

—After a few similar lines and some account of the edifying

Mirror

"Fore hit is so þat all mankynde in this world nys but in exile and wildernesse out of his kyndely contre, or as is a pilgrym or a weyfaring man in a strang londe where he may in no manere abide. But nedely euery day, euery houre, and euery tyme is passyng on his way." Our goal is one of two cities, Babylon or Jerusalem, which are in turn described and interpreted with quotations from the Meditations of St. Augustine. "And for man may not knowe in whiche of these two

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 175. He apparently neglects to observe that the notes in Harl. ms. 1648, to which he refers (p. 173), are the same work.

⁶² London, 1894, II, p. 157.

substitute which he offers, comes the following:

"In English tonge I schal 3ow telle,
3if 3e wyth me so longe wil dwelle.

No Latyn wil I speke no waste,
But English, þat men vse mast."

... (ll. 61 f.)

An interesting discussion of this subject follows; after which the *Speculum* joins the *Mirror*, as follows:

"And swyche a lessoun I schal 3ow 3eue,

þat myrour of lyf to 3ow may be,
In þe whiche 3e may al 3owre lyf se.

First I wyl speke of þe gret profit

Of þe Pater Noster, þat cometh of it,

And of þe fruyt and dignyte

Of þat prayzer, os men may se,

And specially of þe seuene askynges,

þat on þe Pater Noster henges,

And of þe seuene 3yftes of þe holy gost,

þat þe seuene askynges may to vs haste,

And of þe seuene synnes, þat most may smerte,

þat þe seuene 3yftes putten out of herte,

And specially of þe vertues seuene, þat may be set in here stede euene,

And of þe seuene blessyd hedes,

To whiche þe seuene vertuwes vs ledes,

And of þe seuene medes alle,

þat of þe blessedhedys schulde falle; (ll. 92 f., pp. 468 f.)

weyes he gob ynne ne whiderward he is, but he knowe what is vertu, and what is synne. Therefore þis writyng is thus made for lewed and menliche lettred men and wymmen in suche tonge as þei can best vnderstonde. And may be cleped a myrour to lewde men and wymmen, in whiche they may see god þorgh stedfast by leue, and hem self þorgh mekenes, and what is vertu, and what is synne.

... This writyng schal be gynne with þat holy prayer þat cristie him self made and taghte, þat is the Pater Noster, as the gospel berith witnesse. And first in this writyng shal be schewed þe profyte and fruyt and þe dignyte of the holy prayer, the Pater noster. Afterward þe seuene askynges þat ben in the Pater noster. And þe seuene 3yftes of þe holy goost þat we asketh þerby. And þe seuene hede synnes þat tho seuene 3yftes putten away. And þe seuene vertues þat the seuene 3yftes setten in the stede of þe seuene synnes. And þe seuene blissedhede þat the seuene vertues bringeþ vs to. And also þe seuene medes þat bringeth to þe seuene blissedhedis." (f. 3 f.)

The *Somme* and the *Miroir*, as has already been stated, put the exposition of the Pater Noster towards the end of the whole. The *Miroir*, however, (p. 30) bears some relation to the English works in stating its title at the beginning, though in terms that bear them no special relation. The tract on the Pater Noster, as has already been noted, gives the arrangement found in the *Speculum* and *Mirror*. It is headed by the following summary: "Hic incipit compendiosus tractatus de utilitate orationis dominice, in quo breuiter tractatur de vii petitionibus eiusdem. . . . Item de vii donis spiritus sancti. . . . Item de vii peccatis mortalibus. . . . Item de vii virtutibus principalibus. . . . Item de vii beatitudinibus et eorum meritis" (f. 8).⁶³ Both the tract and the French treatises are used in the remainder of the introduction, as the following quotations will show:

Speculum

þe Pater Noster first men lerys,
For it is heued of alle prayeres.
It is a prayzer most suffysaunt
To alle þe þat it wyl hawunt,
And most syker, wher we go,
For þis lyf and þe toþer al so;
Where fore eche man, þat has
tane
Trewthe of baptesme at þe
fount stane,
þat prayere schulde lere and
entente

Mirror

Firste men scholen vndirstonde
þat þe Pater Noster is heed of
all prayers, and þe moste suffi-
sant and most siker for this lyf
and þat other. Wherefore eche
cristen man by comandement of
holy chirche schal lerne þis
prayer. And who so wol not
lerne hit he despiseth goddes
lawe. And þerfore it is the
firste thing of lettrure þat is
taght to children. This prayer

⁶³ The *Somme* and *Miroir* (p. 248) make a similar concatenation of subjects, but in the middle of the whole work. It should be noted that the present list by no means exhausts the subjects of the *Speculum*, for they include almost every category developed by mediæval schematicism. Some impression of its range may be gained by examination of its derivative, "The Desert of Religion" (Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXVII, pp. 388 f., where I point out the relation between the two works, and *ibid.*, CXXVI, pp. 58 ff., where the text is given).

Thorow holy chyrches comande-
ment;

And þei, þat wyl nowt lere nor
knowe

þat prayer, despysen goddes
lawe;

þere fore þe maner is to loke:

Whan a chyld is set to boke,

þe Pater Noster he schal first
lere,

For it is most preciouise prayere;

þat lessoun good almyghty

Tawte hys dessiples specially;

þere fore may it be ryht calde

Godes prayere, os we it halde,

Where fore, þat vnderstonden
wyle

þis lessoun, os þei schulde be
skyle,

þei schulde become boþe meke
and myld

And debonere, os ony chylde.

Swyche ben þe verray scoleres
ryght

Of oure wys maister, god al-
myght,

þat, os hys wysdom ofte hem
leres

And techeth hem os hys owne
scoleres.

But we may fynde many a man,
þat þe naked lettre can

Of þis prayere, þat Cryst wrowt,

But þe vnderstondeng can þei
nowt;

þere fore hem thynketh, it
sauowreth þe lesse,

For þere Inne fele þei no swet-
nesse;

For lytel deuociown hauen þei

In þe Pater Noster, whan þei it
sey.

But who so vnderstonde it wylle,

A swete prayzere may þei fele.

(ll. 113 ff.)

taghte oure lord ihesu crist to
his disciples and þerfore it is
cleped goddes prayer. And who
so wil vnderstonde þis prayer,
he scholde be meke and mylde
and debonaire; ffor such beþ the
verray scolers of oure lord god.
Many man conne þe naked lettre
of this prayer, but noght þe
vnderstondyng, and þerfore it is
to hem sauorles. Wherefore þey
seyen hit with litel deuocion or
none. And so it is to hem litel
or no profite. But who so vnder-
stondith it wel, he schal fynde
þerynne moche swetnesse and
perfitte deuocion. (f.3b.)

Pater Noster

Pater Noster tanquam caput omnium orationum euidenter approbatur. Quia ex sui virtute quantum ad omnia nobis necessaria pro vita presenti et futura petenda sufficere videtur. Quam quidem orationem vnusquisque christianus tam ex precepto quam ex consilio ecclesie scire et intelligere tenetur. Nam qui illam orationum scire negligit, doctrinam dei manifeste contempnit. Iccirco paruulus quum de nouo ad librum apponitur, primo adiscit Pater noster. Nam istam leccionem dominus noster ihesus christus docuit discipulos suos. Ideo merito dicitur oratio dominica.

Vnde qui istam doctrinam scire et intelligere voluerunt, erunt humiles vt paruuli. Tales enim sunt veri scolares sapientissimi domini nostri ihesu christi quos de sui doctrina instruit et informat. Multi tamen mundani litteram istius orationis sciunt et intelligunt, sed eius sententiam totaliter nesciunt. Illi vero in ea modicum sentiunt saporem et qui nullam deuocionis dulcedinem sed qui bene et recte intelligunt orationem predictam ipsam ut mel in ore sentiunt dulcissimam.

(f. 8)

Miroir

Quant on met un enfant a l'escole, au commencement on li aprent sa Patrenostre. Qui de ceste clergie veut aprendre, deviègne humble comme enfant. Quer à tiex escoliers aprent nostre bon maistre Ihucrist ceste clergie, qui est la plus bèle et la plus pourfitable, quant on l'entent, et la retient. Quer tel le cuide bien savoir et entendre, qui onques rien sot fors l'escorce, par dehors.

C'est la leitre qui bonne est; mais poc vaut au regart du noyel qui est par dedans si doux.

(p. 250)

In conclusion, some account will be given of the treatment in the two English works of the "Ninth Branch of Avarice," along with the very meagre references to the same subject in the *Pater Noster* and the *Miroir*. As may be guessed from the outline given below, this material,

which will be seen to be for the most part lacking in the available sources, makes one of the very best portions of the English poem and treatise,—in fact, it may be said to be one of the most entertaining descriptions of the familiar life of the time to be found in a Middle English theological work.⁶⁴ It should be noted, however, that an apparent abridgment of their treatment of Avarice is one of the grounds for postulating a larger *Summa* behind the French treatises.⁶⁵ This ultimate source may therefore have been responsible for the fuller descriptions found in the English derivatives.

The English works treat the subject at length under the following heads:

- (1) common women.
- (2) jugglers.
- (3) "faitours."
- (4) "snecke-drawers," (in the *Mirror*, "draw-lacches"), or "robertsmen."⁶⁶
- (5) harlots.
- (6) heralds.
- (7) champions.
- (8) "tollers."
- (9) hangmen. (*Speculum*, f. 100, *Mirror*, f. 71b.)

⁶⁴ Part of this section of the poem was printed by Dr. Furnivall, *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, III, pp. 169, 189.

⁶⁵ Fowler, p. 33.

⁶⁶ Warton quotes a statute of Edward III (*an. reg.* 5) confirmed by Richard II (*an. reg.* 7) against "roberdesmen" and "drawlacches" (II, p. 271, n. 3).

Pater Noster.

Malum artificium,
quo utuntur mere-
trices, ribaldi, his-
triones, theolena-
rii, ioculatores, et
huiusmodi.

(f. 16.)

Miroir.

A la deerraine
(tenth) branche de
convoitise apartien-
nent tous les mau-
vais mestiers que on
aprent et maintient,
pour gaaigner. Si
comme de ces faus
courretiers qui ne fi-
nent de gent engigi-
ner, et de ces cham-
pions qui s'entretuent
pour deniers, et ces
faus monoiers et de
ceus qui font les dés
et les chapiaus de
fleurs. (p. 151)

Somme.

La nouieme branche
dauarice est mauvaiz
mestier. En ce pe-
chent mult de genz
et en mout de mani-
eres; comme font ce
fols femes qui pour vn
pou de gaaing saban-
donent a pechie. Ausi
comme cil heraut et
cil champion et mout
dautres qui pour de-
niers ou por preu
temporel sabandon-
nent a mestier des-
honeste qui ne peut
estre faiz sanz pechie.
(Brit. Mus. Addit.

ms. 28, 162, f. 30) "

HOPE EMILY ALLEN.

"It may be noted that the unidentified French treatise found in a Christ Church fragment by F. Y. Powell (*Modern Language Quarterly*, II, p. 21 f.) is the *Somme* or *Miroir*.—A word should be said in reference to the puzzling copy of the *Speculum* in Addit. ms. 22, 283 of the British Museum containing a couplet at the end giving the title "Prikke of Conscience," which was quoted in my former article (pp. 168-9). An examination of this manuscript and the Vernon ms. of the Bodleian, which seems to be its prototype, shows the source of the lines in question. In the Vernon ms. the couplet headed the *Prikk of Conscience*, which there directly followed the *Speculum*. The scribe of the copy inserted a new piece between the two poems, and attached the rhymed title to the earlier, though it belonged to the later.

VII.—THE RISE OF A THEORY OF STAGE PRESENTATION IN ENGLAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Stage history has generally been regarded by the student of the arts as a thing apart. It has been assumed that the stage has developed its own art, influenced only by the art of the stage in other lands or in other times. In general, this assumption seems to me unjustified. Rather, the stage should, I believe, be regarded as giving expression in its art to the dominant artistic theory of the time. It is only in its medium of expression that the art of the stage differs from the other arts; its fundamental artistic theory is that held in common with the other arts. Certainly, it seems to me, it is only in this fashion that one can account for the changes in the theory of dramatic presentation that came about within the compass of the eighteenth century. It is my purpose in this paper, therefore, to show the development of the theory of acting in England in the eighteenth century, and to show that in its development the theory of acting followed the general artistic theory of the day.

With more or less accuracy the stage history of the eighteenth century may be divided into four periods: the first extending from about 1690 to 1741 and characterized by the following of tradition and by the acceptance of conventionalized tone and gesture on the stage; the second lasting from 1741 to 1776, and marked by a revolt against the ideas of the preceding period and by the use of imitative acting; the third, from 1776 to 1782, serving as a transition period; the fourth, persisting after 1782 through the early years of the nineteenth century and distinguished by the acceptance of the "grand style" on the stage. The first period is the period of classicism; the second the

period of realistic romanticism; the fourth the period of the romanticism of the "grand style" and akin to the classical romanticism of English literature.

It must be remembered that from 1660 through the eighteenth century, all discussion relative to the manner of stage delivery centered about two points: (1) the following of tradition in acting a character, and (2) the style of declamation to be adopted in the delivery of tragedy. Strangely enough, the pervading idea of tragedy as the teacher of morals, and comedy as the teacher of manners seems so to have affected the theory of stage delivery as to have made the natural delivery of comedy a matter of course, while about the matter of tragic utterance a continuous battle of critics and actors raged. It was inevitable, then, that the artistic theory of the time should find expression in laws relative to these matters.

THE PERIOD OF CLASSICISM: THE ACCEPTANCE OF TRADITION

The zeal with which contemporary writers ascribed an unvarying excellence to the post-Restoration actors sometimes challenges skepticism. But the source of the attributed excellence cannot be denied, once the major premise of the syllogism of critical judgment be allowed. It was assumed that the author of plays knew how they should be acted, and that his interpretation of his own characters was not only the most accurate, but also the most effective interpretation. According to this assumption, the author knew not only how to interpret life in his dramas, but also how to re-interpret these dramas in action. Necessarily, then, the acting of a character should be based upon the traditional following of the author's instructions to the first player of the part, and the closer

the imitation of the older actor by the younger, the better was his presentation of the part. In this way we find Downes accounting for the superior excellence of Betterton, in chronicling the 1662 performance of Hamlet:

The Tragedy of Hamlet; Hamlet being Perform'd by Mr. Betterton, Sir William (having seen Mr. Taylor of the *Black-Fryars* Company Act it, who being instructed by the Author Mr. *Shakespeare*) taught Mr. *Betterton* in every Particle of it; which by his exact Performance of it, gain'd him Esteem and Reputation, Superlative to all other plays.¹

Of *Henry VIII*, performed a little later, he adds:

The part of the King was so right and justly done by Mr. *Betterton*, he being Instructed in it by Sir *William*, who had it from Old Mr. Lowen, that had his Instructions from Mr. *Shakespeare* himself, that I dare and will aver that none can, or will come near him in this Age, in the performance of that part.²

Mrs. Betterton is said to have been famed for her acting in Shakespeare's plays, particularly for her Ophelia, of which character Sir William Davenant gave her some idea from his memory of the boy Ophelias who acted before the civil wars.³

In the dialogue of James Wright, *Historia Histrionica*, the first edition of which was issued in 1699, we find further evidence of this theory. One of the characters, Lovewit, declares that the actors of the present age are (some few excepted) inferior to Hart, Mohun, and others of the preceding age. Trueman replies that those were again inferior to the players before the war—Lowin, Taylor, Pollard, etc. Lovewit replies:

¹ *Roscius Anglicanus*. A facsimile reprint of the rare original of 1708. London, J. M. Jarvis and Son, 1886, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³ Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies* (London, 1784), vol. III, p. 126.

I am willing to believe it but cannot readily; because I have been told, that those whom I mention'd, were bred up under the others of your acquaintance, and follow'd their manner of action, which is now lost: So far, that when the question has been ask'd, Why these players do not revive the *Silent Woman*, and some others of Jonson's plays? (once of highest esteem), they have answered, Truly, because there are none living who can rightly humour those parts; for all who related to the Blackfriars, (where they were acted in perfection) are now dead and almost forgotten.⁴

Colley Cibber gives an account of an affair of 1694 in the playhouses which shows how far this theory of authority in acting a part persisted. The Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse announced *Hamlet* for Tuesday. Drury Lane thereupon announced *Hamlet* for Monday. In retaliation Lincoln's Inn Fields proposed *Hamlet* also for Monday. Drury Lane replied by putting on at six hours' notice the play previously advertised for Lincoln's Inn Fields, *The Old Bachelor*. Powell performed his part in imitation of Betterton, who had the part at the other house, while the then untried Cibber dressed, talked, and acted the part of Alderman Fondlewife after the manner of Dogget at the rival house.⁵

The result of this theory of the necessary transmission of the interpretation of the character from actor to actor was that the interpretation became fixed, and that acting was considered a matter of mere study. Thus Anthony Aston in his *Brief Supplement to Colley Cibber* says of Mrs. Verbruggen:

She was all art, and her acting acquired, but she dressed it so nice, it looked like nature; there was not a look, a motion, but what were all designed; and these at the same word, period, incident, were

⁴ In Dodsley, *A Select Collection of Old Plays* (London, 1780), vol. XII, p. 339.

⁵ *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian and Patentee of the Theatre Royal*. Written by himself. (Ed. Bell-chambers, London, 1822), pp. 208-215.

every night in the same character alike, and yet all sat charmingly easy upon her.*

The immediate successor of Betterton in public esteem was Barton Booth. Apparently, however, Booth ventured to disregard tradition to a certain extent. Davies says of him that he, "though a professed admirer of Betterton almost to idolatry, had too much judgment to copy or servilely imitate his action."⁷ That he dared to study and to interpret a character seems also to be implied in a sketch by Aaron Hill: "Two advantages distinguished him, in the strongest Light, from the rest of his Fraternity: He had Learning to understand perfectly whatever it was his Part to speak: Judgment to know how far it agreed with his Character."⁸

These accounts, of course, may be interpreted as relating to new characters, characters in new dramas. But of Antony Boheme, a follower of Booth, we find a more definite account: "As he was an original actor and not an auricular imitator, his manner of acting Lear was very different from that of Booth."⁹

However, the theory demanding the traditional acting of a part and reckoning a mechanical knowledge of a part as ability to act that part persisted alongside of these apparent variations. The *Life of Quin* contains this description of the state of affairs in 1718 at the time when Quin came on the stage:

Besides, the manager considered acting as a mere mechanical acquisition, that nothing but time could procure; and therefore, every

* Reprinted in Grolier Society Edition of Colley Cibber. Cf. vol. II, p. 321.

⁷ Davies, *l. c.*, vol. II, p. 278.

⁸ Quoted in Thomas Betterton, *The History of the English Stage from the Restoration to the Present Time* (1741), p. 146.

⁹ Davies, *l. c.*, vol. II, pp. 276, 277.

one in his company was to serve his apprenticeship before he attempted being even a journeyman actor. This accounts for Quin's remaining for a long time the mere scene drudge, the faggott of the drama.¹⁰

Aaron Hill in his preface to *Zara* (1735) protested against the "extraordinary concession" of the rulers of the stage of that day "*that actors must be twenty years such, before they can expect to be masters of the air, and tread, of the Stage.*"¹¹

Such was the state of affairs when in 1741 there occurred the two most important events of the eighteenth century stage—the appearance of Macklin as Shylock, and the appearance of Garrick as Richard III. Macklin rescued Shylock from the comic interpretation earlier actors had given him, and in the face of much opposition attained success in his presentation of the character as a serious one. Garrick, too, re-interpreted Richard III. And these two ventures apparently established the freedom of interpretation on the stage, for the stage history of succeeding years is largely a chronicle of varied readings, diverse interpretations, and new excellences brought by the increasing stream of actors.

Yet, ironically, these very actors seem to have established in many cases new traditions. Macklin was "the Jew that Shakespeare drew" to his generation, and the public refused to see any one else play the character. They likewise refused to see any other Falstaff than Quin.¹² And before Mrs. Abington quitted the stage, Miss Phillips, afterward Mrs. Crouch, is said to have attended her per-

¹⁰ *The Life of Mr. James Quin, Comedian, with the History of the Stage from his Commencing Actor to his Retreat to Bath* (London, 1766), p. 17.

¹¹ Cf. *Works* (1760), vol. I, pp. 24-26.

¹² Davies, *l. c.*, vol. I, p. 232.

formances regularly on an order, expecting thenceforth to play after her manner.¹³

A pupil of Macklin, Dr. or Sir John Hill, published in 1750 a book called *The Actor*, in which he discussed the theory of traditional acting. He says:

We yet see those who, in the life-time of some of the old players of great name, were allowed to be like them; and we see in Mr. Garrick a person unlike to them all, and to every thing that has gone before him; none has ever disputed whether he or they deserved the palm; and it is certain that he has formed himself by study, and they by imitation.¹⁴

Later, in discussing the necessity for the actor's understanding the author's meaning, Hill says also:

It will be said, that imitation will supply the place of understanding, and that having observed in what manner another pronounces any sentence, the performer may give it utterance in the same cadence; an ear answering the purposes of understanding. Too many players are of this opinion; but it is setting their profession very low, it is reducing that to a mechanical art which was intended to exert all the force of genius; but as it is contemptible, it is also imperfect.¹⁵

Hill continues his attack by questioning how mere imitators can ever learn to act in new plays, and by instancing the necessity for getting away from old errors and for permitting new excellences. Where imitation rules, the actor shows that he is but repeating a schoolboy's lesson, the meaning of which he has not taken pains to get, as might be seen in *The Siege of Damascus*, then playing.

The public continued intermittently hostile to new interpretations even so late as Mrs. Siddons's time, when she made changes in the manner of acting Lady Macbeth in 1785. But from the time when Macklin and Garrick ap-

¹³ W. J. Young, *Memoirs of Mrs. Orouch* (London, 1806), vol. I, p. 155.

¹⁴ Ed. of 1755, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

peared in 1741, the right to re-interpretation was established.

In general, then, we find the actors of the post-Restoration period tenaciously adhering to the doctrine of authority in the matter of character-interpretation on the stage. We find Booth and his follower, Boheme, departing from this following of tradition. Meanwhile, the theory of traditional acting had resulted in a fixed interpretation of characters and in a mechanical art of acting. During the period when Quin was the leader of the stage these characteristics persisted. With Garrick and Macklin the right to go to nature herself, to re-interpret a play in the light of life itself, was established. The theory was formulated by Hill in his *The Actor*, and was not attacked, in spite of occasional resentments on the part of the public where noticeable departures from accepted interpretations were made.

THE PERIOD OF CLASSICISM: THE MODE OF TRAGIC DELIVERY

Aside from the question of the traditional acting of a part, the question of the mode of tragic delivery loomed most important in eighteenth-century stage theory. As I have said, the pervading idea of tragedy as the teacher of morals, and comedy as the teacher of manners seems to have caused the theatrical world to accept the natural recitation of comedy as a matter of course, while the mode of tragic delivery offered constant ground for dispute.

The history of natural and artificial acting previous to the Restoration is a matter which I shall not attempt to discuss here. The post-Restoration actors,—Hart, Betterton, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Saunderson (afterwards Mrs. Betterton) particularly—were regarded, at least by their con-

temporaries as sincere interpreters of nature.¹⁶ By eighteenth-century critics and dabblers in theatrical history they were similarly regarded. Davies says that we must suppose the actors of Shakespeare's time to have been capable of the portrayal of the variety of action and passion revealed in his works.¹⁷ The immediate followers of these players must have been able likewise to "hold the mirror up to nature."

When, therefore, there crept into use a mode of tragic delivery totally at variance with all idea of natural speaking, it is difficult to say. Anthony Aston in his *Brief Supplement* said of Mrs. Barry, "Neither she nor any of the actors of those times had any *tone* in their speaking (too much, lately, in use)."¹⁸ Yet in the preface to Dryden's *The Fairy Queen*, adapted from Shakespeare's *The Midsummer Night's Dream* and published in 1692, occurs this passage:

Sir William D'Avenant's *Siege of Rhodes*, was the first opera we ever had in England, no man can deny; and is indeed a perfect opera, there being this difference only between an opera and a tragedy, that the one is a story sung with proper action, the other spoken. And he must be a very ignorant player, who knows not there is a musical cadence in speaking; and that a man may as well speak out of tune as sing out of tune.

The inference here clearly is that even in Betterton's time there was recognized a particular mode of speaking tragic parts.

Downes in speaking of the actors playing after 1706 says of Wilks that he was

¹⁶ Pepys, Cibber, Aston, and others of the lesser writers furnish abundant evidence for this statement. Cf. Dibdin, *A Complete History of the Stage*, vol. x, pp. 230, 231, for a summary.

¹⁷ Davies, *l. c.*, vol. I, pp. 33, 34.

¹⁸ Aston, *l. c.*, p. 311.

Proper and Comely in Person, of Graceful Port, and Mein and Air; void of Affectation; his Elevation and Cadences just, Congruent to Elocution; Especially in Gentile Comedy; not Inferior in Tragedy. The Emission of his Words free, easy, and natural; Attracting attentive silence in his Audience, (I mean the Judicious) except where the Unnatural Rants, As

*I'll mount the sky,
And kick the G—ds like footballs as I fly:
As Poet D . . . rfy has it,
Which puts the Voice to such Obstreperous stretch,
Requires the Lungs of a Smith's Bellows to reach."*

The comment would seem, indeed, to indicate that Wilks conformed to an ideal of utterance somewhat at variance with that of mere natural delivery even in passages other than the "Unnatural Rants" which so over-taxed his lungs. At least, the description, "his Elevation and Cadences just, Congruent to Elocution," is suggestive.

Of Cibber, Downes says that he was equal to Mountfort in certain characters and "not much Inferior in Tragedy, had Nature given him Lungs Strenuous to his finish Judgment." And that Downes differentiated comic and tragic delivery is certain from his description of Estcourt who "laetificates his audience in comedy (Nature endowing him with an easy, free, unaffected Mode of Elocution)." ¹⁹

Aaron Hill in his dedication to *The Fatal Vision*, acted in 1716, spoke of the accustomed manner of the stage as being a "horrible, theatric way of speaking." He protested that save in "Mr. Booth, who is, indeed, a just and excellent tragedian, you should never hear so much as an Endeavor at those thrilling breaks, and changes of the voice." ²⁰

Yet Dibdin speaks of Booth as having "in some degree

¹⁹ Downes, *l. c.*, p. 51.

²⁰ Hill, *l. c.*, vol. I, pp. 148, 149.

cramped nature by lacing the buskin too tight,"²¹ and Cooke tells us that Macklin said of Booth that "though he repeated blank verse in the solemn articulate manner of that day, there was a roundness and melody in his voice which was remarkably pleasing."²²

Apparently, then, this fashion of tragic delivery was accepted during the decade preceding the opening of the eighteenth century, though it seems probable that it had been gradually introduced. As we shall see later, it gained definite authority during the years just previous to Garrick's appearance, when Quin was dictator of the stage. And whether it is significant or no, it is interesting to note that the famous speech of Hamlet to the players, which was used as a text by all later advocates of natural acting, was not spoken on the stage from the death of Betterton until the time when it was revived by Garrick.²³

To define this change and to trace the sources contributing to bring it about is, then, our immediate concern.

We saw that Aston spoke of *toning* words in describing the habits of his day. Davies described the acting of the generation preceding Garrick as characterized by "elevation of the voice, with a sudden mechanical depression of its tones, calculated to excite admiration and to intrap applause."²⁴ Foote quotes Sir John Hill's *On Stage Recitation*, which referred to "the recitative of the old tragedy" and chronicled "the gestures forced, and beyond all that ever was in nature, and the recitative was a kind of singing."²⁵ Murphy says that when Garrick came,

²¹ Dibdin, *l. c.*, vol. iv, pp. 419, 420.

²² W. Cooke, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin* (1806), p. 16.

²³ Davies, *l. c.*, vol. iii, p. 80.

²⁴ Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq.* (London, 1780), vol. i, p. 40.

²⁵ William Cooke, *Memoirs of Samuel Foote, Esq.* (1805), vol. i, pp. 38, 39.

"tragedy roared in a most unnatural strain; rant was passion; whining was grief; vociferation was terror, and drawling accents were the voice of love." ²⁶

Of Quin we find numerous descriptions that in a measure reveal his style of declamation. Davies said of him that though he was "a very natural reciter of plain and familiar dialogue, he was utterly unqualified for the striking and vigorous characters of tragedy." ²⁷ He described also Quin's manner of "heaving up his words, and his labored action." ²⁸ Elsewhere this same writer said of Quin in *Macbeth* that he was "deficient in animated utterance, and wanted flexibility of tone. . . . During the whole representation he scarce ever deviated from a dull, heavy, monotony." ²⁹ Cumberland described him thus: "With very little variation of cadence, and in a deep, full tone, accompanied by a sawing kind of action, which had more of the senate than of the stage in it, he rolled out his heroics with an air of dignified indifference." His Cato and his Brutus were to be remembered with pleasure; his Richard and his Lear were to be forgotten, according to this author.³⁰ Kirkman described him as "stiff in his manner and heavy in his deportment." ³¹ He reported Macklin as having thought Quin's declamation fine though somewhat pompous. And of his Othello, Kirkman said that "his person was clumsy, his declamation heavy, his pas-

²⁶ Arthur Murphy, *The Life of David Garrick, Esq.* (London, 1801), vol. I, p. 17.

²⁷ Davies, *Life of D. G.*, vol. I, p. 28.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁹ Davies, *Dram. Mis.*, vol. II, p. 133.

³⁰ Quoted in Joseph Knight, *David Garrick* (London, 1894), pp. 62, 63.

³¹ James Kirkman, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin, Esq.* (London, 1799), vol. I, p. 469.

sions bellowing, his emphasis affected, and his under strokes growling." ³²

That this recitative was used only in tragedy seems, however, certain. Boaden, who could remember many of the old players, and who knew the stage world of the late eighteenth century intimately and hence knew the traditions of the stage, said:

I have always observed, that the *comico* actors delivered it [the blank verse of Shakespeare, Fletcher, Jonson, and Massinger] without an appearance of stiffness, and they appeared to be talking it as their natural speech; while their tragic brethren, in the same play, and in the same scene, assumed Burke's *Falsetto* invariably, and with an air of superiority too, which the very attempt forfeited altogether.³³

Only one reasoned-out definition of this monotony was written, so far as I have been able to discover. Sir John Hill in his *The Actor* of 1750 wrote of monotony:

Of this fault there are three distinct kinds. The one is an eternal sameness of tone and pronunciation: this is the fault of only the worst players, and always arises from their attempts at the declamatory manner. The second, is a sameness in the close of all periods; this the old players seem to have been, in general, guilty of. The third kind of monotony is, a repetition of the same accents and inflections, on all occasions. This is too much the fault of the most considerable of the present players.³⁴

We may conclude, then, that late in the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth century there grew up a new mode of tragic declamation; that it differentiated tragedy from comedy in its delivery, elevating tragedy to a more dignified, more pompous kind of utterance, the conventions of which were fixed. These conventions seem

³² *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 328.

³³ James Boaden, *The Life of Mrs. Jordan* (London, 1831), vol. II, pp. 22, 23.

³⁴ Ed. of 1755, p. 246.

to have related both to voice and to gesture. The words were spoken with rhythmic utterance, and the voice was elevated to a definite pitch. The gestures were formal, grand, and dignified. But the distinguishing feature was the acceptance of formalism and convention as consistent with and even essential to the dignity of tragedy in just the same way in which we accept the artificial gestures, walk, and other conventions of grand opera. Indeed, if we could imagine grand opera recited or intoned rather than sung, we should probably come near to picturing a tragedy delivered in the time of Quin.

How this change came to be is uncertain, since no writer of the time has told us anything of it. Two sources are, however, conjectured for the change. The first source is the French stage. The second is the compulsion of the rhymed tragedies which were being produced at this time.

In a late thesis entitled *Garrick: A Cosmopolitan Actor*, by F. A. Hedgecock, this style of declamation is said to have come from France, the influence of which country had been felt in dramatic matters since the Restoration. Mr. Hedgecock says that Voltaire's definition of French tragedy as "conversation in five acts" had represented a state of affairs necessarily influential in matters of stage delivery. Many of the plays were in the rhyme and style of the French classical drama, "which the actor, advancing to the front of the stage, recited in rhythmic fashion with conventional gestures and in absolute indifference to the movements of his companions in the theatre."³⁵ Knight, also, in his *David Garrick* attributed this change to French influence.³⁶

That tragedies of the time were necessarily recited in artificial fashion is found, too, as a doctrine oft repeated.

³⁵ Page 43.

³⁶ Pages 25, 26.

Sir John Hill said that monotony was often the fault of the author in closing the sense with the rhyme, and he suggested that a remedy for the evil be found in run-on lines, etc.

Davies analyzed the relation much more closely. In comparing a scene between Sporza and Francisco in Massinger's *Duke of Milan* with a scene between Shakespeare's John and Hubert, he says:

In Massinger, eloquent language and unbroken periods give easy assistance to the speaker, and calm and undisturbed pleasure to the hearer: In Shakespeare, the abrupt hints, half-spoken meanings, hesitating pauses, passionate interruptions, and guilty looks, require the utmost skill of the actors while they alarm and terrify the spectator.⁸⁷

Elsewhere Davies pointed out the fact that the increase and decline of this intoning style of declamation might be allied to the progress of dramatic history. He noted Dryden's heroic tragedies as the first in rhyme, and commented on the beginning of natural diction in *All for Love*, natural diction being completely restored with Otway. Meanwhile, among the revived plays popularity had first been granted to Ben Jonson, then to Beaumont and Fletcher, and finally to Shakespeare.⁸⁸

On the other hand, Kirkman makes this artificial fashion of speaking the cause of Rowe's monotony and his jingling rhymes at the end of the acts of *The Fair Penitent*.⁸⁹

Whether in any case these relations of cause and effect can ever be proved definitely, I very much doubt. But it is certain that some relation must and does exist between the style of dramatic writing and the style of acting. A drama written in rhymed couplets cannot be spoken fit-

⁸⁷ *Dram. Mis.*, vol. I, p. 51.

⁸⁸ Kirkman, *l. c.*, vol. I, p. 347.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 154-190.

tingly in the broken and chatty fashion of ordinary dialogue. However, rather than make any attempt to differentiate cause and effect, I should prefer to reckon both plays and acting as manifestations of the classical theory of tragedy prevalent at the time, a theory undoubtedly influenced by the artificially created French classical drama.

THE PERIOD OF REALISTIC ROMANTICISM

From some time about 1690 until 1741, this style of acting, which we may fairly call classical, dominated the English stage. The period of its dominance almost exactly coincided with the period of the so-called classicism in English literary history. But in the art of the stage as in the other arts there were already at work during the period of the greatest acceptance given to this classicism forces which were to make for the dissolution of this school of acting, forces which pointed to a romanticism on the stage as definite and as well marked as the coming romanticism of the other arts.

In 1716 in his dedication to *The Fatal Vision* Aaron Hill had protested against the customary manner of speaking on the stage as being opposed to nature. And as early as 1725 Charles Macklin had made an unappreciated effort to introduce the natural style of acting upon the stage. He later described the result of his effort, "I spoke so familiar, Sir, and so little in the hoity-toity tone of the Tragedy of that day, that the Manager Rich told me I had better go to grass for another year or two." Acting upon this advice, he went to the provinces for a few years, but 1733 saw him established in London. When he returned, he apparently had not lost faith in the justice of his cause, and he continued to "speak so familiar" that he was not

given a chance to do much harm in the theatre for the next few years.⁴⁰

Between the years 1734 and 1736, Aaron Hill, a person of excellent theories and varied interests, issued a paper known as the *Prompter*, in which he made critical comment on the actors and acting of the time. In 1735 this same Aaron Hill proposed to establish a school of acting to be called a tragic academy. This school was to be under the protection and supervision of a group of the literary folk of the city, with Thomson, the author of *The Seasons* as chief among them. The school was to be under the patronage of Frederick, Prince of Wales. But unfortunately His Royal Highness declined the proposed honor, and the tragic academy never materialized. Nevertheless, the proposal is interesting, in the first place, because it shows that the stage-folk and the literary coterie of the time were making tentative efforts to work together in what was intended as a scheme for reforming the stage practice of the time; and in the second place, because it shows that there was developing a new theory in regard to acting, and that this theory was to be influenced by Thomson.⁴¹

In 1738 David Garrick came up to London and very soon formed a sincere friendship for the actor Macklin, with whom he spent much time. These two must have found opportunity for much converse on the subject of acting, and it is impossible not to suppose that the younger actor was influenced by the notions of natural acting dear to the older one.

It was not until 1741 that the threatened revolt of the theorists culminated in actual achievement, however. But on February 14, 1741, Macklin made his famous appear-

⁴⁰ William Cooke, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin, Comedian* (2nd ed., 1806), pp. 12, 13.

⁴¹ Davies, *Life of D. G.*, vol. I, chap. XIII.

ance in *The Merchant of Venice*, rescuing Shylock from humorous treatment and attempting to present the character realistically even in the matter of costume.⁴² The new presentation of this character was at once popular, and through it Macklin became established as one of the great actors of his time, his popularity finally resulting in his coming into demand as a teacher of his art, as we shall see later.

On October 19, 1741, the then unknown Garrick likewise made his appearance in *Richard III* at Goodman's Fields Theatre. He, too, adopted the natural manner of declaiming tragic verse. And it took. Blessed by the gods with the divine fire of genius that had been denied to Macklin, he at once caused a furore among critics and populace that Macklin with the same methods had not been able to produce. Macklin was elated, however, at the success of his ideas as he saw them embodied in this young actor; Cibber disapproved of the whole thing; Pope foresaw triumph for the new interpretation, and Quin was startled into the oft-told exclamation, "By G—d, Sir, if this young fellow is right, then we have all been wrong." In general, the players resented this encroachment upon the dignity of tragedy and upon the conventional mode of its presentation. But all in vain. The hearers might be startled, or incredulous, or hostile, or enthusiastic, or merely curious, as their various temperaments decreed; there could be no doubt of the overwhelming popularity of the new style as it was embodied in Garrick. As Garrick prophesied in his reply to Quin's denunciation of the heresy, it came to be not heresy but reformation.

Cooke in his *Life of Macklin* described the alteration wrought by Garrick on this night as that of "changing an

⁴² Kirkman, *l. c.*, vol. I, pp. 253-265.

elevated tone of voice, a mechanical depression of its tones, and a formal measured step in traversing the stage, into an easy familiar manner of speaking and acting." In a day the new era of the stage art was begun; by a single performance the new method of presenting tragedy was popularized and its acceptance assured.⁴³

Early in 1742 Garrick threw down the gauntlet to "the old school" by acting Bayes in the Duke of Buckingham's *Rehearsal*, mocking the style of acting of all the principal performers of the time (Quin excepted).⁴⁴ It was fitting to the eighteenth century that the vehicle of reform should be ridicule, for it was in this fashion that the reactions against heroic tragedy, against sentimental comedy, against opera, against the later fad for elocution, all found expression; and Garrick found this travesty on the older acting a potent force in securing the adoption of the new.

In 1742, also, Garrick went to Drury Lane as the great attraction of that theatre. From this time the name of Garrick is always to be associated with that of this playhouse.

In 1744, consequent to a quarrel between Macklin and Garrick, Macklin withdrew to the Haymarket Theatre, and there trained would-be actors, introducing them on that stage. He thus became the first professional teacher of acting in this period. His method was chiefly concerned with breaking his pupils of their artificial habits of speaking. He bade them first to speak a part as they would in life if occasion required, then to pronounce the words in

* The account has been repeated with variations by every chronicler of things theatric, but Cooke's description (cf. pp. 98, 99) is particularly interesting, because it stresses Macklin's interest in the success of Garrick.

⁴⁴ John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage, from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830* (Bath, 1832), vol. iv, pp. 20-22.

exactly the same tone and with exactly the same expression, but to use more force, and to speak more loudly. He gave also lectures on grace, which he rendered ridiculous by his own awkward illustration of them, but which are important as indicating a new interest in stage deportment. In this fashion Macklin worked out a real science of acting, but a reconciliation with the managers and a consequent return to Drury Lane broke up the school. Meanwhile he had had among his pupils the actor Foote and Dr. or Sir John Hill.⁴⁵

In 1746 Foote produced at the Haymarket his *Diversions of the Morning*, further popularizing the ridicule of the actors of the day. In this same year Aaron Hill wrote *The Art of Acting, Deriving rules for a new principle for touching the passions in a natural manner*.

In 1747 Garrick became manager of Drury Lane and thus established the natural school of acting in a place of supremacy. His professed desire as manager was to revive dramatic poetry, particularly that of Shakespeare.

In 1748 Macklin, Garrick, and Mrs. Woffington "resolved to improve theatrical taste, and found a school of Histrionic Science." They resolved to live together, to act together, and to have one purse. But the one purse proved the undoing of the scheme, and the world was deprived of this school also.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See especially Cooke, *Macklin*, pp. 148, 149, and Kirkman, *l. c.*, vol. I, pp. 292-295.

⁴⁶ Kirkman, *l. c.*, vol. I, p. 316.

It is interesting to note that Davies records that Mrs. Woffington went to Paris "to perfect herself in the grace and grandeur of the French theatre," and that "here she was introduced to Mademoiselle Dumeseil, an actress celebrated for natural elocution and dignified action." But since Davies gives no clue to the date of this visit, its significance cannot be estimated. Cf. Davies, *Life of D. G.*, vol. I, p. 309.

In 1748 Foote gave his *Tea*, extending the number of the victims of his ridicule beyond the number previously included in his *Diversions of the Morning*.

By 1750 Mrs. Horton, a popular actress of the pre-Garrick period, was forced to resign many of her parts to Mrs. Woffington and Mrs. Pritchard of the new or natural school of elocution, in answer to the demands of the public. The popularity of Mrs. Pritchard had meanwhile grown, largely because she refused to follow the advice of Colley Cibber to "tone" her words, while Mrs. Bellamy and Theophilus Cibber, by following this advice, had lost their popularity.⁴⁷

In 1750 was first published Sir John Hill's *The Actor*, which Knight in his *Life of Garrick* says was translated and adapted from *Le Comédien* of Sainte-Albine. The work is interesting as being the expression of a pupil of Macklin and is interesting in itself. Natural acting is here advocated, acting in character insisted upon, the necessity of appropriate gesture emphasized, and the need for a somewhat indefinitely defined sensibility in the actor described.⁴⁸

In 1751 Macklin gave lectures to the public on elocution. In this same year he also coached a group of fashionables for an amateur performance at Drury Lane.⁴⁹ This performance is significant in that it showed the school of natural acting firmly established in public favor, and it furthermore revealed an interest among the laity in acting and elocution.

⁴⁷ Davies, *Dram. Mis.*, vol. i, pp. 40, 41.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of this source pamphlet see Knight, *l. c.*, p. 211.

⁴⁹ Macklin's popularity as a dramatic coach constantly increased after this time. He was employed by various persons of high rank and was engaged to instruct in elocution His Royal Highness, the Duke of York. Cf. Kirkman, *l. c.*, vol. i, pp. 332, 333, and 463.

In the summer of 1751 Garrick made a hasty trip to Paris, where he became acquainted with the leaders of the French stage.

In 1753 Hogarth, long a friend of Garrick, published his *Analysis of Beauty*, in which he discussed incidentally the art of acting, and formulated for the first time the theory of movement and gesture on the stage, showing the need for variety in action and also the need for unity in variety. The stress here laid on variety in action is consistent with the emphasis which Garrick gave in his own acting to the multiplicity and variety of detail.⁵⁰

In 1754 Macklin retired from the stage for a time and established a public-dinner at four and the British Inquisition afterward. At four he was head waiter at his own public; after dinner he was the lecturer and the leader of the discussion relative to art and morals which formed the "British Inquisition." Three times a week, too, from ten till twelve in the morning, Macklin received would-be actors, heard them, and pronounced authoritatively on their prospects of histrionic success.⁵¹

In this connection it must always be remembered that Macklin's teachings embodied the doctrines of imitative acting and natural speech, and that these doctrines were constantly being spread under his leadership of the "British Inquisition."

In 1757 Burke's *Essay on the Sublime and the Beautiful* appeared, bringing into general discussion the relation

⁵⁰ Hogarth (pp. 151-153) also gives expression to one of Garrick's favorite doctrines concerning the test of acting by a foreigner, ignorant of the language, who must base his judgment of the play upon the movements of the characters. It will be shown later in this paper that Garrick delighted to submit his own acting to this test.

⁵¹ Cooke, *Macklin*, pp. 199-209 and 212-214.

of the ugly and the sublime to the beautiful; a discussion which was found pertinent to the later discussion of stage theory.

In 1759 Sir Joshua Reynolds's three papers in the *Idler* appeared. The important contributions of those papers, as far as the stage was concerned, related to the idea of mere genius as superior to, though not independent of, rules; the idea of mere imitation as drudgery and not art; the idea of the beautiful as the normal or at least the most usual expression of nature.

In 1761 Kames's *Elements of Criticism* was published, a work important as an attempt to formulate the principles of criticism, but important here because it, like Burke's *Essay*, attempted, though on different grounds, to reconcile the ugly and the beautiful.

In 1763 Garrick went abroad, returning in 1765. His return saw him perfected in his art, if we are to believe the testimony of his biographers and his critics. Much of the time on the Continent had been spent in France, where he had renewed his friendship with French actors and artists, and where his acting had made a profound impression in the world of critics as well as among the less philosophical of his audiences.⁵² Diderot had been advocating in France the value of imitative action. In 1751 he had written his famous letter on *The Deaf and the Dumb*. In 1760 he had written to Voltaire concerning Clairon, advocating the value of pantomime. In Garrick he saw his theories embodied, and he felt them justified, as is shown in his *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*, which took its point of departure from a pamphlet by A. Sticoti, an Italian actor playing in Paris, a pamphlet entitled *Garrick, ou les Acteurs anglais*,

⁵² Hedgcock, *l. c.*, pp. 96-107.

which in turn is said to have been a translation, with additions, of Hill's *The Actor*.⁵⁸

The period from 1765 to 1776, or the period lasting from the return from the Continent until his retirement from the stage, was the period of Garrick's greatest acting and of his greatest fame. During this time he was absolute dictator of the stage, and the school of natural acting was accepted for the most part without question.

Meanwhile, in 1768, the Royal Academy had been founded and Sir Joshua Reynolds chosen as its first president. On the occasion of the opening of the Academy in 1769, Reynolds delivered his First Discourse. The fifteen Discourses which he delivered between 1769 and 1790 heralded yet another change in the realm of the arts. But his Seventh Discourse, delivered in 1776, marked a crisis in stage theory, for it was in this discourse that Reynolds pronounced his theory of stage deportment.

The pronouncement of this new theory of art, together with the retirement of Garrick from the stage, both events of 1776, marked the period of yet another change in stage history. But it is necessary to return to our analysis of the chronicle of events here given in order to see the trend of stage affairs.

In general, the art theories of the time found expression in the acting of Garrick and his school. Garrick had rebelled against the methods of the "old school," against formality and convention in declamation and in gesture,

⁵⁸ Pollock, W. H., *The Paradox of Acting*, 1883, p. 1. Note.

Professor J. Bédier in *Etudes Critiques*, discusses a relevant question under the title of *Le "Paradoxe sur le Comédien" Est-Il de Diderot?* In any case Diderot's *Paradoxe* was, though written after Garrick's visit, not published for many years, and hence had no immediate effect on stage theory. It is of significance here because it shows the acting of Garrick to have influenced rather than to have been influenced by French ideals.

and his revolt was from the conventional to the natural. But being natural meant to Garrick imitating nature. Hogarth, who was Garrick's friend from the time when Garrick went to Goodman's Fields until Hogarth's death, is said to have memorized bit by bit an object which he purposed drawing.⁵⁴ And apparently this was the exact fashion of Garrick's preparation for acting. He observed and memorized bit by bit any action he saw about him and later repeated this action on the stage. The madness of Lear, for instance, he is said to have imitated from the madness of a father whose child fell from his arms into the street below as he stood playing with it in the window. This scene was a favorite one with Garrick for pantomimic representation also.⁵⁵

Primarily Garrick's interest was in imitative action—in pantomime. And there are hundreds of tales told of this interest. His delight was to make his face show all the passions and emotions in turn, going quickly from mirth to horror, and then reversing the order of the presentation and returning to mirth again. He amused his friends by imitations of everything from wiggle-worms to his enemies, according to more or less apocryphal stories. He sat for Fielding's portrait after that author's death. He was the *bête noire* of the artist who wanted to paint his portrait, for if he was pleased to be in a teasing mood, he was many different people in the course of an hour. Mrs. Clive's famous exclamation, "Damn him; he could act a gridiron," is seemingly almost literally true. It is doubtful whether such consummate imitative genius has ever again been seen on the stage.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Austin Dobson, *William Hogarth* (1891), pp. 17, 18.

⁵⁵ Davies, *Life of D. G.*, vol. II, p. 81. The story is repeated by all Garrick's biographers.

⁵⁶ Many of these tales are suggested in James Northcote, *The Life*

Yet Garrick's acting was criticized as being all bustle and commotion, as wanting dignity and poise and reserve. Macklin commented on Garrick's *Lear*, speaking of "his strange manner of dying and griping [*sic*] the carpet; his writhing, straining, and agonizing; (all of which he has introduced into the profession of acting)." ⁵⁷ But imitative action was the business of the actor to Garrick, and imitation of nature the function of art. Therefore anything in nature could rightfully find its place in art; the ugly and the brutal could not be ignored but must be presented. The closer the imitation of nature in art, the better the art.

In declamation Garrick does not seem to have attained so high a degree of excellence as in action, however. He was criticized by his contemporaries for his halting speech, for his failure to pay proper attention to stops and pauses, for his seeming to prefer rhythm to sense in his decision in such matters, for his hurried closing of a period, for his lack of discriminating pronunciation of phrases, and for his lack of judgment in the matter of pauses. ⁵⁸ Likewise his pronunciation of certain words was criticized, but of this fact notice will be taken later in this paper. Boaden in his *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons* quotes Mason's comment, "For though no man did more to correct the vicious taste of the preceding age in theatrical declamation

of *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, to the second edition (1819) of which work I have referred.

⁵⁷ Kirkman, *l. c.*, vol. I, pp. 246-249 and 259, 260. See also James Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons* (1827), vol. II, p. 163. Also Boaden, *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble, Esq.* (1825), vol. I, p. 440. Incidental references to Garrick's great weakness are, however, numerous.

⁵⁸ That these criticisms were occasionally offered to Garrick himself by anonymous well-wishers is evident from the letters preserved in the *Garrick Correspondence*. Cf. vol. I, pp. 109-111 particularly.

than he did, so far, indeed, as to change the mode almost entirely, yet this was not his *principal* excellence, and he knew it; and therefore disliked to perform any part whatever, where *expression of countenance* was not more necessary than recitation of sentiment.”⁵⁹

Of Garrick's acting we know much, but he does not seem to have formulated his theories of acting as theories. Writing to Powell and Henderson, giving them advice in regard to acting, he warned them against neglect of study, against being imperfect in their lines, and against yielding to flattery, and he urged them to be constant in their attention to Shakespeare. No more.⁶⁰ Writing of Clairon in 1769, when she was in the zenith of her popularity in France, he said that she was almost too definitely sure of what she could do before she came on the stage. The greatest strokes of genius, he asserted, are those which have not been thought out by the actor until he is stimulated to them by the presence of his audience.⁶¹ And he pronounced Racine unsuited to natural acting because of the very form in which his plays are written, but a more definite formulation of theory I have not been able to find.⁶²

The source of Garrick's ideas of natural acting is not known. French influence was always felt in the English theatre during this period, and as early as 1684 Baron was waging a fight for natural acting at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.⁶³ Yet, according to Mr. Hedgcock, whose work I have already instanced, the French actors by Garrick's time had not advanced so far as had Garrick himself.

⁵⁹ Boaden, *l. c.*, vol. II, p. 163.

⁶⁰ *Cor.*, vol. I, pp. 177 and 509.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 358, 359.

⁶² Knight, *l. c.*, p. 214.

⁶³ For a history of the matter see Karl Mantzius, *A History of Theatrical Art* (1905).

Garrick, indeed, enabled Diderot to point him out as an example of his theories put into practice. But the actors of the time in France seem rather to have been influenced by Garrick than Garrick by them. Mr. Hedgcock thinks this influence detrimental, however, for Garrick's love of pantomime and his marvelous exhibitions of pantomimic action led French actors to over-do imitative acting and to neglect justice of declamation in its favor.

In England Macklin had been the great precursor of the school of natural acting, though he lacked the genius to popularize and establish it. Aaron Hill, too, was evidently considering the matter of tragic declamation from a new point of view. Garrick and Macklin had early in Garrick's career formed a friendship that must have been influential in determining his theory of acting. Where Macklin in his turn caught the idea of natural acting, we have no source of information. I am inclined to think, however, that the interest in the drama of Thomson and Young and others of the romantic poets, and the friendship of Hogarth and Garrick, show that the stage was but embodying the same great forces that were elsewhere revealed in poetry and painting as well as in the philosophical criticism of the time.

In general, this stage of romanticism in the theatre was characterized, then, by revolt against the standards of a previous age, against its conventions and its formality. In its first stages the revolt was toward natural acting of a realistic type. Imitation of the details of nature; inclusion of the ugly as well as the beautiful; emphasis on action rather than on declamation were the three distinctive marks of the period. But Sir Joshua Reynolds proved the prophet of yet another phase of romanticism.

TRANSITION FORCES

To understand the new forces that were at work in the stage affairs of 1776, it is necessary to go back and to trace a new interest that was just coming into an influential place after years of struggle on the part of one man, Thomas Sheridan. It was a two-fold interest—an interest in the propriety of speech and an interest in declamation in and for itself.

Even before the time of Garrick, Quin is said to have corrected mistakes into which Shakespeare had inadvertently fallen in his use of language, to have changed and modernized obsolete phrases, and to have restored to the stage the proper pronunciation of many words. The value of these contributions is irrelevant to the present discussion; the fact of their showing an interest in the subject of propriety in speaking is significant.

Macklin, too, in his early years came, through sad experience with his Irish brogue, to perceive the necessity for proper pronunciation on the stage.

But with Thomas Sheridan the real study of the subject commenced. In 1737, while Thomas Sheridan was in Trinity College, Dublin, his friend, Dean Swift, inquired concerning his studies. When he told the Dean that he was not taught English and was not taught elocution, the Dean replied, "Then, they teach you nothing." Inspired by this comment, Sheridan began to think upon the subject of education. Soon he became convinced that elocution was the key to the reformation of the world and hence should be made the foundation of education. He gave up his plans for school-teaching and adopted the stage forthwith as his medium of instruction.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ John Watkins, *Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of the*

In 1743, therefore, Sheridan appeared in a Dublin theatre. In 1744 he went to London, appearing at Covent Garden. In 1744-45 he acted at Drury Lane, there gaining the friendship of Pitt and Lyttleton. The next season he and Garrick acted together in Dublin, Garrick at this time encouraging Sheridan's idea of founding an oratorical academy.

In 1751, as I have said above, Macklin coached the fashionable amateur performance of *Othello* at Drury Lane; it is evident, therefore, that by this time there must have developed an aristocratic if not a popular taste for dramatics and elocution.

In 1757 Sheridan delivered in Dublin an address on elocution and commenced arrangements for an Hibernian Academy, based on the educational principles in which he believed.

In 1759 he gave in England a course of lectures on education. In 1761 he gave another eight lectures on elocution. In these two sets of lectures he showed the necessity for elocution as a means to making religion popular, legal argument conclusive, and morals effective. He further indicated his hope of reviving in England the lost art of oratory and at the same time of fixing the English language, so that our best authors might not become antiquated.

In 1762 Foote gave his farce of *The Orators*, in which he burlesqued Sheridan's scheme, ridiculing in turn the idea of training the Irish, Scotch, and Welsh in the proper English pronunciations of words; the idea of training pro-

Right Honorable R. B. Sheridan, with a particular Account of his family and Connexions (3rd ed. London, 1818), vol. I, pp. 46 seq.

The facts hereafter recorded are the facts recorded in common by all the biographers of the Sheridans.

fessional men in elocution; and the idea of elocution as a panacea for the evil in the world.

In 1762, also, Sheridan established in Edinburgh an academy with elocution as its basic teaching. Enthusiasm was said to run high over this academy in 1762, but when Sheridan returned to Edinburgh in 1764, it had almost totally disappeared.

In 1769 Sheridan gave at Foote's theatre in London "An Attic Evening's Entertainment," which was apparently the first of the entertainments of recitation and music so popular during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century.

In 1771 John Walker, a minor actor of the school of Garrick, began to give lectures on elocution in various parts of Great Britain.

In 1775 Sheridan gave more lectures on the art of reading, which lectures, together with the earlier lectures on elocution, were published in 1777 by Mr. Samuel Whyte of Dublin, to whom Sheridan assigned them.

In 1774 had been announced in a pamphlet dedicated to Garrick a pronouncing dictionary by John Walker. In 1775 appeared instead a rhyming dictionary, the pronouncing dictionary failing to make its actual appearance until 1791. In 1780, however, appeared instead a pronouncing dictionary by Thomas Sheridan, prefaced by a statement of his ideas of elocution as the basis of civil, moral, and social reform, and including particular instructions to the unfortunate possessors of Scotch, Irish, and Welsh brogues.

In 1780 and 1781 John Philip Kemble, then coming into great popularity on the stage, followed Sheridan's example and gave Attic Evenings.

In 1782 and 1783 Sheridan again gave lectures on elo-

cution and demonstrations of recitation in a public hall in London and acquired a large following.

In 1785 Sheridan and Henderson, the greatest of the followers of Garrick, gave readings likewise; and sometime before 1796 Sheridan's and Henderson's *Practical Method of Reading and Writing English Poetry* was issued as "a necessary introduction to Dr. Enfield's speaker."

In later years Mrs. Siddons, the sister of Kemble, and the greatest actress of the English stage, gave many of these evenings of readings.

The events here recorded reveal the new interests in propriety of pronunciation and in declamation as a separate art. These interests were largely developed, it is to be observed, by two actors, Sheridan and Walker, and they were continued by the influence of the leaders of the legitimate stage—Kemble, Henderson, and Mrs. Siddons.

THE PERIOD OF THE GRAND STYLE

In the changes in stage presentation after 1776 there were three forces at work: the decline in the excellence of the school of Garrick; the influence of Sheridan on the London stage and his insistence on the matter of declamation; a new theory of art and hence of theatric representation.

In regard to the first matter we have little direct information. But that the decline of the Garrick school was generally recognized is implied in all the records of the time. Lord Northcote in his *Memoirs of Reynolds* gives an anecdote illustrative of this fact. The Bishop of St. Asaph, he reports, once asked Reynolds why with all his instruction Garrick had not made any excellent players. Reynolds replied that the reason was found in the fact

that all of his pupils merely imitated Garrick, and that mere imitators like all followers must always lag a step behind.⁶⁵ In the *Garrick Correspondence* collected by Boaden is recorded a letter of 1769 from Mr. J. Sharp, which gives expression to much the same idea. He writes to Garrick, "I think you have spoiled as many actors as Mr. Pope did poets, who studied the jingle of his versification and got that only."⁶⁶

The notable exception to the inadequacy of the followers of Garrick was found in Henderson, who through the next decade shared honors with Kemble as the popular tragedian of the times. Yet Henderson is said by Boaden to have resembled Garrick, but not to have resembled the school of Garrick.

As to the second force brought to bear upon the stage practice of the time, the influence of Sheridan in the London theatre, it is only necessary to record that Thomas Sheridan became stage manager at Drury Lane when his son, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, succeeded Garrick as manager of that theatre in 1776. The period of his incumbency was short, but he brought Mrs. Siddons to London and gave her instruction and advice for which she continued to be grateful during her entire career. Sheridan's interest in declamation I have already shown. That this interest was strengthened in the stage world by his rule and by his influence exercised through Mrs. Siddons and the younger actors must be immediately evident.

The third influence I have noted was that of the changing theory of art. As I have already indicated, Reynolds in his *Seventh Discourse*, delivered in 1776, commented on stage practice, applying the theories he had previously enunciated in the *Idler* papers of 1759. Art, he said,

⁶⁵ Northcote, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 107.

⁶⁶ *Cor.*, vol. i, pp. 334, 335.

must not offend the eye by lack of harmony nor the ear by inharmonious sounds. He continued:

We may venture to be more confident of the truth of this observation, since we find that Shakspeare, on a parallel occasion, has made Hamlet recommend to the player a precept of the same kind,—never to offend the ear by harsh sounds. 'In the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of your passion,' says he, 'you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness.' And yet, at the same time he very justly observes, 'The end of playing, both at the first, and now, was, and is, to hold, as 'twere the mirror up to nature.' No one can deny that violent passions will naturally emit harsh and disagreeable tones; yet this great poet and critic thought that this imitation of nature would cost too much if purchased at the expense as he expresses it, of 'splitting the ear.' The poet and actor, as well as the painter of genius, who is well acquainted with all the variety and sources of pleasure in the mind and imagination, has little regard or attention to common nature, or creeping after common-sense. By overleaping those narrow bounds, he more effectually seizes the whole mind, and more powerfully accomplishes his purpose. This success is ignorantly imagined to proceed from inattention to all rules, and a defiance of reason and judgment; whereas it is in truth acting according to the best rules and the justest reason.

Art, Reynolds said, must raise and elevate nature. The artist must elevate nature into the realm of the pleasure-giving. The necessary elevation of art and the exclusion of the ugly, save as it too could be elevated into the realm of the pleasure-giving, then, mark the theory as it influenced stage presentation. Reynolds instanced particularly the play of *Lear*, seeming to criticise the performance of Garrick even as Macklin had done.⁶⁷

In view, then, of the decline from the superior excellence of Garrick's acting which marked the acting of his immediate successors; in view of the new prominence into which the art of declamation had come through the influence of

⁶⁷ Bosanquet in his *History of Aesthetic* comments on Reynolds's Theory as an attempt "to dissociate the grand style from decorative formalism and explain it with reference to a normal or central 'inclination of nature.'"

Thomas Sheridan—an art in which Garrick was confessedly inferior; and in view of the new theory of art, especially as it was formulated by Sir Joshua Reynolds, the devoted friend of the Kembles, it is not surprising that changes in the theory and practice of acting became strikingly evident in 1782 and 1783, when Mrs. Siddons and John Philip Kemble, her brother, took their places as leaders of the London stage.

For a time competition between what was excellent in the old school, in the person of Henderson, and what was excellent in the new school, in the person of Kemble, vied for supremacy.⁶⁸ But Henderson's death in 1785 and Kemble's assumption of the management of Drury Lane in 1788 marked the uncontested final superiority of the new school. Kemble represented the school of grandeur, of elevated art; Henderson the school of varied action and natural utterance. Kemble gave expression to theatric art as it was interpreted by Reynolds; Henderson to theatric art as it had been practised by Garrick.⁶⁹

Kemble was a professed student of dramatic theory and dramatic history. Furthermore he studied the art of his time. Indeed, he formed the habit of making the rounds of the studios of the artists of his time and of understanding what their purposes were. Mrs. Siddons, too, became,

⁶⁸ Percy Fitzgerald, *The Garrick Club*, (p. 210) makes comment on the portraits of Henderson, saying they make him seem to have had the rude methods of the conventional player in elocutionizing. But such was not the contemporary judgment upon his acting.

⁶⁹ Boaden as the friend of the Kembles was perhaps their most sympathetic interpreter. His comment upon Henderson, too, is significant. The difficulty he found in Henderson was that which resulted from an effort to make natural on the stage what was written as artificial dialogue, Dr. Johnson's *Irene*, for instance. The Kembles were better able sympathetically to interpret this sort of dialogue, he felt. Cf. *Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons*, vol. II, pp. 48, 49.

through her friend, the Honorable Mrs. Damer, interested in sculpture, and some of her work is to-day to be seen in the Garrick Club, I believe.⁷⁰

There were other contributory causes, moreover. The new plays were not to be spoken as were Shakespeare's plays, for their poetic style would be robbed of all charm by too conversational a manner of delivery. Furthermore the theatres were becoming larger, and the acoustics were not good, so that the ordinary tones of voice could not be heard, and any great variation in tone was impossible. The large stage of the new theatres, particularly the stage of the Italian Opera, which during the re-building of Drury Lane was occupied by the actors, necessitated a greater attention to motion and forbade informality.⁷¹

The final popularity of the school of Kemble, however, was attributable to the glorious genius of Mrs. Siddons, which was able to popularize this new school of theatric art as the genius of Garrick had popularized the natural or realistic school nearly fifty years earlier. To the wonder of her acting there are innumerable tributes from her contemporaries. Hazlitt recorded:

The homage she has received is greater than that which is paid to Queens. The enthusiasm she excited had something idolatrous about it; she was regarded less with admiration than with wonder. She raised Tragedy to the skies, or brought it down from thence.⁷²

Mrs. Siddons's acting was of the "grand style" advocated by Reynolds. It had in it much of the sublime. There was no attempt in her acting slavishly to copy nature; rather it was the medium for the interpretation of nature,

⁷⁰ Boaden, *Mrs. S.*, vol. II, pp. 290, 291.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-290.

⁷² William Hazlitt, *The Collected Works of*, ed. Waller and Glover, 1903, vol. VIII, p. 312. An account of Mrs. Siddons published in *The Examiner* for June 16, 1816.

a medium for rendering action more significant. It ennobled whatever it interpreted.

As I have said, this was the method of Kemble also, but the genius of Mrs. Siddons was the force which made this new school of acting the dominant one through the years between 1782 and 1814, when Edmund Kean appeared on the London stage. During this period propriety of speech and elegance of declamation were emphasized. The ugly was no longer admitted as capable of artistic treatment save as it was elevated into the realm of the pleasure-giving. Dignified and elevated acting, consciously interpretative rather than imitative, expressed the art of the stage.

The chronicle of theatric events during the eighteenth century cannot but seem significant when viewed in the light of the changes that were taking place in the other arts during the same period. From 1690 till 1741, we find a period of classicism, marked on the stage by formalism and convention and the acceptance of tradition. That this was the period of classicism in the other arts, every student of the history of literature and painting and gardening knows as a matter of course. And that the same artistic principles were manifest in every artistic medium of the time is at once recognized. After 1741 the stage experienced its age of romanticism, expressing in its art the same spiritual changes that modified or revolutionized the other arts. In stage affairs this age of romanticism was characterized by revolt against the classicism of the preceding age, by a renewed dependence on the older English dramatists, particularly Shakespeare, and by a new conception of the relation between nature and art. Until 1776 this new romanticism was realistic, imitative. After 1776, and yet more definitely after 1782, the romanticism was the classical romanticism, interpretative in method—

the romanticism of the "grand style." Again the other arts show a history exactly parallel with the history of stage art. In English literature and in painting, as on the English stage, the romanticism for the early years was a realistic romanticism. Gradually it was modified to a classical romanticism.

During this period all the arts found new interest in constructive criticism, while with Burke, Kames, Hogarth, and Reynolds we find manifest the gradually evolving theory of art which justified its changing principles. Thus, as we see the romanticism of the early poets becoming the classical romanticism of Keats and Shelley and Byron, as we see the realism of Hogarth superseded in public favor by the "grand style" of Reynolds, and the imitative acting of Garrick yielding to the interpretative art of the Kembles, we must inevitably conclude that the arts were but manifesting through their different media the artistic principles held in common by them all.

LILY B. CAMPBELL.

VIII.—THE BEGINNINGS OF POETRY

I

Certain [Indian] societies require that each member have a special song; this song is generally of the man's own composition, although sometimes these songs are inherited from a father or a near relative who when living had been a member of the society. These individual songs are distinct from songs used in the ceremonies and regarded as the property of the society, although the members are entitled to sing them on certain occasions. When this society holds its formal meetings a part of the closing exercises consists of the simultaneous singing by all the members present of their individual songs. The result is most distressing to a listener, but there are no listeners unless by chance an outsider is present, for each singer is absorbed in voicing his own special song which is strictly his own personal affair, so that he pays no attention to his neighbour, consequently the pandemonium to which he contributes does not exist for him.

The foregoing paragraph from Miss Alice C. Fletcher's account of Indian music¹ reads like a travesty of the accepted view of primitive song, its character and authorship. There is the familiar primitive "horde," engaged in festal singing, without onlookers. Yet instead of collaborative composition, improvisation, and communal ownership of the ensuing "ballad," we have individual authorship and ownership, and individual singing. This is the testimony of a specialist who has spent many years among the people of whom she writes, studying and recording their songs and their modes of composition. Easily recognizable is the homogeneous primitive group, singing in festal ceremony; but this group does not conduct itself

¹ *The Study of Indian Music*. Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, vol. 1, p. 233. 1915.

Compare a custom among the Karok, an Indian tribe of California (Stephen Powers, *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. III, p. 29, Washington, 1877).

in the way which literary historians have insisted that we should expect.

The songs of primitive peoples have received much attention in recent years, especially the songs of the American Indians. An immense amount of material has been collected and made available; and this has been done in a scientific way, with the help of countless phonographic and other records. Instead of having to rely on the stray testimonies of travellers, explorers, historians, and essayists, the student of primitive poetry has now at his disposal an amount of data unavailable to his predecessors. He need not linger among the fascinating mysteries of romantic hypotheses, but can supply himself with the carefully observed facts of scientific record.²

² References of chief importance for the American Indians are Frederick R. Burton, *American Primitive Music*, with especial attention to the songs of the Ojibways, New York, 1909; Natalie Curtis, *The Indian's Book*, New York, 1900; and the following thorough studies: Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, in Bulletins 45 (1910) and 53 (1913) of the *Bureau of American Ethnology*; Alice C. Fletcher, *A Study of Omaha Indian Music*, *Papers of the Peabody Museum*, vol. VII, No. 5, 1893, *Indian Story and Song*, Boston, 1900, *The Hako: a Pawnee Ceremony*, 22 Report (1904), *Bureau of American Ethnology*, and *The Study of Indian Music* quoted *supra*; James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 14 Report, *Bureau of Ethnology*, Part II, 1896. Excellent pieces of work are "Hopi Songs" and "Zuni Melodies," by B. I. Gilman, published respectively in the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. I, 1891 and vol. V, 1908, but nothing is said in these regarding the composition or presentation of the songs recorded.

Here also may be cited F. Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, *Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1884-1885, *Songs and Dances of the Kwakiutl*, etc., *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1888, *Eskimo Tales and Songs*, *ibid.*, 1894; F. J. de Augusta, *Zehn Araukaner Lieder*, *Anthropos*, VI, 1911. Many references are cited later, especially books, studies, or special articles dealing with South American, African, and Australian tribes.

In this matter it cannot be valid to object that we should not look among North or South American Indians, or Eskimos for "beginnings." It cannot reasonably be said that these tribes are too advanced, too highly civilized, to afford trustworthy evidence as to aboriginal modes. As a matter of fact, we can go little farther back, in the analysis of culture, than these peoples, if we are to stay by what can be demonstrated. When we have learned what we can learn from the primitive tribes on our own continent, in South America, Africa, Australia, Oceania, we know pretty much all that we can surely know. If we go to the prehistoric, we are conjecturing, and we ought to label our statements "conjecture." In general, gradations of "primitiveness" among savage peoples are difficult to make. A social group may show the simplest or least organized social structure, and yet be relatively advanced in musical and artistic talent. Another group may show advance in social organization, yet be backward in song and story. And certainly even the most advanced of the Indian communities (with the exception of civilized Mexico and Peru) are every whit as primitive as the mediæval peasant communes, from whose supposed ways we are constantly asked to learn as regards poetic beginnings.³ If, as we are told, prehistoric song-modes are reflected in the folk-dances and festal throngs of mediæval peasants and villagers, or in the singing of nineteenth-century Corsican field laborers, Styrian threshers, Gascon vintage choruses, Italian country-folk, Silesian peasants, Faroe Island fishermen, and harvest-field songs everywhere,⁴ they ought to be reflected yet more in the song-modes of the American Indians.

³ See F. B. Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*, 1901, and *The Popular Ballad*, 1907.

⁴ *Ibid.*

II

"COMMUNAL" AUTHORSHIP AND OWNERSHIP

At the present time the accepted or orthodox view, i. e., among literary critics, hardly among anthropologists, concerning the authorship of primitive song and the "beginnings of poetry" is reflected in such passages as the following, from a recent work by Professor Richard Green Moulton:⁵

The primary element of literary form is the ballad dance. This is the union of verse with musical accompaniment and dancing; the dancing being, not exactly what the words suggest to modern ears, but the imitative and suggestive action of which an orator's gestures are the nearest survival. Literature, where it first appears spontaneously, takes this form: a theme or story is at once versified, accompanied with music, and suggested in action. When the Israelites triumphed at the Red Sea, Miriam "took a timbrel in her hands; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and dances." This was a ballad dance; it was a more elaborate example of the same when David, at the inauguration of Jerusalem, "danced before the Lord with all his might." And writers who deal with literary origins offer abundant illustrations of folk-dances among the most diverse peoples in an early stage of civilization.

In this passage and in his diagrams showing literary evolution⁶ Professor Moulton gives the "ballad dance" the initial position in the chronology of musical and literary history, characterizing it as the "primitive literary form"—the ballad dance, moreover, according to the usual view, of the *throng*. Individual composition of and proprietorship in song is of secondary development; and when this stage has been reached, "folk-song" has passed into "artistry."

Better, let some passages from Professor Gummere's

⁵ *The Modern Study of Literature*, Chicago, 1915. From Chapter I, "The Elements of Literary Form."

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 26.

The Beginnings of Poetry be cited. Professor Gummere is our leading scholar of the subject, and in view of his learning, his immense bibliographical equipment, and his years of attention to the matter, his words may well have especial weight. Here are some characteristic sentences: "Poetry begins with the impersonal, with communal emotion."⁷ "The ballad is a song made in the dance, and so by the dance. . . The communal dance is the real source of the song."⁸ "The earliest 'muse' was the rhythm of the throng."⁹ "Festal throngs, not a poet's solitude, are the birthplace of poetry."¹⁰ "Overwhelming evidence shows all primitive poetical expression of emotion to have been collective."¹¹ Let two quotations of greater length be given:

As the savage laureate slips from the singing, dancing crowd, which turns audience for the nonce, and gives his short improvisation, only to yield to the refrain of the chorus, so the actual habit of individual composition and performance has sprung from the choral composition and performance. The improvisations and the recitative are short deviations from the main road, beginnings of artistry, which will one day become journeys of the solitary singer over pathless hills of song, those "wanderings of thought" which Sophocles has noted; and the curve of evolution in the artist's course can show how rapidly and how far this progress has been made. But the relation must not be reversed; and if any fact seems established for primitive life, it is the precedence of choral song and dance. . . .

Here it is enough to show that rhythmical verse came directly from choral song, and that neither the choral song, nor any regular song, could have come from the recitative.¹²

It is natural for one person to speak, or even to sing, and for ninety-nine persons to listen. It is also natural for a hundred per-

⁷ *The Beginnings of Poetry* (1901), p. 139. Later, by Professor Gummere, are *The Popular Ballad* (1907), and the chapter on Ballads in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (1908); but these deal primarily with the English and Scottish ballads, not with the origins of poetry.

⁸ P. 321.

⁹ P. 212.

¹⁰ P. 93.

¹¹ P. 106.

¹² P. 13.

sons, under strong emotion, to shout, sing, dance, in concert and as a throng, not as a matter of active and passive, of give and take, but in common consent of expression. The second situation . . . must have preceded."

To come farther down in the history of song, a favorite picture with Professor Gummere is of European peasant folk in the Middle Ages, improvising "ballads" in song and dance, and thus—by virtue of the simple homogeneous character of their life—establishing a type of balladry superior to, and having more vitality than, anything of the kind having its origin in individual authorship. It is

" Pp. 80, 81. In Professor Gummere's article on "The Ballad and Communal Poetry," Child Memorial volume (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, etc., 1896), he says: "Spontaneous composition in a dancing multitude—all singing, all dancing, and all able on occasion to improvise—is a fact of primitive poetry about which we may be as certain as such questions allow us to be certain. Behind individuals stands the human horde. . . . An insistent echo of this throng . . . greets us from the ballads." He adds communal poetry to Wundt's (*Ueber Ziele und Wege der Völkerpsychologie*) three products of the communal mind,—speech, myth, and custom. "Universality of the poetic gift among inferior races, spontaneity or improvisation under communal conditions, the history of refrain and chorus, the *early relation of narrative songs to the dance*" [the italics are mine] are facts so well established that "it is no absurdity to insist on the origin of poetry under communal and not under artistic conditions." More difficulty lies in "the assertion of *simultaneous composition*. Yet this difficulty is more apparent than real."

Grosse, *Anfänge der Kunst* (1894), ch. ix, finds the poetry of primitive peoples to be egoistic in inspiration, and gives examples of lyrics of various types which point to this. "Im Allgemeinen trägt die Lyrik der Jägervölker einen durchaus egoistischen Charakter. Der Dichter besingt seine persönlichen Leiden und Freuden; das Schicksal seiner Mitmenschen entlockt ihm nur selten einen Ton." For Professor Gummere's discussion and rejection of Grosse's view, see *The Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 381 ff.

For a present-day German view of primitive poetry, see Erich Schmidt, "Die Anfänge der Literatur," *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1906, I, pp. 1-27. For a French view, see A. van Gennep, *La Formation des Légendes*, Paris, 1910, pp. 210-211.

a long gap, that between aboriginal song and dance and the English and Scottish ballads of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; yet it is a gap we are asked to bridge. Undoubtedly, if that "most ancient of creative processes," the communal throng chorally creating its song from the festal dance, existed among the mediæval peasants and produced work of the high value of the English and Scottish ballads, the same "ancient method" should prevail among that yet more primitive people, the American Indians.

That it is an absurd chronology which assumes that individuals have choral utterance before they are lyrically articulate as individuals, seems—extraordinarily enough—to have troubled very few. Did primitive man sing, dance, and compose in a throng, while he was yet unable to do so as an individual? We are asked to believe this. Are we to assume that he was inarticulate and without creative gift till suddenly he participated in some festal celebration and these gifts became his? Professor Gummere cites as evidence, so important as to deserve italics, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich's statement concerning the Botocudos of South America, "*They never sing without dancing, never dance without singing, and have but one word to express both song and dance.*"¹⁴ Much the same thing, save as regards limitations of vocabulary, might have been said by a traveller among the ancient Greeks, with whom dance was generally inseparable from music and verse. Nothing is proved by this characteristic of the Botocudos, if it is a characteristic; any more than anything is proved by the fact that the far more aboriginal Akkas of South Africa¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ueber die Botocuden, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XIX, pp. 30 ff. Quoted in *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 95. See note 40 *infra*.

¹⁵ Some references for the Akkas are G. Burrows, *On the Natives of the Upper Welle District of the Belgian Congo*, *Journal of the*

have songless dances, or by the fact that danceless songs—a circumstance hard to fit into the accepted view of primitive poetry—have been reported among the Andamanese, the Australians, the Maori of New Zealand, Semang of Malaysia, Seri of Mexico, and Eskimo of the Arctic, as well as among practically all North American tribes that have been studied in detail.¹⁶ Surely the individual does everything he can do, or chooses to do, as an individual, before, or contemporary with, his ability to do the same as a member of a throng. The testimonies of travellers as to communal singing and dancing

Anthropological Institute (1889), XXVIII; Sir H. James, *Geographical Journal*, XVII, p. 40, 1906; G. A. Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, N. Y., 1874, vol. II; H. von Wissmann, *Meine Zweite Durchquerung Aequatorial-Afrikas*, Frankfurt, 1890; H. M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, N. Y., 1891; H. Schlichter, *Pygmy Tribes of Africa*, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, VIII, etc.

"According to the testimony of Miss Fletcher, in a letter to the present writer, there are many songs sung by Indian societies in which there is no dancing. Such songs are spoken of as "Rest Songs." In the account quoted at the opening of this paper, of the simultaneous singing of individual songs by the members of a certain society as the closing act of a meeting, the members are sitting as they sing. Their individual songs are, in a sense, credentials of membership. Each song is strictly individual, and refers to a personal experience.

"In most societies," says Miss Fletcher, "as well as in the ceremonies of the tribe, the songs are led by a choir, or by persons officially appointed as leaders. The members of the society frequently join in the song. I do not recall anyone performing a dramatic dance and singing at the same time. While all dances are accompanied by song, many songs are sung without dancing.

"Some of the dancing is not violent in action, the movement is merely rhythm and swaying. In such dances, the dancers sing as they move. Occasionally, as I recall, the song for a dance which is dramatic and vigorous, bringing all the body into play, will be sung by the choir (men and women seated about the drum). Some of the people sitting and watching the dance may clap their hands in rhythm with the drum. This, however, is playfulness by some privileged person and indicates enjoyment."

among savage or peasant communities prove nothing at all as to origins; certainly they do not prove that collective poetic feeling and authorship preceded individual feeling and authorship. Testimonies as to tribal song ought to outnumber testimonies as to individual song, since the spectator is chiefly interested in tribal ways. He would be struck by and record tribal ceremonies, rituals, and songs, where individual doings would escape attention or seem unimportant. Besides, choruses would no doubt be more numerous than solos, and bound up with more important occasions; much as solo dances are infrequent, among savage tribes, compared to mass dancing. To reiterate, however, testimony no matter how great its quantity, that savage peoples sing and dance in throngs, or improvise while doing so, proves nothing as to the priority of communal over individual feeling, authorship, and ownership.

The evidence concerning primitive song which should have greatest weight is not that of travellers and explorers, interested chiefly in other things than song, but that of special scholars, who have recorded and studied available material with a view to its nature, its composition, and its vitality. Among these there seems to be neither doubt nor divergence of opinion; and their testimony is at variance with the now established tradition of the literary historian.

I wish to make clear in advance that I have no desire to deny the general social inspiration of song. In a broad sense, all art is a social phenomenon—the romanticists to the contrary. Song is mainly a social thing at the present time, and it was yet more prevailingly social among our remote ancestors. I wish rather to examine the following specific hypotheses: the inseparableness of primitive dance, music, and song; the simultaneous mass-composition of primitive song; mass-ownership of primitive song; the

narrative character of primitive song; the non-existence of the primitive artist. I also have strong doubts concerning the birth of rhythmic or musical utterance from rhythmic action, if this be conceived as a form of limb or bodily motion.

In the following citations of illustrative material, I have drawn primarily upon American Indian material. It is this material, on the whole, which has been collected and studied most carefully. Coming as it does from homogeneous primitive peoples, in the tribal state, having one standard of life, and as yet unaffected by the poetic modes of civilization, it should have importance for the questions under discussion. Parallel material available from South America, Africa, Australia, and Oceania, yields, however, the same evidence.

III

INDIVIDUAL AUTHORSHIP AND OWNERSHIP

That American Indian song is of individual composition, not the product of group improvisation, much evidence may be brought to support. It will be seen also, from the illustrative material cited, that the Indian has a feeling of private ownership in his song. It would be reasonable, therefore, to assume that, as far back as we can go in primitive society, there should be a sense of individual skill in song-making, as of individual skill in running, hurling a dart, leaping, or any other human activities. There is something absurd in singling out musical utterance as the one form of expression having only social origin or social existence.

A large number of Indian songs are said to have come into the mind of the Indian when he was in a dream or a trance (surely not a "communal" form of experience!).

Many of the Chippewa songs, for example, are classified as "dream songs." Says Miss Densmore:¹⁷

Many Indian songs are intended to exert a strong mental influence, and dream songs are supposed to have this power in greater degree than any others. The supernatural is very real to the Indian. He puts himself in communication with it by fasting or by physical suffering. While his body is thus subordinated to his mind a song occurs to him. In after years he believes that by singing this song he can recall the condition under which it came to him—a condition of direct communication with the supernatural.¹⁸

It is said that in the old days all the important songs were "composed in dreams," and it is readily understood that the man who sought a dream desired power superior to that he possessed. A song usually came to a man in his "dream"; he sang this song in the time of danger or necessity in the belief that by so doing he made more potent the supernatural aid vouchsafed to him in the dream. Songs composed, or received, in this manner were used on the warpath, in the practice of medicine, and in any serious undertaking of life.¹⁹

¹⁷ Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, I, II. Bulletin 45 (1910) and 53 (1913), *Bureau of American Ethnology*. For examples see I, pp. 118 ff., II, pp. 37 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 118.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 16. Compare also: "There is no limit to the number of these [ghost-dance songs] as every trance at every dance produces a new one, the trance subject after regaining consciousness embodying his experience in the spirit world in the form of a song, which is sung at the next dance and succeeding performance until superseded by other songs originating in the same way. Thus a single dance may easily result in twenty or thirty new songs" (James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion*, 14 Report, *Bureau of Ethnology*, Part II, 1896, p. 952). Many trance songs from many tribes are given pp. 953-1101.

For testimony from Australia, see A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, London, 1904. He says, p. 416, "In the tribes with which I have acquaintance, I find it to be a common belief that the songs, using that word in its widest meaning, as including all kinds of aboriginal poetry, are obtained by the bards from the spirits of the deceased, usually of their kindred, during sleep, in dreams. . . The Birraark professed to receive his poetic inspiration from the Mrarts, as well as the accompanying dances, which he was supposed to have seen first in ghost-land. . . . In the

There is also testimony as to private ownership.²⁰

The Chippewa have no songs which are the exclusive property of families or clans. Any young man may learn his father's songs, for example, by giving him the customary gift of tobacco, but he does not inherit the right to sing such songs, nor does his father force him to learn them.²¹

We learn further that the healer combines music and medicine. "If a cure of the sick is desired, he frequently mixes and rolls a medicine after singing the song which will make it effective."²² And that "The songs of a Chippewa doctor cannot be bought or sold."²³

So far as the two men who heard me were concerned, the argument was convincing, but there lingered even with them a reluctance to help me with certain songs because they belonged to other persons. Nearly all the Indians of my acquaintance recognize this proprietary interest in songs. A has no right to sing B's songs; B did not compose them, but they came down to him through his family, or from some chief who fought him, and B alone should say whether they might be given another.²⁴

Miss Fletcher writes of the Omaha:

It would be a mistake to fancy that songs floated indiscriminately about among the Indians, and could be picked up here and there by any chance observer. Every song had originally its owner. It be-

Narrang-ga tribe there are old men who profess to learn songs and dances from departed spirits. These men are called Gurildras. . . . In the Yuin tribe some men received their songs in dreams, others when waking." Specimen songs follow.

"An interesting seventeenth-century testimony is the following from LeJeune's *Relation*, 1636: "Let us begin with the feasts of the Savages. They have one for war. At this they sing and dance in turn, according to age; if the younger ones begin, the old men pity them for exposing themselves to the ridicule of the others. Each has his own song, that another dare not sing lest he give offense. For this very reason they sometimes strike up a tune that belongs to their enemies to aggravate them."—*Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites ed.), vol. ix, p. 111.

²⁰ *Chippewa Music*, I, p. 2.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 20.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²³ Burton, *American Primitive Music*, p. 118.

longed either to a society, secular or religious, to a certain clan or political organization, to a particular rite or ceremony, or to some individual. . . . The right to sing a song which belonged to an individual could be purchased, the person buying the song being taught it by the owner.

These beliefs and customs among the Indians have made it possible to preserve their songs without change from one generation to another. Many curious and interesting proofs of accuracy of transmittal have come to my knowledge during the past twenty years, while studying these primitive melodies. . . . Close and continued observation has revealed that the Indian, when he sings, is not concerned with the making of a musical presentation to his audience. He is simply pouring out his feelings, regardless of artistic effects. To him music is subjective: it is the vehicle of communication between him and the object of his desire."²

Now a few testimonies as to individual authorship. A first instance is from the songs of the Omaha. For the complete story of this song, the reader is referred to the account of Miss Fletcher:

At length the Leader stood up and said, "We have made peace, we have come in good faith, we will go forward, and Wa-kon'-da shall decide the issue." Then he struck up this song and led the way; and as the men and women followed, they caught the tune, and all sang it as they came near the Sioux village."³

² Alice C. Fletcher, *The Indian in Story and Song*, pp. 115-117.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22. The following passage from *A Study of Omaha Indian Music*, p. 25, by Alice C. Fletcher and Francis LaFlesche, also throws light on the composition of certain Indian songs:

Like the Poo-g'-thun, the Hae-thu-ska preserved the history of its members in its songs; when a brave deed was performed, the society decided whether it should be celebrated and without this dictate no man would dare permit a song to be composed in his honor. When a favorable decision was given, the task of composing the song devolved upon some man with musical talent. It has happened that the name of a man long dead has given place in a popular song to that of a modern warrior; this could only be done by the consent of the society, which was seldom given, as the Omahas were averse to letting the memory of a brave man die. . . . the songs were transmitted from one generation to another with care, as was also the story of the deeds the song commemorated.

Two instances from the Pawnee illustrate perfectly the poet musing in solitude on the meaning of nature,—like a sort of Pawnee Wordsworth!

The "Song of the Bird's Nest" commemorates the story of a man who came upon a bird's nest in the grass:

He paused to look at the little nest tucked away so snug and warm, and noted that it held six eggs and that a peeping sound came from some of them. While he watched, one moved and soon a tiny bill pushed through the shell uttering a shrill cry. At once the parent birds answered and he looked up to see where they were. They were not far off; they were flying about in search of food, chirping the while to each other and now and then calling to the little ones in the nest. . . . After many days he desired to see the nest again. So he went to the place where he had found it and there it was as safe as when he had left it. But a change had taken place. It was now full to overflowing with little birds, who were stretching their wings, balancing on their little legs and making ready to fly, while the parents with encouraging calls were coaxing the fledglings to venture forth. "Ah!" said the man, "if my people would only learn of the birds, and like them, care for their young and provide for their future, homes would be full and happy, and our tribe strong and prosperous."

When this man became a priest, he told the story of the bird's nest and sang its song; and so it has come down to us as from the days of our fathers.²¹

The "Song of the Wren" was made by a priest who noted that the wren, the smallest and least powerful of the birds, excelled them all in the fervor of its song. "Here," he thought, "is a teaching for my people. Everyone can be happy; even the most insignificant can have his song of thanks."

So he [the priest] made the story of the wren and sang it; and

²¹ *The Hako, A Pawnee Ceremony*, in 22nd Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part II, p. 170. See also *The Indian in Story and Song*, p. 32.

it has been handed down from that day,—a day so long ago no man can remember the time.*

Instances testifying to individual not communal composition of song among the Chippewa are no less easily cited.

The following explanation of a certain song was given by an Indian:

The song belonged to a certain man who sang it in the dances which were held before going to war. When this man was a boy he had a dream and in his dream he heard the trees singing as though they were alive: they sang that they were afraid of nothing except being blown down by the wind. When the boy awoke he made up this song, in which he repeats what he heard the trees say. The true meaning of the words is that there is no more chance of his being defeated on the warpath than there is that a tree will be blown down by the wind.²⁰

The singer stated that he composed this song himself when he was a child. The circumstances were as follows: His mother had gone to a neighbor's, leaving him alone in the wigwam. He became very much afraid of the owl, which is the particular terror of all small Indians, and sang this song. It was just after sugar making and the wigwams were placed together beside the lake. The people in the other wigwams heard his little song. The melody was entirely new and it attracted them so that they learned it as he sang. The men

²⁰ *The Hako*, pp. 171-172. See also *The Indian in Story and Song*, p. 56.

See A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, London, 1904, for instances of individual artistry among the Australians. "The makers of Australian songs, or of the combined songs and dances, are the poets, or bards, of the tribe, and are held in great esteem. Their names are known in the neighboring tribes, and their songs are carried from tribe to tribe, until the very meaning of the words is lost, as well as the original source of the song. It is hard to say how far and how long such a song may travel in the course of time over the Australian continent," p. 414. See also Kurburu's song, composed and sung by a bard called Kurburu, p. 420, etc. Howitt refers to one man who composed (see Umbara's songs, pp. 416, 423) when tossing about on the waves in a boat—not a very "communal" method of composition.

²¹ *Chippewa Music*, I, p. 126, No. 112: "Song of the Trees."

took it up and used it in their moccasin games. For many years it was used in this way, but he was always given the credit of its composition."²⁰

The rhythm of this song is peculiarly energizing, and when once established would undoubtedly have a beneficial physical effect. The surprising feature of this case, however, is that the song is said to have been composed and the rhythm created by the sick man himself.²¹

It is interesting to note that many Indian songs are composed by women. The following are instances:

. . . They [the women] would gather in groups at the lodge of the Leader of the war party, and in the hearing of his family would sing a We'-ton song, which should carry straight to the far-away warriors and help them to win the battle . . . The We'-ton song here given was composed by a Dakota woman.²²

It is said that the following [Chippewa] song was composed and sung on the field of battle by a woman named Omiakwa/wegijigo'kwe ("woman of the red sky"), the wife of the leader, who went with him into the fight singing, dancing, and urging him on. At last she saw him kill a Sioux. Full of the fire of battle, she longed to play a man's part and scalp the slain. Custom forbade that Chippewa women use the scalping knife, although they carried the scalps in the victory dance.

Song

at that time
if I had been a man
truly
a man
I would have seized.²³

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135, No. 121: "I am afraid of the Owl."

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95, No. 79: "Healing Song." Compare also Franz Boas on *The Central Eskimo*, Report Bureau of Ethnology, 1884-1885, p. 649: "Besides these old songs and tales there are a great number of new ones, and, indeed, almost every man has his own tune and his own song. A few of these become great favorites among the Eskimo and are sung like our popular songs."

²² Fletcher, *Indian Story and Song*, Weton Song, pp. 81, 85.

So also in the Omaha tribe: "We'tonwaan is an old and untranslatable word used to designate a class of songs composed by women

Odjib'we [a Chippewa] stated that his wife's brother was killed by the Sioux and that he organized a war party in return. The purpose of the expedition was to attack a certain Sioux village located on an island in Sauk river, but before reaching the village, the Chippewa met a war party of Sioux, which they pursued, killing one man. There were nine Chippewa in Odjib'we's party; not one was killed. They returned home at once and Odjib'we presented the Sioux scalp to his wife Dekum ("across") who held it aloft in the victory dance as she sung the following song.

Odjib'we
our brother
brings back.*

Much further evidence of the composition of songs by Indian women might be cited.³⁵

The preceding are specimen testimonies. They might be added to indefinitely, and from other than Indian sources. In accounts of African, Australian, or South American tribes, one comes invariably upon the instance of the individual who makes a song—very often in soli-

and sung exclusively by them."—Fletcher and LaFlesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, 27th Report, *Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 421; cf. pp. 320-323 for other types of women's songs.

* *Chippewa Music*, II, p. 111, No. 31: "If I Had Been a Man."

* *Ibid.*, p. 121, No. 39: Song of De-kum. Several other songs composed by De-kum are given.

* Compare Franz Boas, *Chinook Lays*, p. 224, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1888: "The greater part of those I have collected were composed by women." He adds that for a great number of tunes the "text is only a meaningless burden." For songs of the Kiowa composed by a woman, see J. W. Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 14 Report, *Bureau of Ethnology*, Part II, 1896, pp. 1083, 1085, etc. See also an article of interest by Alexander F. Chamberlain, *Primitive Woman as Poet*, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XVI (1903), pp. 207 ff.

R. H. Codrington writes of the Melanesians (*The Melanesians: Studies in Their Anthropology and Folk-Lore*, Oxford, 1891, p. 334): "A poet or poetess more or less distinguished is probably found in every considerable village throughout the islands; when some remarkable event occurs, the launching of a canoe, a visit of strangers, or a feast, song-makers are engaged to celebrate it and rewarded," etc.

tude—and the song is recognised as his. The great mass of primitive songs sung in communal or other gatherings are either portions of religious rituals, didactic, or, still oftener, magical in nature. Far from being improvised³⁶ for the occasion, they are sedulously repeated *verbatim*, the least deviation from the rote form being the occasion, not infrequently, of an entire recommencement of the ceremony.

Songs composed and sung by individuals and songs sung by groups of singers (or "throngs," if you prefer) are to be found in the most primitive of living tribes. That in the earliest stage there was group utterance only, arising from the folk-dance, is fanciful hypothesis. That primitive song is of group composition or collaboration, not individual composition, is quite as fanciful. Again, as far

³⁶ Compare the testimony of Ramon Pane, concerning the Haytians, in Ferdinand Columbus's *Life of Christopher Columbus*, ch. 14: "They have all the superstitions reduced into old songs, and are directed by them, as the Moors by the Alcoran. When they sing these, they play on an instrument made of wood. . . . To that music they sing those songs they have got by heart. The chief men play on it, who learn it from their infancy, and so sing it according to their custom."

Substantially the same account is given by Peter Martyr d'Anghera (*De Orbe Novo*, English trans. by MacNutt, New York, 1912, vol. I, p. 172): "When the Spanish asked whoever had infected them with this mass of ridiculous beliefs, the natives replied that they received them from their ancestors, and that they had been preserved from time immemorial in poems which only the sons of chiefs were allowed to learn. These poems are learned by heart, for they have no writing, and on feast days the sons of chiefs sing them to the people in the form of sacred chants."

For the North American Indians, see, for example, Washington Matthews, *Navaho Legends, Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, 1897. An account of Navaho traditional songs is given pp. 23-27. See also note 273, p. 254, *Navaho Music*, by Prof. J. C. Fillmore. Miss Fletcher gives similar testimony concerning Indian traditional lays.

back as we can go in the genesis of song-craft, there are impromptu songs, the spontaneous utterance of present emotion, and there are traditional songs, survivals or revivals of the songs of the past.³⁷ Among primitive peoples there is no such indissoluble connection between singing and dancing as the italicized observations of Dr. Ehrenreich are supposed to imply. Neither dancing nor song is invariably "choric" in savage any more than in civilized society. Solo dancing, for example, has been reported among the Semang of Perak, the Kwai, and the Andamanese, as well as among the American Indians and numerous other peoples. As for solo singing, the citations given speak for themselves.³⁸ Even when the singing is choral, it is by no means always dance-song, nor accompanied by dancing. The Kaffirs are said to be fond of singing lustily together, but, if we may trust the observation, "a Kaffir differs from an European vocalist in this point, namely, that he always, if possible, *sits down* when he sings."³⁹ Surely these recumbent Kaffirs deserve italics quite as much as Dr. Ehrenreich's Botocudos.⁴⁰

³⁷ Improvisation exists among the Obongo, Australian, Fijian, Andamanese, Zulu, Botocudo, and Eskimo tribes, as well as among the North American Indians. Traditional songs persist among the Kwai, Australian, Andamanese, Rock Vedda, Semang, Fijian, Fuegian, and Eskimo tribes, as well as among the North American Indians.

³⁸ See also citations in note 42.

³⁹ J. E. Wood, *Uncivilized Races of the World* (Amer. ed., Hartford, 1870), p. 208.

⁴⁰ We really know very little concerning the songs of the Botocudos. Dr. Ehrenreich's section dealing with them is very short, and he is chiefly interested in other things than song. These are the specimens he cites:—*Gesang beim Tanz*. Chor: "Weib jung, stehlen nichts." Ein Weib singt: "Ich, ich will nicht (stehlen)." "Der Häuptling hat keine Furcht"—*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. XIX, pp. 33, 61.

Testimony concerning the songs of other Brazilian tribes may be found in J. B. Steere's *Narrative of a Visit to the Indian Tribes of*

The conception of individual song can be shown to exist among the very lowest peoples. Professor Gummere's belief is that human beings get together for rhythmic movement, begin to sing, and thus song is born. But the same savage tribes that sing in groups tell stories in which individual songs appear. Among the myths of the wilder tribes of Eastern Brazil, for example, (illustrated in *O Selvagem*, the well-known collection of José V. Couto de Magalhães), there are many in which the composition and singing of songs by individuals form important incidents. This fact shows plainly that the authors of these myths were perfectly familiar with the conception of individual composition. Granting the manifestations of primitive singing and dancing throngs which seem so decisive to Professor Gummere, they are capable of quite other interpretations than those which he puts upon them.

the Purus River, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1901, pp. 363-393. The following are songs of the Hypurinás (cannibals), and are individualistic in character: "The leaf that calls my lover when tied in my girdle" (Indian girl's song); "I have my arrows ready and wish to kill you"; "Now no one can say I am not a warrior. I return victorious from the battle"; "I go to die, my enemy shall eat me."

The following are some songs of the Paumari, a "humble cowardly people who live in deadly fear of the Hypurinás": "My mother when I was little carried me with a strap on her back. But now I am a man I don't need my mother any more"; "The Toucan eats fruit in the edge of my garden, and after he eats he sings"; "The jaguar fought with me, and I am weary, I am weary." The following they call the song of the turtle: "I wander, always wander, and when I get where I want to go I shall not stop, but still go on."

Hunting songs of the Bakairi, of the Xingu river region, egoistic in character, are cited by Dr. Max Schmidt, *Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 421-424.

The "I" of these songs of South American tribes cannot always be "racial." The context shows that, sometimes, at least, it must be egoistic, as in the individualistic songs of the North American Indians.

IV

THE "BALLAD" AS THE EARLIEST POETIC FORM

And now what truth is in the assumption that the ballad-dance is the germ from which emerged the three separate arts, poetry, music, dance? A passage by Professor Moulton, affirming this, has been cited, and this passage presents, without doubt, a view now widely accepted in the United States.

Let us ask, first, in what sense the word "ballad" is used by those who derive poetry from it. Does Professor Moulton, for example, use the word ballad in its etymological sense of "dance song," leaving undetermined the character of the words, whether meaningless vocables, purely lyrical, or prevaillingly narrative? Usually the classification "ballad" is employed of lyric verses having a narrative element. By "ballad" we are supposed to mean a narrative song, a story in verse, a short narrative told lyrically. It is a loose usage which permits scholars to use the word in the sense both of dance song and of lyrical narrative, in the same work; the ambiguity is unnecessary.⁴¹ If ballad means something like dance song, or choral dance, or folk-dance accompanied by improvisation and refrain, the term ballad-dance is tautological; for all ballads involve dancing. One wishes for more precision. But this need not detain us here.

In whichever sense the term ballad be used, it is somewhat rash to place the ballad dance so certainly at the source of man's musical and poetical expression. We have

⁴¹ In which sense, for example, does Professor G. P. Krapp (*The Rise of English Literary Prose*, 1915, Preface) use "ballad" when he writes, "Poetry of primitive origins, for example the ballad, often attains a finality of form which art cannot better, but not so with prose?"

just seen that there is individual composition and singing, song unaccompanied by dancing, and dance unaccompanied by song, as far down in the cultural scale as we can go. Certainly if ballad means, as usually it does, song-story, the ballad was *not* the earliest form of poetry; and primitive people *never* danced to ballads. The earliest songs we can get track of are purely lyrical, not narrative. The melody is the important thing; the words, few in number and sometimes meaningless, are relatively negligible. Moreover, these songs are on many themes, or have many impulses beside festal dances. There are healers' songs, conjurers' songs, hunting songs, game-songs, love songs, hymns, laments, victory songs, and lyrics of personal feeling and appeal. The lullaby is as old a lyric form as we are likely to find. Who cares to affirm that lullabies were unknown to our aboriginal ancestors? Yet the lullaby has nothing to do with the singing and dancing throng! Nor has that other very early species, the medicine man or healer's solos; nor have gambling or game songs,⁴² or love songs. Primitive labor songs are social,

* See Stewart Culin, *Games of the North American Indian*, 24 Report, *Bureau of Ethnology*, 1907, for an account of singing in the Moccasin or Hidden-Ball game, pp. 335 ff. Solo singing among the Chippewa is mentioned, p. 341, among the Menominee, p. 343, the Miami, p. 344, the Seneca, p. 350, the Wyandot, p. 351, etc. See also Edward Sapir, *Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology*, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1910, p. 455, vol. XXIII: "Generally Indian music is of greatest significance when combined with the dance in ritualistic or ceremonial performances. Nevertheless the importance of music in non-ceremonial acts—for instance in the hand-game played by all the tribes west of the Rockies—should not be minimized."

There are solo-singing Bantu, Zulu, Fuegian, etc., witch-doctors and medicine men, as well as solo-singing North American Indian medicine men and gamblers. See also, for some instances of solo singing, H. A. Junod, *Les Chantes et les Contes des Ba-Ronga*, pp. 39, 44, etc., Lausanne, 1897; also G. Landtman, *The Poetry of the*

but they do not involve dancing, and they are not ballads. The class that is nearest the real ballad, in that it is based on happenings, or on the composer's experiences, is not by any means the largest or the most important group for primitive song. Songs of this latter type may be suggested by some event, or may present some situation; but they tell no story in the sense of real telling. That demands length, elaboration, completeness, beyond primitive powers. If we try to fix chronology, it is most plausible to begin with rhythmic action and with melody. Professor Gummere thinks that melody is born of rhythmic action. But vocal action of the singing type, i. e., melody, may well be as instinctive in man as in birds. Action and melody in singing may well have come together; for song interprets primarily feeling, emotion, not motion. In any case, words came later than melody, and real narrative later yet. As a lyrical species, the narrative song is a late, not an early, poetical development. If we look at what certain evidence we have, primitive songs are very brief, the words are less important than the music, indeed they need hardly be present; and they rarely tell a story. I have found no case in which a primitive song tells a story with real elaboration or completeness. Nor need these songlets always have their origin in the choral—specifically in the improvisation and communal elaboration of a festal dance. Why, then, apply the term *ballad* to the brief and simple lyrical utterances, often nothing more than the repetition of a few syllables, or of one syllable,

Kiwai Papuans, Folk-Lore, vol. XXIV (1913), p. 308; Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 275, 388, 396-399; James Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, pp. 218, 219; E. H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years Among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*, pp. 225, 226, 228, as "The song of mourning is among some tribes sung by a professional wailer, generally a woman."

which—according to the evidence—makes up the great body of primitive song?

But it is time to bring up a few illustrations.

First place may well be given to the words of Miss Alice Fletcher, who has had thirty-five years of acquaintance with Indian music:

The word 'song' to our ears, suggests words arranged in metrical form and adapted to be 'set to music,' as we say. The native word which is translated 'song' does not suggest any use of words. To the Indian, the music is of primal importance, words may or may not accompany the music. When words are used in a song, they are rarely employed as in a narrative, the sentences are not apt to be complete. In songs belonging to a religious ceremony the words are few and partake of a mnemonic character. They may refer to some symbol, may suggest the conception or the teaching the symbol stands for, rarely more than that. Vocables are frequently added to the word or words to eke out the musical measure. It sometimes happens that a song has no words at all, only vocables are used to float the voice. Whether vocables alone are used or used in connection with words, they are never a random collection of syllables. An examination of hundreds of songs shows that the vocables used fall into classes; one class is used for songs denoting action, another class for songs of a contemplative character, and it is also noted that when once vocables are adapted to a song they are never changed but are treated as if they were actual words.⁴³

She writes elsewhere to the same effect:

In Indian song and story we come upon a time when poetry is not yet differentiated from story and story not yet set free from song. We note that the song clasps the story as part of its being, and the story itself is not fully told without the cadence of the song. . . . The difference between spontaneous Indian melodies and the compositions of modern masters would seem to be not one of kind but of degree. . . . Many Indian songs have no words at all, vocables only being used to float the voice.⁴⁴

The investigator of Ojibway song also finds the melody

⁴³ *The Study of Indian Music*, 1915, pp. 231-232.

⁴⁴ *Indian Story and Song*, pp. 121, 124, 125.

to be more important than the words, and has nothing to say of an inevitable relation between dancing and song:

His [the Ojibway] poetry is not only inseparable but indistinguishable from music. . . . Among all civilized peoples the art of expression through verse is one thing, and the art of expression through modulated tones is quite another, linked though they often are by the deliberate intent of the composer, and always associated in the popular mind; in the Ojibway conception the two arts are not merely linked inseparably, they are fused in one. . .⁴⁵

The Ojibway is more gifted in music than in poetry; he has wrought out a type of beautiful melody, much of it perfect in form; his verse, for the most part, has not emerged from the condition of raw material.⁴⁶

He does sing his new melody to meaningless syllables, tentatively correcting it here and there, but meantime experimenting with words that convey meaning; and the probability is that the precise sentiment of the words finally accepted is established by rhythmic considerations, those that fall readily into the scheme of accents appealing to him as the most suitable vehicle for the melody.⁴⁷

The melody and the idea are the essential parts of a Midé song. Sometimes only one or two words occur in a song. . . . Many of the words used in a Midé song are unknown in the conversational Chippewa of the present time.⁴⁸

A number of Chippewa songs, as transcribed, have no words. Some of these songs originally may have had words and in a limited number of love songs the words partake so much of the nature of a soliloquy that they cannot conveniently be translated and given with the music. The words of most of the Chippewa songs are few in number and suggest rather than express the idea of the song. Only in the love songs and in few of the Midé songs are the words continuous.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Burton, *American Primitive Music*, p. 106.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁴⁸ Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, I, 1910, pp. 14, 15.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 1913, p. 2. Similarly Washington Matthews, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1894, p. 185, writes of traditional songs among the Navahos, "One song consists almost exclusively of meaningless or archaic vocables. Yet not one syllable may be forgotten or misplaced."

Such evidence may be multiplied indefinitely.⁵⁰ The brevity of Indian songs is striking. Many have few words, some one word, and some no words. The songs of other savage peoples show the same characteristic. There are one-word traditional poems among the African Kwai, and two-word traditional poems of the Botocudos and the Eskimos. These are not narrative songs, and they need not be dance songs; for savage peoples do not always dance their verses. They are not, then, "ballads." Nor need they have any relation to choral improvisation.

Literary historians have dwelt too much, it seems to me, on the festal throng and communal improvisation and the folk-dance, when dealing with the "beginnings of poetry," until the whole subject has been thrown out of focus. The term ballad might well be left out of account altogether and reserved for the lyric species, appearing late in literary history, the "epic in little," or "short narrative told lyrically" exemplified in the conventional ballad collections. If we are to mean by ballads narrative songs like those of the middle ages, or narrative songs wherever they appear, we should certainly cease placing the ballad at the source of primitive poetry. It is not proved that the ballad, in any sense, came first, or even that choral songs preceded solos. It is likely enough that choral song and solos co-existed from the beginning, or even that solos preceded, for all that can be certainly known. The assumption that group power to sing, to compose songs, and to dance, precedes individual power to do these things,⁵¹ is fatuously

⁵⁰ It is obvious to the student of negro songs that these songs tend to retrograde to the simple repetition of phrases rather than to assume a narrative type.

⁵¹ Erich Schmidt ("Anfänge der Literatur," p. 9, in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1906, 1) writes: . . . schon weil keine Masse nur den einfachsten Satz unisona improvisieren kann und alle romantischen Schwärmerien von der urheberlos singenden "Volksseele"

speculative. It rests neither on "overwhelming evidence" nor on probability. The individual ought to be able to engage in rhythmic motion, to compose tunes, and then to evolve words for these tunes, at least as early as he is able to do these things along with others of his kind. And let it be said again that it is safer to affirm that the primitive lyric, whether individual or choral, is not the ballad but the song—more strictly, the songlet.

V

IMPROVISATION AND FOLK-SONG

From the preceding discussion, it seems clear that it is time to instil caution into our association of the primitive festal throng improvising and collaborating, and hypothetical throngs of peasants or villagers collaborating in the creation of the English and Scottish popular ballads. Primitive song and the mediæval ballads are separate phenomena, with a tremendous gulf in time and civilization between. No doubt some of the choral improvisations of savage peoples found or find permanence, as is the case with individual improvisations, and also with songs thought out in solitude—or "dreamed" in the Indian way. But such songs—consisting of a few words, or a few lines monotonously repeated—are quite a different

eitel Dunst sind, muss sich Sondervortrag und Massenausbruch sehr früh gliedern. Einer schreit zuerst, einer singt und springt zuerst, die Menge macht es ihm nach, entweder treulich oder indem sie bei unartikulierten Refrains, bei einzelnen Worten, bei wiederkehrenden Sätzen beharrt.

In this connection, since it deserves to be cited somewhere, may be quoted a passage from von Humboldt: "The Indians pretend that when the araguatos [howling monkeys] fill the forests with their howling, there is always one that chaunts as leader of the chorus."—A. von Humboldt, *Travels in the Equinoctial Regions of America*, Bohn edition, vol. II, p. 70.

thing from improvisations of length, having a definite narrative element, and high artistic value as poetry. Most primitive improvisations are no tax on the memory, and hardly, in view of their brevity, on the creative power.⁵² A singer with a good voice and a turn for melody might succeed, whether he could compose words very well or not.

But when it is affirmed that improvising folk-throngs created the literary type appearing in the English and Scottish ballads of the Child collection, pieces like "The Hunting of the Cheviot," the Robin Hood pieces, "Sir Patrick Spens," "Lord Randal," etc., the affirmation is pure—and not too plausible—conjecture. We have to do with long, finished narratives, obeying regular stanzaic structure, provided with rhyme, and telling a whole story—pretty completely in older versions, more reducedly in the later. To assume that ignorant uneducated people composed these, having the power to do so just because they were ignorant and uneducated—that is quite a different thing, and it finds no support in the probabilities.

Of late years a considerable number of pieces composed by groups of unlearned people whose community life socialized their thinking have been made available to students of folk song, namely American cowboy and lumberman songs, and negro spirituals. It is hardly likely that human ability has fallen greatly since the middle ages; yet

⁵² In the field of primitive ritual song there are many feats of memory that are quite wonderful. Long years are required for an Indian to become a really adept renderer of tribal rituals. See, for examples of verbal length, in the 27th Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, the ritual song of 39 lines on p. 42, or that of 50 lines on pp. 571-572, at the bottom very nobly poetic. Similar examples are to be found in other tribes. Also there is something remotely analogous to ballad structure in such ritual songs as are given on pp. 206-242 of *The Hako*. But these ritual songs are not improvisations; nor are they of "communal" rendering.

when we see what is the best that communal composition can achieve now, and are asked to believe what it created some centuries ago, the discrepancy becomes unbelievable.⁵³ The American pieces which, according to their collectors, have been communally composed, or at least emerged from the ignorant and unlettered in isolated regions, afford ample testimony in style, structure, quality, and technique to the fact that the English and Scottish popular ballads could not have been so composed, nor their type so established. In general, real communalistic or peoples' poetry, as we can place the finger on it, composed in the collaborating manner emphasized by Professor Gummere and Professor Kittredge, is crude, structureless, incoherent, and lacking in striking and memorable qualities. There are now many collections of American folk-song, made in many States. In these collections, the pieces of memorable quality are exactly those for which folk-composition can not be claimed. The few rough improvisations which we can identify as emerging from the folk themselves—which we actually know to be the work of unlettered individuals or throngs—are those farthest from the Child ballads in their general characteristics and in their worth as poetry. Nor is there a single instance of such an improvisation developing into a good piece, or becoming, as time goes on, anything like a Child ballad. Yet they emerged from throngs no less homogeneous, perhaps more homogeneous than the mediæval peasants and villagers.

The most homogeneous groups in the world are doubtless the military groups; yet war and march songs are al-

⁵³ See my *New-World Analogues of the English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, the *Mid-West Quarterly*, April, 1916. Also *The South western Cowboy Songs and the English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, *Modern Philology*, October, 1913.

ways appropriated, never composed by the soldiers. The examples afforded by the war for the Union are still familiar; the favorite song developed by the Cuban war⁵⁴ was adapted from a French-Creole song; and we know the origin of the songs popular among the soldiers in the present European war. If the "homogeneity" theory has any value, it ought to find illustrations in army life. And do prisoners in stripes and lock step ever invent songs? Granting the "communal conditions" theory, our penitentiaries should be veritable fountains of song and balladry. As a matter of fact, the most famous of prison ballads is the masterpiece of an accomplished poet,—Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Gaol."

Another thing shown by modern collections of folk-song is that the songs preserved among the folk are nearly certain *not* to be those composed by them. Those they make themselves are just about the first to die. Usually some special impetus, some cause for persistence or popularity, is to be detected for the pieces that live. And the striking or memorable qualities, or the special mode of diffusion, necessary to bring vitality are just what the genuine "communal" folk-pieces do not and cannot have.

The test of subject-matter should also be taken into account, when we are considering the likelihood that some process akin to the processes of primitive choral song and dance—continued through untold centuries among villagers and peasants—produced the Child ballads. Perhaps I may be permitted to quote my own words here:

. . . The real communal pieces, as we can identify them, deal with the life and the interests of the people who compose them. They do not occupy themselves with the stories and the lives of the class above them. The cowboy pieces deal with cattle trails, barrooms, broncho riding, not with the lives of ranch-owners and employers;

⁵⁴ Joseph T. Miles, "A Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight."

and the negro piece deals with the boll weevil, not with the adventures of the owners of the plantations. Songs well-attested as emerging from the laboring folk throngs of the Old-World deal with the interests of factory life or agricultural life, or with the adventures of those of the social class singing or composing the songs. What then must we think of the English and Scottish ballads, if the people composed them? Their themes are not at all of the character to be expected. They are not invariably on the work, or on episodes in the life of the ignorant and lowly. Would they have had so great vitality or have won such currency if they had dealt with labourers, ploughmen, spinners, peasants, common soldiers, rather than with aristocrats? The typical figures in the ballads are kings and princesses, knights and ladies,—King Estmere, Young Beichan, Young Hunting, Lord Randal, Earl Brand, Edward, Sir Patrick Spens, Edom o'Gordon, Lord Thomas and Fair Annet, Lady Maisry, Proud Lady Margaret, or leaders like the Percy and the Douglas. We learn next to nothing concerning the humbler classes from them; less than from Froissart's Chronicles, far less than from Chaucer. The life is not that of the hut or the village, but that of the bower and the hall. Nor is the language parallel to that of the cowboy and negro pieces. It has touches of professionalism, stock poetic formulae, alliteration, traces of the septenar meter. It is not rough, flat, crude, in the earlier and undegenerated versions; instead there is much that is poetic, telling, beautiful. It is for its time much nearer the poetry coming from professional hands than what might be expected from mediæval counterparts of *The Old Chisholm Trail* and *The Boll Weevil*. No doubt there existed analogues of these pieces, i. e., songs which were sung by and were the creation of ignorant and unlettered villagers; but we may be certain that these mediæval analogues were not the Child ballads.⁵⁵

On the whole, the type of the mediæval ballad, with choral refrain, is more likely to have emerged from mediæval music—to have been determined by the kind of melodies which prevailed, the lyrical treatment given them, or the type of dance they accompanied—than to be the amazingly persistent legacy of the dance-songs of primitive man. It is far less likely that primitive man established the lyrical species we now call ballad⁵⁶ than that this species

⁵⁵ *The Mid-West Quarterly*, April, 1916, pp. 179-180.

⁵⁶ Of "incremental repetition," often emphasized as inherited from primitive poetry, and held to be the surest proof of the communal

derived from the aristocratic song, or dance, or minstrel modes, of the mediæval bower and the hall. The English and Scottish ballads should no longer be inevitably related to primitive singing and dancing throngs, improvising and collaborating. We can not look upon creations of such length, structure, coherence, finish, artistic value, adequacy of expression, as emerging from the communal improvisation of simple uneducated folk-throngs. This view might serve so long as we had no clear evidence before us as to the kind of thing that the improvising folk-muse is able to create. When we see what is the best the latter can do, under no less favorable conditions, at the present time, we remain skeptical as to the power of the mediæval rustics and villagers. The mere fact that the mediæval throngs are supposed to have danced while they sung, whereas modern cowboys, lumbermen, ranchmen, or negroes do not, should not have endowed the mediæval muse with such striking superiority of product.

The subjects, the authorship and composition of primitive song, and the authorship and composition of the English and Scottish popular ballads, are distinct; and, for both, the unqualified affirmation of "communal" origin should no longer be made.

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origin of the ballad type, Mr. John Robert Moore (*The Influence of Transmission on the English Ballads, Modern Language Review*, XI, 1916, p. 398) writes: "Unfortunately . . . the facts seem to make little provision for the theory; for it is the simple ballads which most often have the fixed refrain, and the broadsides which exhibit the most marked use of incremental repetition. Furthermore, when oral tradition adds a refrain to an original printed broadside, it is only a simple refrain, without the structural device of accretion which Professor Gummere considers so characteristic." . . .

IX.—THE DRAMAS OF GEORGE HENRY BOKER

Notwithstanding the pre-eminence of George Henry Boker in our dramatic literature before the Civil War, an eminence not seriously threatened in America except by Robert Montgomery Bird, no accurate account of his life has been published and nowhere is available even a trustworthy statement of the productions of his plays.¹ Several of his dramas remain unpublished in manuscript and even their existence is known apparently to but few. I shall not attempt here to go into detail concerning his life, but will endeavor to give the facts concerning his plays that have come to light in the course of my examination of the Boker manuscripts kindly placed at my disposal by Mrs. George Boker, the daughter-in-law of the dramatist.

George Henry Boker was born in Philadelphia on October 6, 1823. His father, Charles S. Boker, was president of the Girard National Bank, and the lawsuit which resulted from his son's determination to protect his father's memory from slander culminated in 1882 in the production of the elegy *The Book of the Dead*, in which the elder Boker's detractors are pilloried. Boker graduated from Princeton College in 1842 and studied law with John Sargeant in Philadelphia, but never practised it. He married in 1844 Miss Julia Mandeville Riggs of Georgetown, D. C., and after foreign travel determined to write. His first publication in book form was *The Lesson of Life and Other Poems*, published in 1848. The title poem is an ethical discourse in blank verse and there is nothing of real significance among the early poems. None of them

¹ Since this was written, a brief statement concerning the dates of his plays has been published by the present writer in his *Representative American Plays*, New York, 1917.

was reprinted in the collected edition of 1856. The sonnets give only a slight promise of Boker's later power as a sonneteer, although it is interesting to note that from the beginning they were written in the Italian form. The translations of *Athelstan's Victory at Brunanburh* and of a few lines from *Beowulf* show his early appreciation of the structure as well as of the poetical qualities of Old English.

His first play, *Calaynos*, was published in 1848. It was first produced in London at the Sadlers Wells Theatre on May 10, 1849 ¹ without the author's consent and with considerable alteration. In this version Samuel Phelps played Calaynos and G. R. Dickenson, Oliver. The cast as given in the copy printed in London, n. d., is as follows:

Calaynos	Mr. Phelps
Don Luis	Mr. H. Marston
Don Guzman	Mr. Belford
Don Miguel	Mr. Harrington
Don Lopez	Mr. Harris
Oliver	Mr. G. R. Dickenson
Soto	Mr. Hoskins
First Usurer	Mr. Franks
Second Usurer	
Baltazar	Mr. Wilkins
Pedro	Mr. C. Fenton
Friar Gil	Mr. H. Melton
Forester	
Guests, Nobles, Attendants, Servants, Usurers, etc.	
Donna Alda	Miss Cooper
Martina	Mrs. H. Marston

Calaynos was first played in this country at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, Monday, January 20, 1851,² and ran for nine nights, James E. Murdoch taking the

¹ This date of the production of the play is based on a written statement by Mr. Boker, found among the MSS.

² Statement of receipts from Walnut Street Theatre, Boker MSS.

part of *Calaynos*. It was played in Chicago August 19th and 23d, 1851, by Murdoch, who also produced it three nights in Baltimore and in Albany. In Durang's *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, under date of December 1, 1851, appears this statement:

December 1st, the tragedy of *Calaynos*, written by G. H. Boker, Esq., of Philadelphia, was revived, in which Mr. G. R. Dickenson, a popular actor from Saddler's Wells Theater, made his first appearance in America as Oliver, having played it originally at the above theater, when it was first produced at London; Mr. Couldock as *Calaynos*.³

Mr. Couldock was during that season a regular member of the stock company of the Walnut Street Theatre.

It was revived April 13, 1855 at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, by E. L. Davenport.⁴

There is also evidence in the typewritten copy of 1886 that Lawrence Barrett was seriously considering the revival of *Calaynos*, since he has outlined a cast, including himself as *Calaynos*, and there are marked throughout the play the cuts and rearrangements that were to prepare it for the stage.

It is interesting to compare the changes made by Phelps, as reflected in the London edition, with those made by Barrett. The plot of *Calaynos* must, however, be outlined as given in the edition of 1848.

The main theme of the tragedy is the dislike of the Spaniards for Moorish blood.

Calaynos is a wealthy nobleman who lives at a distance from the capital and is summoned by the king to Seville. His wife, Doña Alda, wishes to go with him but he does not allow her to do so, so her maid, Martina, tries to make her more discontented than she is, and *Calaynos* is warned by Oliver, his Secretary, and by Friar Gil not to go to Seville, as they feel that wrong will come of it. In Act

³ Charles Durang, *History of the Philadelphia Stage, 1749-1855*, Third Series, Chapter CXXI.

⁴ Durang, *op. cit.*, Third Series, Chap. CXXII.

II, which takes place in Seville, Don Luis, a spendthrift, is introduced and Calaynos, who is his friend, helps him to pay his creditors, believing him to be an honorable man. Oliver tries to trip up Don Luis and his creditors but does not succeed. Calaynos brings Don Luis home to his Castle in Act III and he falls in love with Doña Alda and attempts to seduce her. Martina and Soto, Don Luis' servant, strike up a flirtation also. Don Luis hears of Calaynos' Moorish taint and uses it to try to persuade Alda to leave him. Don Luis persuades her to meet him in the grand hall of the palace at two o'clock, and she is so overcome at the thought of her husband having Moorish blood in him that she swoons and he carries her off. In the last Act Doña Alda returns after some months to die at the Castle. Calaynos goes to Seville and challenges Luis and kills him in a duel, Calaynos being wounded to death in the duel and Oliver coming in in time to see him die.

Phelps and Barrett cut the play differently. Phelps simply cut out sections of several lines and apparently with less care. Barrett cut lines with more individual discrimination, apparently paying less attention to the poetic worth than to the stage value and the importance of the person who is speaking. For example, in one of Martina's speeches in Act I, Scene i, describing the court, Barrett cut out eight of the eighteen lines, while Phelps played it entire. This scene has good lines, but is more descriptive than dramatic.⁵

Among the Boker mss. is a copy of the London reprint, revised by Boker, with Scene ii and Scene iii of Act v rewritten in Boker's hand. The 1848 edition had concluded with a duel between Calaynos and Don Luis in a field. Boker took the idea of ending the play in the banquet hall from the last scene of the London edition, and has altered it considerably. In all the published editions, however, the original scene is preserved. This copy possesses certain interest, since it was the acting version used by Murdoch in the revival in 1851 in Philadelphia.

⁵ P. 26, ed. of 1848.

In 1886 Boker revised his plays, evidently with the intention of publication, but the 1891 edition was printed from the old plates. In this revision, *Calaynos* was rather extensively changed, and the form was improved from the point of view of dramatic effectiveness. The opening scene between Pedro and Baltazar is omitted in Act I. In Act II Calaynos and Don Luis meet more effectively, as Calaynos is recognized by Don Luis, who is brought before the Court on a criminal charge, and who recognizes Calaynos and is saved by him. In Act III the scene between Calaynos and Oliver, which Phelps had omitted, is also left out in this 1886 revision. Calaynos tells Don Luis that he is a Moor, and this makes the latter's perfidy greater. In Act IV, the opening scene between Don Luis and Soto is omitted. Then Don Luis and Soto plan to meet Alda at night. They do this without the appointment found in the earlier version.

In Act V Alda dies on the stage instead of off it. Act VI is made up of Scene II and Scene III of Act V. The scene moves more successfully on account of some omissions. The revellers come out of the banquet hall and Calaynos' followers encircle them. Calaynos forces Don Luis to fight and the end is shortened and seems to be more effective. These changes are, of course, of most value as showing Boker's development in the art of dramatic construction, since the play in the final revision is more effective than in the published form.

The next play to be written was *Anne Boleyn*. A title was filed in the copyright office September 28, 1849, and the book itself on January 2, 1850. Boker intended the play for the stage. In a letter to Richard Henry Stoddard⁶

⁶ R. H. Stoddard, *George Henry Boker*, in *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. XLV, p. 857 (June 1890).

on September 5, 1849, he states that he has had overtures from the Haymarket Theatre for the play and that he intends sending early sheets to London. He had assurances, too, from Charlotte Cushman that she would bring it out in this country, provided she believed her powers adapted to it.

There are among the manuscripts separate "parts" for the characters in *Anne Boleyn*, and the play was evidently being considered favorably by some producing manager. It was, however, not performed and it is doubtful whether it would have had success upon the stage. The central theme, that of a girl-queen attacked by a group of cold-blooded noblemen who conspire to ruin her through exciting the king's jealousy, and who are aided by King Henry the Eighth's infatuation for Jane Seymour, is dramatic, surely; for we have the strong motive of self-preservation in conflict with the motive of love and that of ambition. The difficulty lies in the fact that there is no real sympathy for Anne; for no matter how false Henry the Eighth or how base Jane Seymour may be, the thought remains with us that strict justice is being meted out to Anne for her earlier conduct toward Katherine.

From the point of view of dramatic structure, too, the play is not the equal of *Calaynos*, to say nothing of the plays that were to come. There is too much monologue and dialogue, and the defense of Anne is weakened by being delivered after the trial is over. She does not rise to even the greatness of remorse when the visions of Katherine, of More, and of others rise to torment her. The only flashes of inspiration come in the first scene of the Fourth Act, when Sir Henry Norris defies the king in his efforts to corrupt him, and in the soliloquy of Thomas Wyatt, in the second scene of the same Act, beginning "O coming shape of English liberty."

The Betrothal was the third play to be written and the second to be placed upon the stage. It was composed probably about February, 1850, and was first played at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, on September 25, 1850, where it ran for ten nights.⁷

It was revived in Philadelphia next year; for in Durang's⁸ history we read:

December 5th [1851], Mr. Craddock's benefit—a revival of the popular play of *The Betrothal*, written especially for Mr. E. A. Marshall's theater by G. H. Boker, Esq., and performed during the last season with as brilliant success as ever greeted any production within the walls of the edifice.

It was played at the Broadway Theatre, New York, from November 18 to November 30, 1850⁹ inclusive, with the exception of November 24th, and again from December 30, 1850 to January 3, 1851⁹ inclusive. No record has been found of the first cast but that in New York was as follows:

Marquis di Tiburzzi, a decayed nobleman.....	Mr. Fredericks
Count Juranio, a wealthy nobleman.....	Mr. F. Conway
Salvatore, his kinsman.....	Mr. Richings
Marzio, a wealthy merchant.....	Mr. Couldock
Pietro Rogo, his friend.....	Mr. Whiting
Pulti, servant to Marzio.....	Mr. Davidge
Costanza, Daughter to the Marquis.....	Mme. Ponisi
Filippia, her cousin.....	Mrs. Abbot
Marchioness di Tiburzzi.....	Mrs. Hield

As Marshall was manager of both the Walnut Street Theatre and the Broadway Theatre at this time, this cast probably contained some of the original players.

In *The Betrothal*, which is a romantic comedy in blank verse, the main plot centers upon the efforts of the Marchioness di Tiburzzi to

⁷ Boker MSS.

⁸ Durang's *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, Third Series, Chapter CXL.

⁹ Boker MSS.

marry her daughter, Costanza to Marzio, a rich merchant, to aid in restoring the family fortunes. Count Juranio falls in love with Costanza and she with him, but she refuses to break her word, given to marry Marzio. Salvatore, Juranio's friend, has Marzio watched and also challenges him and proves his cowardice. The Marquis who has agreed to the marriage only because he believed Costanza in love with Marzio, begins to suspect that he has been deceived. Marzio bribes his servant, Pulti, to poison Juranio and Salvatore at the betrothal feast, but Pulti tells Salvatore and it is arranged that the apparent poison shall be put in Marzio's own glass. He betrays himself under the influence of the drug and Salvatore catches him in his own trap, winning Costanza for Juranio and Filippia for himself.

The play is a definite improvement on *Anne Boleyn* and *Calaynos*. It moves more quickly and there is a sense of the characters dominating the situation, especially in the last Act, which makes for real drama. The long soliloquies are not so conspicuous and in the dialogues the language becomes more natural. An example of the verse from Act III, Scene i will show these qualities of style:

Juranio. Costanza di Tiburzzi, ere I go,
 Listen. I love you with a single heart.
 I do confess much folly in the deeds
 To which love drew me. Hidden by yon bower—
 While peeping buds unfolded into flowers—
 While infant leaves uncurled their tiny scrolls,
 And, full-grown, basked them in the mellow sun—
 While all creation was an active hymn
 Of ceaseless labor to approving God—
 I have stood idly, though the dear time sped,
 Waiting to catch the faintest glimpse of you.
 Then, happy with that treasure of my sense,
 Have hied me home, to fill my waking thoughts
 With growing fancies; or, through fleeting night
 Made my dreams golden with the memory
 Of what had blessed my day. I cover nothing:
 I have no skill nor wish to circumvent you.
 You know the mystery of my presence here;
 You know the secret of my love,—ah! yes;
 You knew it ere I spoke it. You can lift,

By confirmation of your former words,
 A sinking heart to rapture. Speak, O, speak!
 My fate hangs on your mercy!

Durang speaks of the likeness of the play to *Love's Sacrifice* of Lovell. There is, however, little in common between the two plays. There is more similarity between *The Betrothal* and Nathaniel Parker Willis's play *Tortessa the Usurer*, played in 1839. But there is not enough likeness in any case to affect the originality of *The Betrothal*. For character drawing, expression, and dramatic effectiveness, it is surpassed only by *Leonor de Guzman* and *Franческа da Rimini*.

The Betrothal was played in England in 1853. In a letter from Boker to Stoddard,¹⁰ October 9, 1853, an account is given of its performance and its reception:

I have read the *Times* notice of *The Betrothal*. It is honey to most of the other newspaper criticisms. So far as I can gather the facts from private letters, the play, to begin with, was very badly played: the English playwrights had raised the hue and cry against it. "Ham-string him! Slay him! Cut him down!" was the universal cry of my brother dramatists. Notwithstanding, and taking the accounts of my enemies for authority, the play was unusually successful with the audience on that most trying occasion, the first night. This only added to the gall of my brother dramatists, and increased their exhibition of it in the newspapers; so that after two nights of success with the audience, the manager was so terrified by the howl of the press, and by the furious personal applications that he withdrew the play to save himself. I believe I have stated the strict truth, ergo, the play still stands a monument of English injustice. Mark you, it was not prejudice that caused the catastrophe; it was fear lest I should get a footing on their stage, of which *Ocalynos* had given them timely warning.

The next play to be performed has never been printed. It exists in manuscript in three forms. There is an autograph manuscript, undated, with the title *All the World a Mask*. A copy, not in Boker's hand, but with auto-

¹⁰ *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. XLV, p. 866.

graph notes, has a printed title page, bearing the title. "The World a Mask, a Comedy, Phila., 1851. Entered according to Act of Congress in the year, 1851, by George H. Boker." There is also a typewritten copy with the title *Under a Mask*, dated 1886.

Since Boker's autograph statement refers only to his printed plays, even he did not mention *The World a Mask* as having been performed. The evidence, however, is clear. Among the manuscripts is an account of the receipts of the play when performed at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, for a run of eight nights, beginning April 21, 1851.

The scene of *The World a Mask* is laid in London in 1851.

The *dramatis personæ* are:

Sir Hugh Blumer	
Galldove	} His Nephews
Rylton	
Fernwood	
Garrish	
Lord Row	
Captain Fleet, An Adventurer	
Raby, A Clergyman	
Matthew, Servant to Sir Hugh	
Teresa Crispo, Passing as Countess di Crespo	
Lucy Willbury, Betrothed to Rylton	
Lady Willbury, her Mother	
Miss Garrish, Sister to Garrish	
Betsy, Sir Hugh's Chambermaid	
Guests, Officers, Servants, etc.	

Sir Hugh Blumer has two nephews, Rylton and Galldove. He intends to make Rylton his heir and Galldove, who is the villain of the piece, plans to bring discredit upon Rylton and does so by leading him to a gambling house and arranging for a quarrel between him and a gambler. Teresa Crispo who is passing as the Countess di Crespo, and is apparently Galldove's mistress, aids him in his schemes, although now and then she balks at them. Galldove's plans go to pieces in the last Act on the confession of Captain Fleet, whom

he had bribed to quarrel with Rylton at the gaming house. Fernwood is the force that brings about the disclosure. He suspects Galldove all along and is kept from disclosing his plans by his promises to Teresa. Fernwood turns out to be Teresa's brother. The minor characters, such as Garrish, who blurts out whatever he feels like saying; his sister, Miss Garrish, who has conspired with Lord Row to win 5,000 pounds from Garrish on Lord Row's promise that he will marry her, are not closely woven into the main plot.

There is some clever conversation at times, and the play gives one the impression that it would act better than it reads, but it cannot be considered to be a step forward in dramatic technique. It is written in prose, with occasional changes into blank verse, and, therefore, Boker's great ability in the construction of dramatic verse was of no avail. The play proved, too, that social satire, which is its basis, was not his forte. He did not fail, however, on the side in which so many of our American playwrights have failed; his people seem like ladies and gentlemen. His failure lay in the lack of epigram and point, in lack of interest in the dialogue. Boker could not trifle. He is best when he is in earnest, and that he himself recognized the comparative mediocrity of *The World a Mask* is apparent in his omission of it from his edition of 1856.

The Podesta's Daughter, called by Boker a "dramatic sketch," is simply a dialogue and is not in any real sense dramatic. It was written in 1851 and published in 1852, with other poems, lyric and narrative, all of which have been reprinted in the collected edition.

The Widow's Marriage, which was written in 1852, was accepted by Marshall, the manager of the Walnut Street Theatre, according to a letter written by Boker, October 12, 1852, to Stoddard,¹¹ but he was unable to find any actress to impersonate Lady Goldstraw. That the play was seriously considered is proven by the copy of the

¹¹ *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. XLV, p. 863.

manuscript made by William H. Reed, copyist of the Walnut Street Theatre, in 1852.

It is a comedy in blank verse laid in England at the time of George II. The plot is largely concerned with a trick played upon a vain old widow, Lady Goldstraw, who thinks she is married to Lord Ruffler and who through his treatment of her sees how foolish she has been. She therefore retires and lets her daughter, Madge, have her own opportunity for happiness. The play is an interesting one to read, and a good actress might have made something out of Lady Goldstraw. Here, as before, however, it is in the more serious passages that Boker does his best work. The description of a true hero, put in the mouth of Sir William Travers, in Act II, Scene ii, is an example in point:

Travers.

And heroes now,
Are heroes proven by the knocks they take?—
Is blood the only livery of renown?
I knew a sickly artisan, a man
Whose only tie to life was one pale child,
His dead wife's gift. Yet, for that single tie
He bore a life that would have blanched the face
Of armed Hector; bore the hopeless toil,
That could but scrape together one day's food;
Bore the keen tortures of a shattered frame,
The sneer of pride, the arrogance of wealth;
All the dread curses of man's heritage,
Summed in one word of horror—poverty!—
Ay, bore them with a smile. And all the time,
His ears were full of whispers. In his hand,
The common tools of work turned from their use,
And hinted—death! The river crossed his path,
Sliding beneath the bridge so lovingly,
And murmuring—death! Upon his very hearth
The tempter sat, amid the flaming coals,
And talked with him of—death! A thousand ways
Lay open, for his misery to escape;
Yet there he stood, and labored for his child,
Till Heaven in pity took the twain together.—
He was a hero!

Boker returned next to tragedy. On November 14, 1852, he wrote to Stoddard:

I, prolific I, have finished a tragedy *Leonor de Gusman*. Her history you will find in Spanish chronicles relating to the reign of Alphonso XII of Castile, and his son Peter the Cruel. There are no such subjects for historical tragedy on earth as are to be found in the Spanish history of that period. I am so much in love with it that I design following up *Leonor de Gusman* by Don Pedro.¹²

Leonor de Gusman was played first at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, Monday, October 3d, 1853, and ran for six nights until October 8th, inclusive, with the following cast:¹³

Don Pedro, King of Castile and Leon	Mr. Perry
Don Enriqu�, Cond� de Trastamara, oldest son of Dofia Leonor	Mr. Wheatleigh
Don Fadriqu�, Master of Santiago, Twin brother to Don Enriqu�.....	Mr. Wallis
Don Tello, another son to Dofia Leonor	Mr. Hacknut
Don Juan Alonso de Albuquerque, Prime Minister to Don Pedro	Mr. Adams
Don Juan Nufiez de Lara, Lord of Biscayne and a presumptive heir to the crown	Mr. Young
Don Fernando Manuel de Villena, his Nephew, Brother to Dofia Juana	Mr. Eytinge
Alonso Coronel, Governor of Medina Sidonia.....	Mr. McDonough
Cafiedo, his liegeman and friend	Mr. France
Priest, Chaplain to Dofia Leonor	Mr. Anderson
Ambassador, from the rebel Don Juan Manuel	Mr. Boswell
Page, attending on Don Pedro	Mr. J. Sefton
Dofia Maria de Portugal, Mother to Don Pedro.....	Mrs. Duffield
Dofia Leonor de Gusman, Mistress to King Alfonso	Miss J. Dean
Dofia Juana Manuel de Villena, Sister to Don Fernando	Mrs. Clarke
Courtiers, Ladies, Knights, Soldiers, Citizens, Attendants.	

¹² *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. XLV, p. 864.

¹³ Boker MSS.

According to Durang¹⁴ it was received with "warm approbation" and was only interrupted by the engagement of Edwin Forrest.

Boker in a letter to Stoddard¹⁵ on October 9th, 1853, said:

You need not be anxious about "Leonor," we had her out last Monday, and she was as successful as you or I could hope for. Miss Dean, so far as her physique would admit, played the part admirably, and with a full appreciation of all those things which you called its beauties. Doña Maria (the queen) was also well done; but Albuquerque and the other male characters, with the exception of Don Pedro, damnably. For all this the tragedy was triumphant,—well noticed by the press, and increasing in public favor up to its last night. I feel nothing but gratitude towards you for your part in the business, as it has certainly put my reputation at least one step forward. "Leonor" will be brought to New York during Miss Dean's next engagement there, in November next, if nothing should happen to prevent it.

It was played at the Broadway Theatre, New York, April 24, 25, 26, 1853,¹⁶ to houses considerably better even than in Philadelphia. Madame Ponisi played Doña Maria in New York.

Leonor de Guzman is a tragedy laid in Castile, A. D. 1350. The play is concerned with the succession to the throne consequent upon the death of King Alfonso XII. In the first Act the court of Leonor de Guzman is shown, and is represented as being the center of power in Spain. Of her sons, Don Enriqu  , Don Fadriqu  , and Don Tello, the first two are returning from war and bring news of the death of King Alfonso. At once the courtiers fall away from her and flock to Seville, where Queen Maria, the mother of the new King, Don Pedro, is staying. They

¹⁴ *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, Third Series, Chapter CXXVI.

¹⁵ *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. XLV, p. 866.

¹⁶ Boker MSS.

are both under the admonition of Don Juan Albuquerqué, the prime minister.

From here on the play is largely a study of the efforts of this man to retain power for Don Pedro and himself against Leonor and Don Enriqu  , and of Queen Maria to obtain revenge on Leonor. Queen Maria finally kills Leonor, and there is a sub-plot concerning the love of Do  a Juana Manuel de Villena and Don Enriqu  . They are married through a trick of Leonor.

Leonor is represented as being a woman of noble character who had devotedly loved the King and who had been a power in Spain. The sympathy of the writer is with her generally, although one cannot help appreciating the emotions of the Queen who allows all other feelings to be wrapped up in her jealousy and desire for revenge. An evidence of this is given in Act II, Scene ii.

Do  a Maria.

Don Pedro, pardon me.

The open insult of my fellow-queen—
She who was reigning while I staid at home,
To rock your cradle, and to suckle you—
Moved me a little. And besides, my liege,
There are some years of suffering on my brow,
Pray, mark my lady's, it is very smooth—
And some harsh lines of silver in my hair,
While hers is glossy with untroubled ease.
The rose has burned to ashes on my face;—
Yet lives again in her transparent cheek.
She can go through her fingers and record
A loving child upon each dainty tip;
I have but one, and he forgets to love!

The most marked advance in *Leonor de Guzman* lies in the character drawing. Don Albuquerqu  , Do  a Maria, and Do  a Leonor are real people and real Spaniards. The Queen's jealousy of the prime minister's hate for Leonor is a strikingly effective invention of Boker's. So all powerful is her desire for revenge that she cannot share

it with anyone. The influence of a ready and unscrupulous mind is well shown in the character of Don Albuquerque, and the title rôle gave a good opportunity to a clever actress to make sympathetic a noble figure.

Before *Leonor de Guzman* had been put on the stage, Boker had started his masterpiece. In a letter to Stoddard on March 3d, 1853,¹⁷ he tells of his method of work. He wrote *Francesca da Rimini*, a play of twenty-eight hundred lines, in three weeks. It was composed literally at white heat. He thought about the work all day and smoked a great deal after he began composing at nine o'clock in the evening. At four o'clock in the morning he would retire for about five hours' sleep. He came to his writing with the plan perfectly matured, so that the rapid composition was only the fruition of a long period of preparation.

Francesca da Rimini was performed for the first time at the Broadway Theatre, New York, on September 26th, 1855.¹⁸

The cast as given in Brown's *History of the New York Stage* is evidently incorrect in several instances, and that given in Ireland's *Records of the New York Stage* is not complete. It is certain, however, that Lanciotto was played by E. L. Davenport, Paolo by M. Lanergan, Francesca by Mme. Ponisi, and Ritta by Miss Manners. It was first played in Philadelphia at the Walnut Street Theatre on October 10, 1855, Mrs. John Drew acting Francesca. It was repeated on October 11, 12, and 13.

Francesca da Rimini was revived by Lawrence Barrett in 1882, the original performance taking place at Haver-

¹⁷ *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. XLV, p. 864.

¹⁸ Boker MSS. According to Brown's *History of the New York Stage* (vol. I, p. 403), the play held the boards till October 5th.

ly's Theatre, Philadelphia, September 14. The program of this performance, which is inserted in Mr. Barrett's acting copy of the play, is as follows:

HAVERLY'S THEATRE

FAREWELL OF MR. BARRETT

(Positively his last appearance this season.)

Supported by Mr. Louis James and an Excellent Company.

"FRANCESCA DA RIMINI"

A Tragedy in Six Acts, by Hon. George H. Boker.

CAST OF CHARACTERS

Lanciotto	} Malatesta's Sons	{ Mr. Lawrence Barrett Mr. Otis Skinner
Paolo		
Malatesta, Lord of Rimini and Head of the Guelphs		Mr. Ben. G. Rogers
Guido da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna and Head of the Ghibelins		Mr. F. C. Mosley
Pepé, Malatesta's Jester		Mr. Louis James
Bishop, Friend to Guido		Mr. Charles Rolfe
René, a Troubadour		Mr. Percy Winter
Lucentio, } Torelli, }	} Friends to Paolo	{ Mr. Errol Dunbar Mr. Albert T. Riddle
Captain		
Messenger		Mr. Homer Cope
Servant		Mr. Garrie Davidson
Francesca, Guido's Daughter		Mr. Robert Sutton
Ritta, her maid		Miss Marie Wainwright
		Miss Josie Batchelder
Lords, Ladies, Knights, Priests, Pages, Soldiers, etc.		

Mr. Barrett continued this play in his *répertoire* for a number of seasons. In 1885 some changes were made in the cast, Mr. F. C. Mosley taking Mr. Skinner's place as Paolo, Mr. B. G. Rogers changing from Malatesta to Guido, and Miss Rose France playing Ritta.

On August 22, 1901, Mr. Otis Skinner again revived the play at the Grand Opera House, Chicago. It was played throughout the country during the season of 1901-02, the principal cities in which it appeared being New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, Baltimore, New

Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Buffalo and Detroit.

The Paolo and Francesca story has been a favorite theme for treatment. Beginning with Dante's description of his meeting with the lovers in his Fifth Canto, human sympathy has often been directed toward the unhappy love story of the brother and the wife of Gianciotto, the lord of Rimini, who loved each other and who died by his hand. Boker was the first to write in English a play which would make the injured husband the central figure without lessening our interest in the lovers. To do this he had of course to modify the actual historical facts; but more important, he had to create by the power of imagination what Francesca called the noblest heart in Rimini. It lies outside of the scope of the article to make a comparative study of Boker's play and the dramatic treatments of the story that followed his, but there can be no question that in English at least, it is surpassed by no other version. The spectator who witnesses Stephen Phillips's *Paolo and Francesca* is presented with a poetic spectacle in which the characters belong to no especial time or place. Driven on by fate, they are puppets, not themselves determining factors in the action. Boker places us in the midst of mediaeval Italy. The character of Paolo, young, handsome, lovable, but a bit of a coxcomb, is contrasted through his own actions and words with Lanciotto, a warrior, misshapen in body but sensitive to a degree, and with a love for his brother that embodies not only natural affection but also admiration for that physical perfection that has been denied him. Delicately, too, does Boker depict that craving for affection on the part of a man no longer young which, when made concrete by being centered upon a young and beautiful woman, becomes one of the most real motives of life and of art. Delicately, too, is Francesca

I'm glad I kept my heart safe, after all.
There was my cunning. I have paid them back
. On my faith,
I would not live another wicked day,
Here in Ravenna, only for the fear
That I should take to lying, with the rest.
Ha! Ha! it makes me merry, when I think
How safe I kept this little heart of mine!

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and he helps the action on. Lanciotto's absence is naturally accounted for by the incursion of the Ghibellines, and thus the way is left open for the great love scene between Paolo and Francesca. The Francesca of Boker has been at times criticized for the active part she takes in sending Ritta away, who scents danger, but Francesca is very human, and, therefore, more appealing. The contrast between the love of Paolo, that is shot through with remorse, and the love of Francesca, that goes joyfully on without thinking of the cost, is masterly.

The final scene rises even beyond this one in dramatic effectiveness. As Boker wrote it and as it was first played it was in the garden. Paolo has decided that he will go away. Francesca reminds him in words that reflect the maturity that sin's experience has brought to her what waits for her in the future, if he leaves her, a pledge for the security of her native land, to the caresses of an unloved husband. Then Lanciotto enters and after begging them to deny the charge that Pepé has brought to him, kills Francesca and then Paolo. Then when the two fathers rebuke him he defends himself:

Lanciotto. Can howling make this sight more terrible?
Peace! You disturb the angels up in heaven,
While they are hiding from this ugly earth.
Be satisfied with what you see. You two
Began this tragedy, I finished it.
Here, by these bodies, let us reckon up
Our crimes together. Why how still they lie!
A moment, since, they walked, and talked, and kissed!
Defied me to my face, dishonored me!
They had the power to do it then; but now,
Poor souls, who'll shield them in eternity?
Father, the honor of our house is safe:
I have the secret. I will to the wars,
And do more murders, to eclipse this one.
Back to the battles; there I breathe in peace;

And I will take a soldier's honor back,—
Honor! what's that to me now? Ha! ha! ha!
(Laughing)
A great thing, father! I am very ill.
I killed thy son for honor: thou mayst chide.
O God! I cannot cheat myself with words!
I loved him more than honor—more than life—
This man, Paolo—this stark, bleeding corpse!
Here let me rest, till God awake us all!

The printed version of *Francesca da Rimini* represents Boker's judgment of the best form of the play for reading purposes. It has never been put on the stage exactly as it has been printed. Among the manuscripts is a complete autograph manuscript of the play as it now appears in the collected edition. From this was copied in 1853 an acting version, and some very interesting changes were made, partly by Boker himself. There are also some tentative fragments of Act I and Act II and a manuscript, with alterations by Boker, of the acting version used by Mr. Barrett in 1882. In this last the speeches of Lanciotto are indicated by cues; so that it is impossible to tell how severely they were cut.

The acting version of 1853 omits Act I, Scene i in the printed version. There is a note in Boker's hand, on the manuscript to this effect:

When Lanciotto is the prominent part, omit the whole of the following scene (Scene I, Act i) and begin the play at Scene 2nd, Act I.

If this scene were played, this change would begin the play in Ravenna instead of in Rimini and would center the interest on Francesca, since the scene is concerned with the disclosure of Guido to her that Lanciotto is on the way. The reason for this change is not now apparent. Boker had written *Leonor de Guzman* for Miss Dean, and it may be that he had had her in mind when he was

writing *Francesca da Rimini*. The fact that he named the play as he did, and that among the fragments there is a different beginning for the second Act, which represents Francesca among her ladies and gives her the opening speech, would make such an explanation reasonable. As the play is printed, Francesca does not come on until the Second Act. The acting version of 1882 begins with the usual Act I, Scene i, but it is somewhat cut.

All through the play the acting version of 1853 seems to make for dramatic effectiveness, though sometimes the poetry is sacrificed. The Second Act begins with a scene in a grand Hall in Ravenna, instead of before the gates of the city, as is the case in the corresponding scene in the printed version. The first scene in Act Second, it will be remembered, had been transferred to the first Act. The speeches are much cut and Francesca's departure from the stage ends the scene, Ritta's speech being omitted to the advantage of the stage effectiveness. Quite a good deal of the conversation, especially between Guido and Ritta, is omitted in both stage versions. The Second Act ends, in the printed version, with a soliloquy of Paolo after he has had a conversation with Francesca about Lanciotto. In the acting version of 1882 the Act ends with this scene, but there is a general spectacle, everybody is brought on, and the curtain falls with the words "On to Rimini." In the acting version of 1853, what is usually Act III Scene i is put into Act II and the Act ends with a brief scene in which Pepé touches Lanciotto on the hump. This scene was omitted altogether in the 1882 version.

Both acting versions commence the third Act with the scene in the grand square, which is the second scene in the printed version. It is somewhat cut, and both stage versions leave out Francesca's last speech—a mistaken economy.

In the Fourth Act, the acting version of 1853 has a new ending to the first scene, written in the manuscript by Boker's own hand, which brings on René and the troubadours who give Lanciotto advice to proceed with the wedding. This scene was used also in 1882.

The most curious change occurs in the acting version of 1853 in the last act. The entire first scene, between Paolo and Francesca in the garden, is omitted, although the usual mark in the autograph manuscript indicates only that the scene was to be cut. The 1882 version kept this scene. In the scene at Lanciotto's camp there is a long speech inserted in the 1853 acting version, which does not appear anywhere else. It emphasizes the motive of family pride. Another long speech is inserted in the third scene, after Lanciotto has discovered the lovers. One change is such an improvement that it might be noticed.

The printed version makes Lanciotto say:

Dost thou see
Yon bloated spider—hideous as myself—
Climbing aloft to reach that wavering twig?
When he has touched it one of us must die.

The acting version of 1853 reads:

Dost thou see
Yon dusky cloud that slowly steals along,
Like a shrewd thief upon a traveller,
To blot the glory of the jocund moon?
When it has dimmed the luster of the edge
She'll shrink behind it to avoid the sight,
She else might see on this disfigured earth.
When it has crossed her, one of us, who now
Is touched to wonder by her radiance,
Shall gaze upon her with an altered face—
As pale and cold and vacant as her own.

It is the opinion of Mr. Otis Skinner, who acted Paolo in 1882 and Lanciotto in 1902, that the changes made in

both Mr. Barrett's and his versions were necessary for stage effect. The explanations which Mr. Skinner has been good enough to give me seem justified. Yet there are shrewd comments in Boker's own hand on the acting version of 1882 which were accepted as correcting the stage manager's judgment.

The autograph manuscript of *The Bankrupt* is dated 1853. Whether it preceded or followed *Francesca* in actual composition it is not possible to decide, as Boker does not mention it in his memoranda and no published account has any reference to it. It is a prose melodrama, laid apparently about 1850—at least the manuscript bears the inscription "Time and Scene, the Present." The main theme has to do with the return of James Shelvill, who passes under the name of Shorn, and who has been so embittered by bad treatment that he has returned to avenge himself upon his former associates. He tries to ruin Edward Giltwood, who had befriended him, and he also tries to seduce Amy Giltwood, over whom he has a hold through knowledge of a former theft which she had committed. The intervention of Paul Tapeley, a wealthy lawyer, who lends Amy Giltwood enough money to pay off her husband's indebtedness, makes the play end happily.

The play is certainly the poorest written by Boker. The language is stilted and the prose at times runs into a curious kind of blank verse, as though the author had not been quite certain in which medium he had been intending to write it. There is a certain cleverness in the way in which the web is woven about Amy and the method used to persuade her husband of her guilt. But the characters are not clearly established and the motives are not well worked out.

Königsmark, published in 1869, but written in all probability before 1857, while a verse drama of interest,

was not acted and could hardly have been intended for the stage. It is laid in Hanover in 1694 and is a tragedy, dealing with the revenge of the Countess von Platen, the mistress of the Elector, upon Königsmark, a Colonel of the Guards who had been in love with her and who has transferred his affections to Sophia, the ill-used wife of Prince George, the Elector's eldest son, afterwards George the First of England.

With *Königsmark*, the first period of Boker's dramatic activity came to an end. During the next few years he turned his attention more definitely to lyric poetry. Already in the 1856 edition of his collected plays and poems he gave evidence of his ability as a sonneteer. We are concerned in this study only with his dramatic work; but there is no doubt that, in this country at least, Boker's sonnets have never been accorded their proper position. His sonnets on public affairs, especially the one entitled *To Louis Napoleon*, and his love sonnets form a group worthy of comparison with those of any sonnet writer in English except the very greatest. In 1864 his *Poems of the War* were published, containing his touching *Dirge for a Soldier*, on the death of Philip Kearney, and his stirring *Black Regiment*, written to celebrate the charge of the colored troops at Port Hudson.

He did not limit his activity on the Union side to writing poetry. He took an active part in the formation of the Union League of Philadelphia and used his great social influence to combat the undercurrent of sympathy with the Confederacy which prevailed in many of the older families in that city. On November 3d, he was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Turkey, and was transferred to the Russian Mission January 13, 1875, although he was not actually relieved of his duties at Constantinople until May 1, 1875. His services

as Minister to Russia lasted until January 15, 1878. These public services having been completed, he turned his attention again to the stage. The revival of *Francesca da Rimini* in 1882 undoubtedly encouraged him. First he returned to *Calaynos* and endeavored to adapt it to suit Mr. Barrett. Reference has already been made to this revision, which was, however, not put on the stage. Boker next turned to a different theme and wrote two plays upon the story of the fall of Pompeii. One of these, *Nydia*, is dated on the title page 1885, and there is a note stating:

This play was begun on the twenty-sixth day of February, and finished on the twenty-first of April, 1885. My engagements were such that I could not work during at least one third of that time, nor did I work more than three hours each day.

Glaucus, the longer play, is dated 1886. It is more than a revision, it is an entire rewriting of *Nydia*. While *Nydia* includes ninety-three typewritten pages, *Glaucus* has one hundred and seventy-seven. *Nydia* seems to be the stage version. According to the memory of Mrs. George Boker, the play was written for Mr. Barrett. It was evidently submitted to him, as there are manuscript notes in Boker's handwriting of which the first is especially interesting:

I have stricken out all the talk about the lion; because, after finishing the play, I found that the lion really had no part in the story.

The "cuts" throughout the play are conjectural, and subject to your approval. If you find anything cut out by me which, in your opinion had better remain in, do not hesitate to restore it.

Both plays follow the main incidents of Bulwer's *Last Days of Pompeii*, leaving Olinthus and the Christians out. The Cast of characters in *Nydia* includes:

Glaucus, a rich Athenian
Arbaces, an Egyptian Prince

Calenus, A Prince of Isis
 Apaecides, a neophyte of Isis
 Burbo, a Publican
 Clodius, a friend of Glaucus
 Sallust,
 Praetor,
 Quaestor,
 Aedile,
 Nydon, a Gladiator
 Scoros, a slave of Ione
 Dromo, a slave of Arbaces
 Nuntius
 Ione,
 Nydia,

Noblemen, Lictors, Gladiators, Attendants, Slaves,
 Citizens, et cetera.*

The mutual love of Glaucus and Ione, Nydia's passion for Glaucus, the rescue of Ione from the house of Arbaces, the Egyptian, through Nydia's agency, the arrest of Glaucus on the charge of the murder of Apaecides, Ione's brother, the conviction of Glaucus and his sentence to death in the amphitheatre, the eruption of Vesuvius, all are woven into a really dramatic poem, which in the case of *Nydia* at least is eminently suited for stage presentation.

In *Nydia* the blind girl dies at the end of the play, after having confessed to her love for Glaucus. In Glaucus, she together with Glaucus and Ione are seen sailing away in safety.

Boker's plays owe nothing to the language of Bulwer. The stilted artificial style in which *The Last Days of Pompeii* is written is changed into vigorous and flexible blank verse.

* The characters of Quaestor, Aedile, Scoros, Dromo, or Nuntius, are not included in *Glaucus*. Saphax, a freedman, and Dudas, a Roman gentleman, are omitted from *Nydia*, but form part of the list of characters in *Glaucus*.

Since neither play has been published, some examples of the verse will be appropriate:

The first is from the Second Act of *Nydia*. Ione and Nydia are together in Ione's house. Ione has told Nydia she loves her.

Nydia. Ay, that I understand, without my eyes.
Love, love, is not that something like to sight!
I often think it is another sense.

Ione. It is the vision of the gods. Right, girl!
Love is another sense.

Nydia. Or why should I,—
Blind as I am, love you, love Glaucus? hate—
(Enter Arbaces from behind, unobserved)
Oh! how I hate! one person, with a fire
Almost as hot as love is—Hist! I hear
An evil footstep.

Arbaces. (Advancing) It is only mine.

Nydia. Cat, treacherous cat! (Aside. She shrinks apart.)

Ione. Arbaces, when you come
Into my house, I pray you, that henceforth,
You have yourself announced. Remember, too,
I am a child no longer.

Arbaces. Sad am I
At all these changes. 'Twas but yesterday—
So seems it in the hurried flight of time—
I held you in my arms, or taught your feet
Their first few steps. You and Apæcides
Will ever seem my children.

Ione. Pardon me:
My wish was not to wound you.

Arbaces. Dear Ione,
Why have you lost your confidence in me!

Ione. But have I?

Arbaces. Yes; witness your new-made friend,
This wandering Greek; Witness your handmaid here,
A public flower girl, a common slave,
Likewise his gift, now your companion. These,
These unwise acts, were all, all contrary
To my advice.

Ione. Come hither, Nydia.

Lay your cheek close to mine, twine both your arms
About my neck; now kiss me on the mouth,
Free citizen of Rome. Mark it, my Lord;
Thus, thus, I think of her.

(Kisses Nydia)

Arbaces. A fond mistake.

Ione. Grant that as possible. Were she not pure,—
Yea, pure as I am,—would she dare do that?
You may be deep in all the ways of man,
But ah! you know not woman.

Arbaces. Haply so.

Let these two kittens play: Why should I care!

(Aside)

The other matter is more serious.
It is the common tattletale of the town
That Glaucus, an Athenian fop, a man—

Ione. Beware!

Arbaces. —Who owes the little fame he has
To his successes with your sex, is here
Daily, or, as he boasts before the world,
When e'er he pleases, or has idle time.

Nydia. That is a lie!

Arbaces. I do not say this thing
Of my own knowledge. Is it scandal?

Ione. Which,—

His coming, or his boast?

Arbaces. Say both.

Ione. Since when

Took I companions as the world prescribed?
You know the freedom of a woman's life
In Greece, my country, where each woman stands
As guardian of her honor. There no bars
Shut up her virtue, at a man's behest,
As in your Egypt. As for Glaucus—

Arbaces. Well?

Ione. He is most welcome to my house and me
At any seemly hour. That much is truth.
That he has ever boasted of my favor,
In any manner to discredit me,
Is not alone untrue, but more than false—
Impossible.

This shows the dramatic quality of his conversation. Another passage, this time from *Glaucus*, will show the depth and sweep of the poetry. Glaucus and Ione have just parted and Nydia comes upon him while he is thinking upon his happiness:

Glaucus. Can you ask?

Nydia. Ah! then, 'tis not for all, this happiness.
Thank heaven that gave it to you 'tis so far,
So very far above the common lot,
Nor does it always come at love's command:
Sweet though his gifts be to the fortunate,
They seem like curses of the angry gods,
Like the hot arrows of Hyperion's wrath,
When poured into a heart that cannot share
Its blessings with another, love for love.

Glaucus. These are strange thoughts to fill your youthful brain:
Whence were they gathered?

Nydia. From the tree of life.
We who pass under, shake its fatal fruit,
Ripened or rotten, at our startled feet.
A child may do that. Once I knew a maid,
Humble as I am, and she loved a king!—
O not a king with sceptre, crown and throne,
The common frippery of royal state,
But a real king, by nature bred and crowned,
And so acknowledged by a subject world.

Glaucus. She flew too high.

Nydia. But why has love his wings,
Unless to soar with? Ah! my lord, you talk
Like all the world; but not like Glaucus.

Glaucus. True.

But of the maiden?

Nydia. I forgot the girl,
Lost in the splendor of the man she loved.
Her passion was the secret of her breast:
She dared not tell it to an earthly thing,
Lest gossip echo, from her hollow cave,
Should spread her story to the jeering land.
O no, she whispered to the mystic skies,
Distant and voiceless,—to her mother's soul,
Silent as death, that stood between their lives,—

The bitter story which she knew too well.
Nothing was pitiful. The raging clouds,
With thunder upon thunder, shouted, fool!
Her mother's voice, as fine and thin as songs
Sung to an ailing infant, murmured, fool!
And her own heart—there was the hopeless pang—
Muttered forever, fool, and fool, and fool!

It is to be regretted that Boker did not publish the complete edition of his works which he was evidently preparing in 1886. For it he had revised *Calaynos*, had prepared *Nydia* and *Glaucus*, had revised *All the World a Mask* under the title of *Under a Mask*, and *The Bankrupt* under the title of *A Commercial Crisis*. It is to be hoped that in the near future the three first at least may be printed.

Glaucus was the last of Boker's plays to be written. He died January 2, 1890, in Philadelphia and the interest excited by his death brought forth enough demand for his work to warrant another reprinting of the edition of 1856 and of the *Poems of the War*. No attempt was made, however, to bring the collected edition up to date.

In the attempt to explain why Boker has not received his proper position in our literature, two reasons have been most frequently presented. The first is that he treated foreign material too exclusively. This criticism, in the light of the existence of *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice*, seems to be beside the point. After an examination of *The Bankrupt*, the only play in which he treated native conditions, and which is by far the poorest, we may be thankful that Boker knew where his own strength lay.

Nor is the other commonplace of criticism that there was no financial encouragement for American playwrights in Boker's time as applicable to him as it was to some others, nor was it so true of his stage royalties as of his profits as a poet from his published works.

Boker seems to have received a royalty of five per cent. on the gross receipts of each night's performance. Statements from the treasurers of the theatres show payments as follows:

Calaynos—

Philadelphia,* Feb. '51, nine nights.....	\$194.08	
Albany, '51, three nights.....	17.00	
Baltimore, '51, three nights.....	30.00	
Chicago, two nights.....	5.80	
		\$246.88

The Betrothal—

Philadelphia, 1850, ten nights.....	\$155.92	
New York, 1850, twelve nights.....	185.82	
New York, 1851, five nights.....	65.38	
Philadelphia, 1851, five nights.....	43.47	
		\$450.59

The World a Mask—

Philadelphia, 1851, eight nights.....		\$138.10
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Leonor de Gusman—

Philadelphia, 1853, six nights.....	\$83.33	
New York, 1854, three nights.....	75.76	
		\$159.09

Total			\$994.56
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These figures omit at least two series of performances of *Calaynos* and all of *Francesca da Rimini*. It would seem fair to estimate his total royalties from plays up to the time of their publication in 1856 at \$1,500, and this without any risk to himself. The accounts seem to have been rendered promptly and no reductions made for theatrical charges. Let us see on the other hand how he fared with the publishers.

We find no accounts for his earlier volumes, though a contract with Carey and Hart, of Philadelphia, shows that Boker shared here equally the expenses and the profits of

* Figures for Philadelphia performances in December 1851 and in April 1855 are not available.

the publication of *Anne Boleyn*. The profits of this play and of *Calaynos* must have been slight, since only five hundred copies were printed.

The complete edition of the *Plays and Poems* of 1856 was published with Ticknor and Fields, of Boston. Boker paid for the stereotyping of the plates, for any volumes furnished to him, and received twenty cents royalty on each set of two volumes, Ticknor and Fields paying for paper, binding, press work, and other expenses. No royalty was paid to him on about one hundred copies sent to editors of various journals. We have not found complete statements of all the receipts and sales, but from those we have, we learn that the stereotyping of the plates cost him \$844.82. There is no indication what his royalties on the first edition were, but under date of April 27, 1859, we find a statement of his royalties for the second edition as follows:

G. H. Boker, Esq.: in acct. with Ticknor and Fields, Dr.

For amount of enclosed bill.....	\$104.51
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Cr.

1857.

April 30, By copyright on 450 Plays and Poems..	\$90.00
April 1, 1859 copyright on 50 Plays and Poems...	10.00
	\$100.00
	\$ 4.61

100 copies given to Editors
 500 copies sold as above
 400 copies on hand

It had, therefore, cost him \$4.61 to print the second edition, and while, of course, most of the "enclosed bill" was for copies he had sent friends, we can easily estimate that, counting in the receipts from his royalties for the first edition at a liberal figure, he must have been a loser by more than five hundred dollars for his trouble in publishing his plays at all. When we compare this return,

or lack of it, with the stage royalties on his plays, it is hardly the American playwright but rather the American poet who has a right to complain of lack of appreciation. To be sure, he still had the plates, but he also still had the rights to his plays, and years afterwards under Lawrence Barrett's management, *Francesca* brought him in, at times, two hundred dollars a week.²¹

It is perhaps idle to speculate upon the reasons which have led to the failure to appreciate Boker's significant contributions to our dramatic literature. One explanation might be supplied by those who have been privileged to scrutinize the obituary notice read at the Union League Club of Philadelphia, which in recounting his services to mankind, placed the establishment of that institution at the head of the list, and after mentioning his career as his country's representative abroad, concluded by remarking that he had also written some poems and dramas, which was all the more to his credit, since his financial circumstances were such that he was under no necessity to do it!

His work came at a time when a fashion was passing, and his work was of that fashion. The long run, the dramatization of popular novels, and the star system; the influence of Boucicault, who was the concrete representative of all three, and added to these the disturbed conditions of the Civil War kept people from reading his plays. No one who reads them fails to recognize their worth. With the great increase in the interest in our native drama, it is hoped that Boker will at last come into his own.

ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN.

²¹ Letter from the office of the Star Theatre, New York, to Mr. Boker, October 1, 1883.

X.—LOVE FAYNED AND UNFAYNED AND THE ENGLISH ANABAPTISTS

The discovery by Mr. Arundell Esdaile of the fragmentary morality *Love Fayned and Unfayned*¹ has contributed to the history of English drama a document of peculiar interest. The play can, I believe, lay claim to unique significance as reflecting a phase of religious controversy otherwise unrepresented in the drama. Although the fragmentary character of the material renders analysis difficult, the 243 extant lines contain evidence on the basis of which the play may be characterized as an allegorical defense of the sect of Anabaptists. It seems further to reflect, in one aspect, the influence of a group with which the Anabaptists had certain affinities,—the Family of Love.

The fragment has been preserved on the guard-leaves of an old volume, the *Sermones Discipuli* of Johannes Herolt.² The handwriting, according to Sir F. F. Warner, belongs to the early years of the seventeenth century. As is noted in the foreword to the edition, the manuscript has the appearance of a first draft of an original composition rather than a copy, since the alterations made by the scribe are such as suggest the hand of the author rather than that of a copyist.³ Moreover, the blank pages of an

¹Published by the Malone Society, *Collections*, I, i (1909), pp. 16-25.

²A collection of discourses "de tempore et de sanctis"; the copy in which the play is preserved belongs to the edition of 1492 (Strassburg). It is in the possession of the British Museum (editor's foreword, p. 16).

³Typical examples of such alterations are the substitution in the first line of *fire*, which rhymes with *desire* in v. 2, for *flame*, which

old book would serve more naturally as a surface for scribbling a first draft than as a means of conserving a piece of literature that someone valued enough to wish to copy. Nothing in the content of the play is at variance with the conclusion that the date of the manuscript represents the period of composition. *Love Fayned and Unfayned* may then be regarded, at least provisionally, as belonging to the first decades of the seventeenth century.

With respect to the type of plot, the play belongs in the *Conflict of Vices and Virtues* group.⁴ The neutral character, Feloship, is wrought upon successively by the forces of good, Love Unfayned and Familiaritie, and those of evil, Love Fayned and Falshode. Feloship is found, at the point at which the extant portion of the play begins, longing to meet with one whom he calls "my hertes desyre." Familiaritie assures him that he will find a guide in Love Unfayned, who enters forthwith. In answer to Feloship's request for aid "against my deadlie foe," Love Unfayned agrees to direct him, and utters a long discourse on his own nature and qualities, based on various passages in the New Testament.⁵ Feloship promises to follow Love

has been written and struck out; and the substitution of *celestiall*, in v. 124, for *heavenl* (sic), which has also been written and crossed out. It is impossible to determine from the condition of the ms. whether we have to do with a composition originally incomplete, or a fragmentary text; the volume has been rebound, and has lost its original end-papers and fly-leaves (editor's foreword, p. 16).

⁴I make use of the convenient terminology of Mr. R. L. Ramsay, ed. Skelton, *Magnifyoence*, EETS, Ext. Ser., vol. xcviii, Introd., p. cxlviii.

⁵This speech and others of Love Unfayned are very much in the vein of the text-besprinkled utterances of some of the characters in *Lusty Juventus*; cf. the speeches of Good Counsel (Hazlitt-Doddsley, *Old Plays*, 1874, vol. II, pp. 49-50 and 93) and the speech of Knowledge (*ibid.*, p. 55). An even closer parallel is offered by the discourses of Charytie in *King Darius* (Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*, Strassburg, 1898, pp. 363-366).

Unfayned and Familiaritie; and the three depart together, piously rejoicing. At this point Falshode enters, and, addressing the audience, proceeds to sing the praises of his own cleverness, and the advantages accruing to those who follow in his footsteps. Suddenly catching himself up with "What, do I prate here?" he states that he has come to speak with Feloship, who has apparently failed to keep the tryst. Discomfited by the disappointment,⁶ he is consoled by the assurances of Love Fayned, who enters opportunely, that they will win Feloship back into their power. Feloship arrives at this point praising God for having brought him to his present virtuous state. Falshode and Love Fayned make a combined attack upon his resolution, asserting that Familiaritie and Love Unfayned are crafty hypocrites, whose only motive in seeking for his company is to get possession of his goods. Feloship, completely won over, expresses his gratitude to them for

⁶The situation which represents the Vice as chagrined by the failure of another character to keep an appointment with him occurs also in *Lusty Juventus* and *King Darius*. The opening lines of Falshode's first speech are in fact a fairly close parallel to the following speech of Iniquitie, in *King Darius*:—

How now, my masters, how goeth the world now?
I came gladly to talk with you.
But softe, is there nobody here?
Truly, I do not lyke this geare.

(Brandl, *op. cit.*, p. 362)

The same device is used in *Lusty Juventus*, where Fellowship (in this case a bad character) says:—

I marvel greatly where Friendship is.
He promised to meet me here ere this time.
I beahrew his heart that his promise doth miss.

(Hazlitt-Dodsley, vol. II, p. 79)

It seems not unlikely that the author of *Love Fayned and Unfayned* was acquainted with these two plays; he is at least proved to have been familiar with the comic conventions of the Morality stage.

opening his eyes. At the suggestion of Love Fayned that they sing in celebration of their agreement, all join in a lyric.⁷ They then depart to banquet, being prepared, according to Feloship, to "spare no pence." The triumphant speech of Love Fayned—

Be sure then I shall allways prevaile—

is the last line of the extant portion of the play.

The piece follows Morality tradition, clearly enough, in regard to structure. As to purpose, it may be readily classified with the drama of Protestant controversy on the basis of certain obvious allusions. A definitely anti-Papist temper is indicated by the speech of Falshode (v. 217):—

I reigne as an Imperiall magystrate at rome.

Further evidence of the same kind is found in the oath "by the masse" which is constantly in the mouths of Falshode and Love Fayned (pp. 89, 109, 113, 115, 119, 122, 132), in contrast to the pious evangelical utterances of Love Unfayned and Familiaritie. The bounds may, however, be drawn more narrowly within the general area of Dissent, by a comparison of certain passages in the play with the characteristic features of the Anabaptist movement in England. Such a comparison has led me to the following interpretation of the action: Feloship, type of the man desirous of some religious affiliation, is brought to a state of virtue by the Anabaptists, represented by Love Unfayned. The latter is supported in his arguments by Familiaritie, who stands for the Familist doctrine of spiritual love. Feloship ultimately succumbs to the joint forces of the Papacy and the Church of England, personi-

⁷ Stage direction "cantant."

fied in Falshode and Love Fayned,⁸ who have made common cause against their common enemy, Anabaptism.

Before attempting to establish this interpretation, it will be well to indicate briefly the course of the Anabaptist movement in England,⁹ and the attitude taken toward it by the authorities. Although a few sporadic cases of the heresy come to light previous to the reign of Elizabeth,¹⁰ the

⁸ "Falshode" certainly stands for the Church of Rome (cf. v. 217), and "Love Fayned" is a fitting title for the Church that had, from a dissenting point of view, only pretended reform.

⁹ A bibliography for the history of Anabaptism on the Continent will be found in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. II; see also Karl Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe before the Reformation*, translated by J. L. and E. J. Milliken, London, 1892, ch. v. For the history of the English Anabaptists, the standard work of reference is Mr. Champlin Burrage's *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research*, Cambridge, 1912. In this work, the Anabaptists are discussed with special reference to their religious dogma; the matters of their social theory and standards of living, points with which the present article is specially concerned, are not touched upon. An article by Mr. Richard Heath, *The Anabaptists and their English Descendants*, *Contemporary Review*, vol. LIX, pp. 389-407, contains valuable references, but disregards chronology in its arrangement of data.

¹⁰ John Foxe records that in 1535 ten Dutchmen "counted for Anabaptists" were burned in London and other English cities (*Acts and Monuments*, London, 1684, vol. II, p. 270, col. 1; the Registers of London cited as authority). Mr. A. F. Pollard, citing *Acts of the P. C.* 1552-54, pp. 131-138, states that in these years "there was a sect newly sprung up in Kent," and that ecclesiastical authorities regarded Knox as "a great confounder of these Anabaptists" (*Pol. Hist. of Eng.*, N. Y., 1910, vol. VI, p. 68). Strype records that in 1550 Archbishop Parker served on a commission "empowered to correct and punish" the Anabaptists (*Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, Oxford, 1821, vol. I, p. 54); and the Articles of the Convocation of 1552 condemn the Anabaptist theory of property (*Liturgies of King Edward VI*, Parker Soc., vol. XIV, pp. 536, 548). All recent historians agree that at this time the popular signification of the term "Anabaptist" was extremely vague, a circumstance which renders much of the testimonial evidence on the subject somewhat elusive.

Anabaptists did not achieve a collective importance until after her accession.¹¹ She issued a proclamation against them in 1568, ordering "all manner of persons born either in forreigne parts, or in her Majesties dominions, that have conceived any manner of such heretical opinions as the Anabaptists do hold," to leave the realm within twenty days.¹² In 1575, according to Archbishop Parker, "great numbers of Anabaptists were taken."¹³ The sect made slow headway, but persisted. Mr. Padelford has proved, it would seem beyond dispute, that the Anabaptists are the object of Spenser's attack in the allegory of Artegall and the giant (*F. Q.*, Bk. v, Canto 2, st. 29-54), and the satirical narrative of the Fox and the Ape (*M. H. T.* vv. 129-149).¹⁴ The first definitely organized congregations of Anabaptists in England appear in the early years of the seventeenth century.¹⁵ The Anabaptists now begin to be articulate as a group; pamphlets in defense of their doctrines appear in increasing numbers, and hostile re-

¹¹ Cf. Strype, *Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, Oxford, 1822, vol. i, pp. 71-73.

¹² Strype, *Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal*, Oxford, 1821, pp. 180-191. The proclamation is referred to also by Camden, *History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, London, 1688, Bk. i, p. 48.

¹³ Strype, *Parker*, vol. ii, p. 424. Mr. Pollard (*op. cit.*, p. 366) states that in 1575 Guaras spoke of the presence of Anabaptists in London; and that on July 22 of the same year two Flemish Anabaptists were burnt at Smithfield.

¹⁴ "Spenser's Arraignment of the Anabaptists," *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, vol. xii, pp. 434-448.

¹⁵ Cf. Burrage, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 251. The first English Anabaptist congregation to be settled in England was that led by Thomas Helwys and John Murton, according to Mr. Burrage. Its members had previously belonged to an English Anabaptist group in Holland, but established themselves in London about 1611-1612. Mr. Burrage believes that other congregations may have been organized in various counties prior to 1620.

sponses are drawn forth.¹⁶ Evidence of the growing strength of the sect, and of the suspicion with which it was regarded by the aristocracy, is to be found at numerous points in the *Autobiography* of D'Ewes. He writes in eulogy of the king's efforts, in 1617, to suppress Anabaptism;¹⁷ and again in 1625 he commends the king's "care to maintain the doctrine of England pure and simple" against various "blasphemous Anabaptists."¹⁸ That the sect achieved a degree of power regarded as dangerous, is suggested by D'Ewes' statement that in 1628 "the Duke of Buckingham procured himself to be elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge by the Arminian party, or enemies of God's grace and providence which till of late years have called themselves Anabaptists."¹⁹ It is not necessary here to follow further the history of the movement, which gains in strength and undergoes numerous modifications during the Civil War and Protectorate. In the heated sectarianism of that period, the elements of various religious groups were disengaged and recombined, and the identity of the Anabaptists became merged with that of new denominations that had taken rise within their own ranks.²⁰

An interpretation of *Love Fayned and Unfayned* as an Anabaptist document would, it is seen, meet no difficulties of chronology. The period to which the ms. of

¹⁶ Cf. Burrage, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 251-269, for titles of works appearing between 1611 and 1624.

¹⁷ Ed. Halliwell, London, 1845, vol. I, pp. 97-98.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 388-389. He had written in 1620 (cf. vol. I, p. 142) that "no Anabaptistical or Pelasgian heresies against God's grace and providence were then stirring" at Cambridge.

²⁰ The question of the later developments of Anabaptism and of its relation to the tenets of the modern Baptists and Quakers, is discussed by Mr. Burrage and Mr. Heath.

the play belongs is a time when the Anabaptist movement was beginning to define itself somewhat positively, and the Anabaptists were sufficiently in the foreground of public affairs to be on the defensive. A kind of precedent for the expression of their views in dramatic form (or an approximation to dramatic form) was, moreover, not lacking; one of the most widely-known of the doctrinal pamphlets, *A Description of what God hath predestined concerning Man*, is described, by the author of a hostile reply, as "A Dialogue," and a work by the Anabaptist leader Murton is entitled *Objections answered in Dialogue Form*.²¹ Let us turn, then, to a consideration of the principles and manner of life of the Anabaptists.

The basic Anabaptist doctrines are recorded by Bernard Rotmann, one of the pioneers of the sect on the Continent, in the *Restitution rechter und gesunder christlicher lehre*,²² first printed at Münster in 1534. Herein are presented the Anabaptists' interpretation of the Fall, Incarnation and Redemption; their objections to infant baptism; their belief in their organization as the true Church of Christ, in justification by works, and in community of property; and their views as to the Eucharist, the rights of husband and wife in marriage, the future kingdom of Christ on earth, the proper attitude toward civil authorities, and the use of the sword. It is with the social theories expressed in Chap. XVIII, "Van Leeffliker gemeinschap der Hilligen," that we shall be chiefly

²¹ Cf. Burrage, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 257, 258. An attack upon the Anabaptists through the medium of drama, such as Bale's indictment in *Kynge Johan* (Manly, *Specimens*, vol. I, p. 616, vv. 2591-2596), might moreover have called forth a response in kind.

²² Ed. Max Niemeyer, in *Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, No. 77-78 (*Flugschriften aus der Reformationszeit*, No. VIII, Halle, 1888).

concerned, as *Love Fayned and Unfayned* does not at any point touch upon matters of religious dogma.²³ Various documents which present, from both hostile and sympathetic points of view, the character and customs of the Anabaptists, offer further material for comparison with the play.

The central point in establishing the Anabaptist character of *Love Fayned and Unfayned* rests upon the passages which have to do with Feloship's property. According to Love Fayned and Falshode, the other two characters intend to strip Feloship of his possessions and reduce him to beggary. "A beggar they do tearme youe" (v. 155) Falshode taunts Feloship; and adjures him further (v. 170):—

Must youe give to ye beggars all that youe have?

Love Fayned describes the habitual operations by which they get possession of wealth (vv. 184-195):—

Marke me nowe adayes yf there be an heire of lande
howe they practyse by falshode to have yt out of his hande
well yf youe should study familiaritie to please
where youe be a gentleman should not be worth two p(ease)
oh they will cap hime and sugred words render
they will seme as that much your selfe they do tender
all is to have your lands in theyre possession
which yf the may attayne by any condicion
then may ye go alone wyth a flea in youre ear
yender goeth the ayre of lyn ye may se by his geare.
let him packe as a begger vnto the beggers shoole
such ys the end of everye foole.

Feloship's reply shows that it is his regard for his possessions which has been appealed to (vv. 202-203):—

I se my lande might have come from hundreth to pence
they would have Intysed me to suche expence.

²³ A possible exception is a vague reference to justification by works, to be considered later.

Love Unfayned and Familiaritie would apparently have constrained Feloship to give his property completely into their hands. Translated, this situation seems to illustrate the Anabaptist principle which denied the right of private ownership.

This tenet, which excluded from the community of the elect all who refused to give their possessions into a common fund,²⁴ was the object of early²⁵ and persistent hostility. The voice of the Church was lifted up against it repeatedly. Bishop Hooper, in the *Articles concerning Christian Religion*, writes: "Item, that the doctrine of the Anabaptists . . . affirming all manner of goods and chattels to be in common . . . and such other like doctrines and their sects are very pernicious and damnable."²⁶ Thomas Rogers, who makes frequent reference to Anabaptist heresies, attacks the principle in his exposition of Article 38: "The riches and goods of Christians as touching the right, title and possession of the same are not common . . . Of another mind are the Anabaptists."²⁷ Bullinger also preached against them: "But because there is no small number of that furious sect of Anabaptists, which deny this propriety of several possessions, I will by some evident testimonies of scripture declare that it is both

²⁴ Cf. *Restitution*, p. 71.

²⁵ Perhaps the earliest recorded charge is a statement in the *Heresies Condemned in 1530* (cited by Mr. Heath, *op. cit.*, p. 401) to the effect that the Anabaptists said, "The woorst Turke lyving hath as much right to my goodes as his nede, as my own household or I myselfe."

²⁶ *Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, Parker Society, vol. XXVII, p. 121. For other expressions of Bishop Hooper on this point, see the same volume, pp. 42, 76 (noted also by Mr. Padelford, *op. cit.*).

²⁷ Rogers, *The Catholico Doctrine of the Church of England, an Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*: Parker Soc., vol. XLV, p. 352. See also p. 355, and the references to Bale, *Mystery of Iniquity* (Geneva, 1545), on p. 353.

allowed and ratified of all.”²⁸ There is a corroborative passage in the *Histoire des Anabaptistes* of Père Catrou,²⁹ a volume which, although not a primary authority, may be cited, since it is based on the works of contemporaries of the Anabaptists. The author states that the Anabaptists called themselves apostles because “ils abandonnaient leurs femmes, leurs enfans, & leurs professions, pour courir ça et la sans souliers, sans bourse & sans argent; qu’ils . . . voulaient que toutes choses fussent communes.”

It is unnecessary to pile up instances³⁰ of the opposition aroused by this revolutionary principle. That the Anabaptists, like Love Unfayned and Familiaritie, were suspected of self-interest is less easy to establish except under the general fact that they were repeatedly branded “hypocrites” on various grounds. Whitgift refers to their “hypocrisy and straitness of life,” saying that they “pretended all their doings the glory of God, the edifying of the Church, and the purity of the Gospel.”³¹ Père Catrou, referring to the Anabaptists’ practices in 1608, con-

²⁸ Bullinger, *Decades*, Parker Soc., vol. IX, p. 18.

²⁹ *Histoire des Anabaptistes, Contenant leur Doctrine, les Diverses Opinions qui les divisoient en plusieurs sectes, les troubles qu’ils ont causés & enfin tout ce qui s’est passé de plus considérable à leur égard depuis l’an 1521, jusques à présent.* The work gives the history of Anabaptism on the Continent from 1521 to about 1640 (the last date mentioned in the book). Editions were issued in 1695 (Paris) and 1699, 1700, 1702 (Amsterdam). The references given in this study are from a copy of the edition of 1700, “A Amsterdam, chez Jaques Desbordes, devant le Comptoir de Cologne, MDCC,” owned by the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. The passage cited above is found on p. 6.

³⁰ One may refer also to a tract entitled *A Warning for England, Harleian Mss.*, vol. v, p. 259. Mr. Padelford’s paper, referred to above, deals almost wholly with this point.

³¹ Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. I, p. 73. This passage, and others from the *Life of Whitgift*, are referred to also by Mr. Padelford, *op. cit.*

siders that they upheld community of possessions as a bait for the masses. "Pour attirer la Populace, ils mettoient leurs biens en communauté, & faisoient provision d'une quantité de blé, dont ils nourrissoient les pauvres, ce que ne contribuent pas peu à l'accroissement de leur Parti."³² It is hardly possible that the upholders of a theory of the equalization of property should have escaped the accusation of greed.³³

The allusions made by Falshode to the appearance and mien of his opponents, are to be explained also by reference to earlier and contemporary characterizations of the Anabaptists. He advises Feloship to—

Marke there wede & there pretended holynes.
they would make one believe they were men of greate godlines.

Their "wede" appears to have been, if not actually beggarly, at least so uniformly simple and plain as to mark them out from the rest of the world. "They were humbly clad in coarse cloth and broad felt hats," says Johannes Gesler, who, according to Keller, knew the St. Gall Anabaptists personally.³⁴ The *Histoire des Anabaptistes* describes thus the so-called "Emissaries" sent out by the Anabaptists of Moravia:—

Ces Emissaires . . . sçavoient l'art de gagner les Esprits par une Sainteté apparente,—

quite literally a "pretensed holynes." Again, a few lines later:—

³² *Hist. des Anab.*, p. 251.

³³ It is interesting in this connection to note the attitude of Strype, who might have been Whitgift as far as ecclesiastical antipathies were concerned. He entertains just such suspicions of the Puritan reformers: "and perhaps . . . they had their eye upon the revenues of the Church" (*Whitgift*, vol. I, p. 57).

³⁴ Keller, *Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer*, p. 65; cited by Mr. Heath, *Contemp. Rev.*, vol. LIX, p. 396. The work of Keller has not been accessible for me.

À les voir, on les auroient pris pour des Saints, tant ils faisoient paroître de modestie et de piété. On les voyait avec des habits extrêmement simples, un baton à la main, la vue baissée, & la douceur peinte sur la visage, faisant paroître une patience & une bonté toute extraordinaire. Et c'était par tout ce beau dehors qu'ils s'introduisoient chez les personnes les plus riches, & les attiroient dans leur société.³⁵

This statement would seem to cover exactly the situation of Feloship, who is classed among "personnes les plus riches," and who, according to a hostile view of the matter, is being deceived by "douceur peinte sur la visage." Testimony from a pamphlet called *Mock-Majesty, or the Siege of Munster*,³⁶ is useful here. The author states that Satan, the spirit animating the Anabaptists, has been obliged, after the ruin of his hopes by the disaster at Munster, to plan more subtle means to gain his ends.

He that will undertake to inveagle, and draw men into snares, must by no means affect empire and command, much less act the tyrant. This being detested alike by all men, and all eyes being broad open to observe and interpret, whereto such counsels tend, they must go to work by more subtle means, as it were by-paths, if they intend their designs shall obtain their wished-for issue, and take effect.

Among these "subtle means" are mentioned:—

a sordid and uncouth attire, a behaviour of the countenance to composedness and austerity; . . . with an outward profession . . . of extraordinary humility in themselves. By these means, indeed, and by such close policy as this, even wise men have been overreached.³⁷

³⁵ *Hist. des Anab.*, p. 250.

³⁶ *Mock-Majesty, or the Siege of Munster*, London, printed for J. S. and L. C. 1644; reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v, pp. 455-478.

³⁷ *Harl. Misc.*, vol. v, p. 471. The use of the word "policy" in the passage quoted is especially interesting, as the term is used by the adversaries of Anabaptism in the play. Love Fayned advises Falshode (v. 135):—

We must worke by pollicyes for to converte his mynde.

Certain other points in the speech of Falshode are difficult to explain except as shafts originally directed against the Anabaptists, caught and sent back by the dramatist.

Though some man should say that of wealthe thowe hast plentye
thowe must allwayes fayne that thy purse ys but emptye,

uttered by Falshode (vv. 95-96) in the course of his eulogy of deceit, reads like a paraphrase of some such indictment as Bishop Whitgift's: "That they" (the Anabaptists) "could not teach truly, because they had great livings, and lived wealthily and pleasantly."³⁸ Again, the cryptic lines that follow immediately:—

I praye ye what man goeth throwe the wode
but he that can play two faces in one hode,—

can be explained on no other ground, so far as I can see, except as echoing a charge against Anabaptist methods of propaganda. The *Histoire des Anabaptistes* gives significant testimony here. About Pentecost, the author states, (in discussing affairs in 1600), it was customary to send out from various Anabaptist centres emissaries who should spread the faith in new fields. The procedure of the emissaries was as follows:—

De peur d'être decouverts, ils ne prenoient pas la route ordinaire, mais ils passaient par des lieux écartez, *dans des bois*³⁹ & dans des montagnes, dont ils connoissoient tous les passages.⁴⁰

³⁸ Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. I, p. 71. This accusation is of course at variance with the direct testimony elsewhere adduced as to the simple way of life of the Anabaptists.

³⁹ Italics mine.

⁴⁰ *Hist. des Anab.*, p. 250. The passage has reference to the practices of Anabaptists in Moravia, but the methods of the parent sect on the Continent would naturally be communicated to the groups in England. The title of the first edition of the *Hist. des Anab.* (Paris, 1695) indeed contains the phrase "tant en Allemagne & Hollande, qu'Angleterre."

One notes also that the good characters in the play exhibit a marked hostility toward mirth *per se*, which corresponds to the attitude toward the pleasures of life repeatedly attributed to the Anabaptists. That the wicked characters in the play should have all the fun is of course quite in the Morality tradition; but in this case the fun is of such an innocuous and stiff-kneed sort as to indicate an uncommonly staid bias on the part of the author. The speech of Love Fayned to Falshode (v. 10):—

Be mery, man, let lamentations pass,—

might not in itself carry an indictment of merrymaking, were it not for the fact that the good characters obviously avoid such expressions. The banqueting revel, too, to which the two wicked characters carry off Feloship after their victory, seems much too tame a prospect to call forth reproach from any but the most ascetic. The author's point of view harmonizes completely with that attributed to the Anabaptists⁴¹ by Whitgift. "They earnestly cried out against pride and gluttony, &c. They spake much of mortification; they pretended great gravity; they sighed; they seldom or never laughed; they were very austere in reprehending."⁴² Again, in *Mock Majesty*, we find mentioned among their Machiavellian methods, "a hanging of the head with dejected looks, frequent fastings." Bullinger disapproved their extreme austerity: "This" (the legitimacy of reasonable pleasures)

"It is true that this characteristic fits equally well the "Psalm-singing Puritan," but this circumstance hardly warrants the consideration of a possible Puritan source for the play. A Puritan of the less genial type who was sympathetic with the stage, would be an anomaly.

"Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. i, p. 73. The Bishop adds, "They talk gloriously," a phrase applying well enough to the Evangelical fervour of Love Unfayned's address to Feloship (vv. 25-60).

"do I somewhat more largely declare, because of the Anabaptists, and certain senseless Stoics and other new sprung up hypocrites, the Carthusian monks, who with most tragical outcries condemn all allowable pleasures and lawful delights." ⁴³

A further significant difference between the good and evil characters appears in their manner of address. Familiaritie addresses Love Unfayned as "loving brother" (v. 8); the latter uses the same term in greeting him (v. 13); and later (v. 67), Familiaritie speaks to "brother love unfayned." ⁴⁴ They address one another as "Felloship," "Familiaritie," etc., always without prefix. Falshode, on the other hand announces his entrance with a "God save ye, my masters!" (v. 21) addressed to the audience. Later he addresses the hero as "Master Felloship" (v. 140); and Love Fayned calls Felloship "syr" (v. 144). Whitgift again supplies us with testimony as to Anabaptist ⁴⁵ usage. "They gave honour and reverence to none. And they used to speak to such as were in authority without any signification of honour. Neither would they call men by their titles, and answered churlishly." ⁴⁶

It seems probable further that the speech of Love Fayned in reference to Love Unfayned and Familiaritie (vv. 158-159):—

* Bullinger, *Decades*, Parker Soc., vol. ix, pp. 57-58.

"It is true that Falshode calls Love Fayned "deare brother," but he uses the term in an obviously mocking spirit. Love Fayned likewise speaks scornfully of "love vnfayned, that brother."

"With certain groups of Puritans, also, the usual mode of address was "sister" and "brother" (cf. Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts*, Oxford, 1904, p. 65).

* Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. i, p. 72; cf. also *Life and Acts of John Aylmer*, Oxford, 1821, p. 17. Rogers states that "the Anabaptists condemn all superiority among men, saying, that every man should be equal for calling" (Parker Soc., vol. xlv, p. 330).

hange the slaves hang them yf they come in my wa(ye)
what do I force withe my sword theme to slaye!—

is an indirect medium for the protest of the Anabaptists against persecution. One of the charges brought against them by Bishop Whitgift is that they “complained much of persecution, and bragged that they defended their cause not only with words but with the shedding of blood.”⁴⁷

A final detail, perhaps of less certain significance, may be added. Love Unfayned’s statement that he is continually occupied with good works (v. 38):—

in labors good to spend my time I love do never cease,—

may reflect the Anabaptist dogma of justification by works.⁴⁸ Frequent charges were brought against the Anabaptists on this head; Rogers classes the sect among false believers who “teach that man is justified . . . by works without faith.”⁴⁹

Love Fayned and Unfayned, then, bears out in a number of respects the hypothesis of Anabaptist authorship; the speeches of the good characters reflect Anabaptist principles, and those of the evil characters echo accusations against the sect. One characteristic of the play, however, leads us to infer an auxiliary influence. This characteristic is the insistent stress, in the play, upon the idea of spiritual love, which becomes an especially positive emphasis in the speeches of Love Unfayned. The

⁴⁷ Strype, *Whitgift*, vol. i, p. 72.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Restitution*, ch. ix.

⁴⁹ *Catholic Doctrine*, Parker Soc., vol. xlv, p. 53; he refers to Bale, *Mystery of Iniquity*, p. 53. Bale perhaps has the Anabaptists in mind also in the attack upon certain “hypocrites” who believe in “will-works,” found in *God’s Promises* (ed. Hazlitt-Dodsley, *Old Plays*, 1874, vol. i, p. 322). Cf. also Padelford, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-446.

frequent repetition of the word "love" indicates that the conception had, in the playwright's mind, the directing force of a dogma. It is true that a belief in "loving the brotherhood" was a fundamental Anabaptist doctrine, but it is with a contemporary group that the doctrine of love is put forward as the all-important and all-embracing tenet. This group is the Family of Love, or Familists.⁵⁰ With these, love is literally the "blessed word"; it appears in the titles of almost all the works of Henry Nicholas, the founder,⁵¹ and serves as a nuclear term for much of the expression of Familist faith. "The fundamental doctrine of H. N.,"⁵² in the words of Mr. Thomas, "and that which was the reason of the existence of the sect was that of love."⁵³ The manner in which the phraseology of Familist mysticism helped to give the conception the semblance of a definite creed is illustrated by the following extracts (cited by Mr. Thomas) from *A Figure of the True and Spiritual Tabernacle*, one of the works of Nicholas that circulated in England in translation.

"The Love is the Light of the world"; "the Love is the gracious word of the Lord, or bread of Life, which is come to us out of heaven. For the Love is essentially of the very true good, the headsum of the commandment and the bond of perfection. Through which Love the secret Treasures of God the Father and the abundant Riches of his spiritual and heavenly goods be revealed." . . . "For the end, or the perfection of all things (namely the chief sum of all

⁵⁰ For the history of the Familist movement, see the monograph of Mr. A. C. Thomas, *The Family of Love, or Familists*, Haverford College Studies, No. 12 (1893), and Burrage, *op. cit.*, vol. I, ch. VIII.

⁵¹ Cf. the article by Miss C. Fell Smith in the Dictionary of National Biography; a list is there given of the works of Nicholas, with the English titles of such as were translated.

⁵² Nicholas is often referred to as "H. N.," the signature which he appended to most of his writings.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

good, or all what one can name for righteousness and truth) that is the Love: Yea, all what is to be known or understood of the godly things, that is the Love." ⁵⁴

There is obviously nothing in these generalizations that is at variance with Anabaptist theology, since they merely embody one of the tenets of Christian belief, "God is love." This belief, however, the followers of Nicholas had made, in a sense, distinctively their own by reiterating it until it became the characteristic formula of the group. It is, I believe to some such explicit and positive force as that supplied by Familist doctrine that we must refer the striking emphasis on "spiritual love" in the play we are considering.

The conclusion that Familist thought influenced the play in this respect involves, again, no chronological difficulties, as the Familist movement in England was practically contemporaneous with the rise of Anabaptism. The Familists appear first in English records of 1552-55,⁵⁵ but they seem not to have come into public notice until 1575. Strype states that "about this time a Sect that went by the name of the Family of Love began to be taken notice of," ⁵⁶ and it is in this year that they presented to Parliament "An Apology for the Service of Love and the people that own it, commonly called the Family of Love." To this was appended "A Brief Rehearsal of the Belief of the Good-willing in England which are named the Family of Love, With the Confession of their upright Christian Religion against the

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁶ *Annals of the Reformation*, London, 1725, vol. II, p. 375: Baker's *Chronicle* has no record of Familists in England until "the 23d year of Elizabeth," and states that in this year several of H. N.'s books were "by Proclamation commanded to be burnt" (*Chronicle of the Kings of England*, London, 1769, p. 367).

false Accusation of their Against-speakers.”⁵⁷ Camden speaks of them as “troubling the peace of the Church” in 1580, naming certain of their works which were then circulating in England;⁵⁸ and in the same year bills for the suppression of the Familists were passed in the House of Commons.⁵⁹ A petition which they presented to James in 1604⁶⁰ indicates that there was some agitation against them at this time; but not until 1645 do they again come into prominence. In this year the preaching of a man named Randal appears to have added numbers to the sect.⁶¹ Strype states, probably in reference to this situation, that the Familists “appeared again openly in the Time of the Anarchy in the last age.”⁶² He speaks of them as extinct in his own day: “For, I remember, a Gentleman, a great admirer of that Sect within less than twenty years ago, told me that there was then but one of the Family of Love alive, and he an old man.”⁶³

Although the religious sentiment characteristic of the followers of Nicholas is reflected in *Love Fayned and Unfayned*, the author of the play cannot have been a convinced and consistent Familist. To establish a complete set of differentia is, of course, practically out of the question, on account of the confused use of terms in the controversy of the period.⁶⁴ Any one sect may be

⁵⁷ Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, pp. 375-377.

⁵⁸ *History of Elizabeth*, p. 48.

⁵⁹ *Commons Journals*, vol. I, pp. 128-130; cited by Miss Smith.

⁶⁰ Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, London, 1868, vol. III, p. 239.

⁶¹ Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, p. 600.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 378.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 378. The date of the first edition of the *Annals* is 1709-08, so that the last Familist known to Strype would have been an old man in 1688.

⁶⁴ Strype affirms that Anabaptists sheltered themselves under the

charged with certain incidental errors of another; for example, the writer of a pamphlet which appeared in 1579 says that Familism was "the most pestiferous and deadly heresy of all other. Because there was not almost any one particular erroneous and schismatical Fantasy, whereof the Family of Love had not borrowed one branch or other thereof."⁶⁵ The extent to which the Familists practised the principle of communistic ownership is, in particular, difficult to define on account of conflicting testimony. One of the indictments listed in the *Apology* of 1575 is that "they desired that all Men's goods should be in common." Rogers accuses them on the same grounds; he finds authority in an antagonistic pamphlet which appeared in London in 1579, entitled *A Displaying of the Family of Love*,⁶⁶ and also in H. N.'s *Spiritual Land of Peace*.⁶⁷ The principle of community of goods is, on the other hand, not included in the *Rehearsal of Belief* appended to the *Apology*, and hence would seem not to have been actively defended by the English Familists. On one point, however, there is unequivocal evidence, on the basis of which we may bar from consideration a possible Familist origin for the play. The Family of Love as a body, never spoke out against the Church of Rome; they exhibited, in fact, a passive, quasi-sympathetic attitude toward the Papacy. Their attitude is perhaps exaggerated by the Bishop of Winchester, in "certain notes" made by him on H. N.'s *Evangelium Regni*, but his comment is significant:

name of the Familists (*Annals*, vol. II, p. 379), and in the petition referred to above, the Familists showed resentment at having been classed in popular opinion with the Anabaptists.

⁶⁵ Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, p. 377.

⁶⁶ Rogers, *Catholic Doctrine*, Parker Soc., vol. XLV, p. 355.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

And although the author had not set to his name, yet it should seem to be some friar's doing or some other that favoured the Church of Rome. . . . The Pope he calleth the *Chief Anointed, the Chief Bishop, the High Priest* who hath his being in the most holy Sanctuary of true and perfect Holiness, most holy Father.⁶⁹

Rogers speaks of "the half-Papists, the Family of Love";⁶⁹ and a hostile pamphlet entitled *A Confutation of Certain Articles* (a response to the *Evangelium Regni*) accuses them of sympathy for the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome.⁷⁰ One may note, finally, the case of one Anthony Randal, an English minister deposed in 1581 for his Familist sympathies. Although he "neither approved of the Romish Church, nor yet of this of ours," he "held it not lawful to speak a word against either."⁷¹ No orthodox member of the Family of Love could have penned such a reference to the Pope as Falshode's self-characterization,

I reigne as an Imperiall magystrate at Rome,

and the numerous mocking allusions to the mass.

Love Fayned and Unfayned cannot then be regarded as reflecting a point of view consistently Familist. Nevertheless, the correspondence between the emphasis upon love in the play and the tenor of Familist literature must be taken into consideration. The character Familiaritie, too, must be accounted for; the name is difficult to explain except as a derivative of "Family."⁷² It may

⁶⁹ Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, p. 589.

⁷⁰ *Cath. Doct.*, Parker Soc., vol. XLV, p. 187.

⁷¹ Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, p. 598.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁷³ It may be well to note the difference between the significance of the name Familiaritie in this play, and the use of the same term by the editor of Lyndesay's *Three Estates* (EETS, vol. XXXVII) to render *Hameliness* of the original. Hameliness, a kind of boisterous

be noted further that a precedent for dramatic expression existed in Familist as well as in Anabaptist literature; there is extant an English translation of a work by H. N. entitled *Comedia, A Work in Ryne Contayning An Enterlude of Myndes witnessing the Man's Fall from God and Christ, Translated out of the Base-Almayne into English*;⁷³ and the *Apology* of 1575 is "set forth dialogue-wise, between the Citizen, the Country-man and an Exile."⁷⁴ Inferences from all the data that have been presented can only be reconciled under the hypothesis that the author of *Love Fayned and Unfayned* was an eclectic dissenter, wholly sympathetic with Anabaptist principles of Separatism and communism, but impregnated with the mystic spiritual teachings of the Family of Love.

Such a point of view is well within the possibilities. For the type of composite religious sympathy that I have described, there is, in fact, a striking historic illustration. One of the well-known controversialists of the period, Edmond Jessop, was at some time previous to 1623 an Anabaptist; but, as we learn from his own statement, he leaned strongly toward Familist principles even while in the Anabaptist camp. In the *Discovery of the*

wanton, is a character diametrically opposite to the pious homilist Familiaritie.

That the name Familiaritie has reference to one of the lesser "Families" of the period—the Family of the Mount, the Family of the Essentialists, etc.—is wholly improbable. The peculiarities of these minor sects (cf. Strype, *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 379-380) are not reflected in *Love Fayned and Unfayned*.

⁷³ A copy is owned by the Bodleian Library; Miss Smith (*loc. cit.*) gives the catalogue number as ms. Bodl. M257. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1903, vol. III, pp. 527-528, has a brief note on the content of the play. He refers to Nicholas, however, as a "Wiedertäufer."

⁷⁴ Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, p. 375.

Errors of the English Anabaptists, published soon after his re-conversion to the Church of England, he records thus his former divided convictions:

When I walked with the Anabaptists, . . . though strangely deluded, yet was I kept by the power and providence of God from being seduced and led into that destroying and irrecoverable way of death before mentioned, namely the Familists, though very nigh unto it, having one foote entred therein whiles I walked with the Anabaptists aforesaid."

A somewhat plausible case for Jessop's authorship could indeed be constructed, even with due allowance made for the temptations of coincidence. The suggestion does no violence to history or probability. Jessop was not without proselytizing zeal while he "walked with the Anabaptists," for he seems to have personally spread propaganda. According to Mr. Burrage, a letter which was sent out at some time previous to 1623 by a London Anabaptist, who sought by this means to convert certain of his friends to Anabaptism, was in all probability written by Jessop.⁷⁶ The fact that he is not known to have written dramas counts for little, for the author of the play in question is plainly trying a prentice hand. The circumstance that the play, though intended for the stage,⁷⁷ was apparently never acted, bears out the suggested theory, if we assume that Jessop returned to conformity before his heretical drama saw the light. The strongest argument for his authorship is the absence of competitors; no other controversialist of the period exhibits (so far as I know) a like Janus-faced character in his religious sympathies. In any event, the historic authenticity of his case lends support to the hypothesis

⁷⁶ Burrage, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 266.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.

⁷⁸ Cf. vv. 75-76, the opening lines of Falshode's first speech:—

God save ye, my masters, god save ye this blessed day
Why stare ye at me thus I wene ye be come to see a play.

I have submitted as to the type of religious motive which inspired *Love Fayned and Unfayned*.

The locality to which the play is to be assigned is a matter that must for the present be left open. If the reference to "sainct quintan's hall" which occurs in the course of Falshode's invective against "ye beggars" could be identified, the play could of course be satisfactorily localized.⁷⁸ Failing that, we can only place it generally in the eastern counties, where the Anabaptists and Familists flourished in greatest numbers. Probabilities would be in favor of a home near London, the center of Anabaptist activities.

Love Fayned and Unfayned has, I believe, established a claim to more than superficial interest. Its most obvious appeal is, perhaps, that of the literary curiosity, for in form and temper the play is an anachronism; its ragged lines and naïvely inconsequential incident connect it with the period of rudimentary technique, and its allegorical polemics reflect none of the large splendors of the contemporary stage. But its real significance is not summed up in its reversion to type. Viewed in its social bearings, the play stands in direct relation to its age, and illumines from a new angle some of the obscurer aspects of the intellectual life of its generation.

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⁷⁸ Unless the phrase is an obsolete by-word, "sainct quintan's" must be a correctional institution or almshouse. The name does not, however, appear in Stow's *Survey of London*, Camden's *Britannia*, or Harrison's *Description of England*, although all these works mention numerous charitable and correctional institutions. Dugdale does not list it among the monastic hostels. It may be one of the numerous unnamed almshouses recorded by Baker in the *Chronicle* among the "pious works" which he enumerates for each successive reign. The tradition of charitable treatment of vagrants is associated with St. Quintin, Bishop of Arvergne and Rovergne; cf. Surius, *De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis*, Cologne, 1618, vol. iv, pp. 316-317.

XI.—THE DEBATE ON MARRIAGE IN THE CANTERBURY TALES

Scholars have always recognized that there is a large degree of appropriateness in the assignment of the various *Canterbury Tales* to their respective tellers, and in a few cases an appropriateness also to the situation. Recently there have been determined efforts to extend the application of these principles as far as possible. Conspicuous among these is the position asserted with great emphasis and confidence by Professor Kittredge,¹ who would have us believe that Groups D, E, and F of the *Canterbury Tales* constitute a "complete and highly finished" "act" in Chaucer's "Human Comedy;" that the *Wife's Prologue* is a fling at the Clerk; that this gentleman finds it "gall and wormwood" and in his *Tale* and *Envoy* makes a deliberate and a studied reply; that during the *Merchant's Tale* the Wife is "still in the foreground," and even "holds the centre of the stage"; and that the Franklin, by a process that is "manifestly deliberate," carries the debate to "a triumphant conclusion by solving the problem."

The facts on which this theory is supposed to rest may be summarized as follows: The Wife commends matrimony; she asserts the sovereignty of wife over husband; she gives several flings at the ill-natured remarks that clerks have made about women, and mentions that her own fifth husband was a clerk of Oxford; she tells the story of a husband who had his own wish simply by letting his

¹ *Chaucer's Discussion of Marriage*, in *Modern Philology*, ix, pp. 436-467 (April, 1912); *Chaucer and his Poetry* (Harvard University Press, 1915), pp. 185-210.

wife have hers; and she gives a discourse on "gentillesse." Chaucer's Clerk of Oxford tells the story, after the clerk Petrarch, of an exceedingly submissive wife, whose virtues he commends, and in conclusion he recites an ironical poem bidding wives make their husbands miserable. The Merchant declares that this is just what his wife has done to him, and he tells the story of a wife who, when caught in the very act of adultery, succeeded in making her husband believe that she was devotedly faithful to him. This *Tale* incorporates a debate on marriage between Placebo and Justinus, the friends of the wronged husband, and another as to the worth of women between Pluto and Proserpine. The Merchant also echoes the language of the Wife of Bath, and once explicitly refers to her in the following terms:

But lat us waden out of this mateere.
The Wyf of Bath, if ye han understonde,
Of mariage which ye have on honde,^{*}
Declared hath ful wel in litel space.

When the Merchant has finished, Our Host remarks that he, too, could say something of personal domestic troubles, but he cannot trust the discretion of the ladies present. The Franklin tells the story of a married couple who practiced mutual sovereignty and subjection, a story which he introduces with a discourse on "gentillesse," wherein he mentions the praise which clerks have bestowed upon the virtue of patience. Last of all, Professor Lowes has shown that the *Wife's Prologue* and the *Merchant's Tale* both indisputably borrow ideas from the *Miroir de Mariage* of Eustache Deschamps.

The order and date of the *Tales* in question receive no discussion from Professor Kittredge, who argues thruout

^{*} *which ye have on honde.* Surely this refers only to the fact that January, contrary to the advice of Justinus, has chosen to marry.

as if all these *Tales* were written after the *Canterbury Tales* had been planned, and as if they were intended to stand in order as in the *Oxford Chaucer*. For the sake of simplicity I shall make the same assumption as to the dates of composition, except that I must register a doubt whether the *Clerk's Tale* was not written much earlier than 1384 and the Clerk's *Envoy* later, possibly much later, than his *Tale*. As to the order in which the *Tales* should stand, the eight manuscripts printed by Dr. Furnivall all give the parts of Group D in the same order. And there is no doubt that the *Tales* of Clerk and Merchant, both of which refer to the Wife of Bath, should come later than D. As to the position of Group F there is room for serious doubt.³ It might precede D and E, it might come between them, or it might follow them. If we were bound to co-ordinate F with D and E, we should do well to put F before D. Then the sorrows of Dorigen, which are exquisitely portrayed, would naturally lead the Wife "to speke of wo that is in mariage;" and the Wife's discourse on "gentillesse," which she declares to be independent of birth or fortune, is better fitted by its more argumentative tone to follow than to precede the sermon of the Franklin, who clearly believes that "gentillesse" is not unconnected with birth and station,⁴ but who assumes rather than asserts this position. But let us turn to the sequence of Wife and Clerk, as to the nature of which I believe Professor Kittredge to be seriously in error.

* Certain manuscripts give the *Endlink* of the Merchant and the *Headlink* of the Squire as a continuous whole, and even designate it as the "Squire's Prolog." There is no time-note in Group F except when the Squire remarks:

I wol nat taryen yow, for it is pryme,
and even from this I am unable to draw any inference. Certain other manuscripts place the *Squire's Tale* before Group D.

⁴F, 692-694.

Between Wife and Clerk come the *Tales* of Friar and Summoner. These rascals begin to quarrel just before the Wife begins her *Tale*. The Summoner declares that before the company reaches Sittingbourne he will tell a story or two at the expense of the Friar. When the Summoner has finished his *Tale* he has amply fulfilled his threat, and he announces that the Pilgrims have almost come to town. That Our Host, in introducing the Clerk, makes absolutely no reference or allusion either to Sittingbourne or to the Summoner is strong presumptive evidence that Chaucer did not intend the *Clerk's Tale* immediately to follow the Summoner's. Let us remember that there were to have been upwards of a hundred and twenty Tales in all. Group D ends abruptly, and this is in itself no slight argument that the *Clerk's Tale* was not intended to answer the Wife of Bath.

Professor Kittredge treats the *Wife's Prolog* and *Tale* as a polemic on matrimony. It is easy to believe with him and Professor Lounsbury that in her heart she despises celibacy,⁵ yet formally, at least, she is in accord with Saint Paul; and I find her far less bent on heresy and schism than on looking for a sixth husband. It would be an exaggeration to call her garrulous and frequently naïve discourse a marriage advertizement. Yet it strongly partakes of that nature. She begins by arguing that there is no reason why she should not take a sixth husband. She states her terms and conditions; she gives her history; she quotes the testimony of five husbands as to the satisfaction she has given. She announces that she is ready for a

⁵Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry*, p. 186. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. II, p. 526: "No one is imposed upon by her contemptuous concession that marriage is inferior to virginity, or by her perfect willingness to admit the superiority of a state which she has not the slightest desire to share."

sixth. The rough story of her bullying her husbands seems later to impress her as likely to frighten the game, and accordingly toward the end of her *Prolog* and all thru her *Tale* she assumes a more assuring tone. "Women are as gentle as lambs, and a child can lead them if you only let them have their way." That is the moral of her *Tale*. Finally she gives us a long discourse on "gentillesse," a discourse which experience has perhaps taught her to be a good decoy when hunting for husbands.*

This interpretation has at least the merit of covering, not too closely, the whole of her harang, both *Prolog* and *Tale*, and giving to them a certain much needed unity. Her defence of matrimony is of surpassing interest. In the words of Professor Lounsbury "it embodies the protest of human nature" against monkish doctrine. But this is a mere detail of her talk. Her flings at clerks and the bitter things they have said about women are equally a detail, overwhelmed in the flood of her volubility. If her fifth husband was a clerk of Oxford, so too was the rascally hero of the *Miller's Tale*. If Chaucer had intended his own Clerk of Oxford to be sensitive, this should have been made absolutely clear in one or both cases.

It is not enough to say, with Professor Kittredge, that the *Clerk's Tale* "contains no personal allusions." Until we reach the casual reference to "the Wyves love of Bath" the *Clerk's Tale* is absolutely and demonstrably unco-ordinated with the Wife of Bath. On three points the Clerk is essentially in agreement with the Wife. He believes

* In the lyric poetry of the Continent, and especially in that of Portugal, a pilgrimage is frequently represented as a pretext for meeting one's lover. See Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*, ed. 1889, pp. 163 ff. The same custom doubtless existed in England. But it is a trifle pedantic to appeal to literary parallels. Occasions supposedly religious are in actual life still made a pretext for love-making.

in marriage; ⁷ he asserts that the character of the child is not determined by its parentage; ⁸ and he expressly declares that, whatever clerks may say to the contrary, women surpass men in humility and in loyalty:

Men speke of Job, and moost for his humblesse,
As clerkes, whan hem list, konne wel endite,
Namely of men, but as in soothfastnesse,
Thogh clerkes preise wommen but a lite,
Ther kan no man in humblesse hym acquite
As wommen kan, ne kan been half so trewe
As wommen been, but it be falle of newe.⁹

If there were the slightest co-ordination, up to this point, between the *Tales* of Clerk and Wife, we should certainly have found here an allusion, or more than an allusion, to the Wife of Bath, whose want of "humblesse" I need only mention, and whose loyalty was not of such a nature as to prevent her from engaging a fifth husband before her fourth was dead. The grave and gentle irony of the words "but it be falle of newe" is inadequate to serve as an allusion. It serves rather to mark how utterly oblivious of the Wife of Bath are both Chaucer and the Clerk when this point is reached.

But we may go further. It is not even Griselda's position as a wife that is intended to interest us. The moral of her story has nothing to do with matrimony. It may be a mere coincidence that the four *Canterbury Tales* which are written in rime royal are all of them religious, but there can be no doubt that the sentiment of the *Clerk's Tale* is profoundly so. We are even reminded that in the humble circumstances of her birth, Griselda resembled Christ himself:

But hye God som tyme senden kan
His Grace into a litel oxe stalle.¹⁰

⁷ E, 83-84.

⁸ E, 155-158.

⁹ E, 932-938.

¹⁰ E, 206-207.

On different occasions both Griselda and her father imitate or employ the language of Job.¹¹ In her own eyes, Griselda is always first and foremost, not a wife, but a serf.¹² And when Chaucer or the Clerk, whichever you will, has solemnly insinuated that the patience of Griselda surpassed that of Job himself, we are the more prepared for the explanation that her *Tale* is intended to typify the submission of the true Christian to God. It is this religious significance which commended the story to Petrarch and to some of his contemporaries, and which still renders it to some modern readers a beautiful and a touching thing.

Boccaccio, however, had ignored the religious and allegorical possibilities of the story. With downright common sense he called the conduct of the Marquis "a piece of sheer stupidity," *una matta bestialità*; and Sercambi, who, despite his protestations, followed Boccaccio, called the nobleman "a fool," *uno matto*.¹³ Chaucer, in his heart of hearts, was very clearly of the same opinion. Accordingly the English poet wrote a little poem, sparkling with brilliant and airy mockery, and bidding wives be as unlike Griselda as possible. Nowhere does this little poem mention the Wife of Bath, nor echo her language. It is difficult to believe that it was originally intended to caricature her. The problem was how to get it into the mouth of Chaucer's Clerk, a serious and edifying young man, who loved Aristotle more than "robes riche or fithle or gay sautrye;" and who, in response to a request for

¹¹ E, 871-872; E, 902-903; see also E, 654-655.

¹² I owe this penetrating suggestion to Professor E. T. McLaughlin of Yale University.

He is now deed and nayled in his cheste,
I prey to God so yeve his soule reste!

¹³ See Renier, *Novelle Inedite di Giovanni Sercambi*, p. 401.

"som mery thyng of aventures," had given the company a *Tale* that is anything but merry. It occurred to Chaucer that the Clerk might explain that he wishes to "stinte of earnestful matere," and recite, "for the Wyves love of Bath," a poem which is thus made incidentally to caricature to some extent the lady of Bath while it mainly satirizes the story of Griselda. The real co-ordination between the *Tales* of Wife and Clerk is thus reduced to the three verses:

For which heere, for the Wyves love of Bathe,—
Whos lyf and al hire secte God maynteyne
In heigh maistrie, and elles were it scathe.

That this and the following *Envoy* are later additions to the original *Tale* is rendered a yet more probable conclusion by the fact that four of the best manuscripts, including the two very best of all, preserve at the end of the *Envoy* what appears to have been the ending of the *Tale* before the *Envoy* was written.¹⁴

I find no evidence for Professor Kittredge's assertion that the Clerk was rigidly orthodox, or that he was especially interested in celibacy. Theology is not mentioned as one of his studies. He exhibits not the slightest interest in ecclesiastical discipline. The extremely high respect which he expresses for women marks him as a man of distinctly amiable virtues. Furthermore, he is a man of travel as well as of study. By Petrarch he has been treated with distinguished consideration, and obviously he shows an innocent vanity in introducing the company to his illustrious friend. To suppose that he finds "gall and

¹⁴ An excellent scholar, whom I am not authorized to name, calls my attention to the fact that in seven of Dr. Furnivall's reprints the rubric is *Lenvoye de Chaucer*. Ms. Dd. 4.24 omits the rubric but gives the word *Auctor* in the margin. It is Chaucer and not the Clerk of Oxford whose voice we recognize in the *Envoy*.

wormwood" in the words of the Wife of Bath, and after long dissembling, attacks her with "smiling urbanity" and "in mordant irony" is to suppose things hardly consistent one with another, to miss the airy lightness of the *Envoy*—which is perfectly good-humored—and gratuitously to degrade the Clerk.

But the *Envoy* is undoubtedly made the means of introducing the *Merchant's Tale*. The Merchant has no feeling for the religious significance of the *Clerk's Tale*. Like the *Envoy*, he thinks of the story of Griselda only as a story of married life, and he has little faith in women who seem meek and patient like Griselda. In a sense, therefore, he takes issue with the Clerk, and to this extent Group E gives us a debate. But by no means does it follow that the Wife of Bath holds "the centre of the stage," or even that she is "in the foreground." Rather does all literary perspective disappear.

For in spite of brilliant details, the *Merchant's Tale* is very inartistically told. It is nearly as much out of character for the Merchant as the Clerk's *Envoy* is for the Clerk. For tho the Merchant, in his *Headlink*, begins with words of great bitterness about women, the misogyny of his *Tale* itself is not consistently maintained. The tyrannous jealousy of January, the husband, is depicted in terms that transfer a large share of our sympathy to May, the young wife, whose error, we are naïvely assured, is only that she took compassion on a handsome young man who was languishing for love of her. A long eulogy of matrimony loses not a little of its intended effect of irony because the irony is long sustained without being obvious. A passage repeating the language and ideas of the Wife of Bath leads us to expect that May, the wife, is going to play the bully, whereas she skillfully maintains, everywhere, the outward appearance of a submissive

and a devoted wife. The reference to the Wife of Bath is so introduced that there is serious doubt who is speaking *in propria persona*, Chaucer, The Merchant, or Justinus the friend of January. It is made almost the most striking lapse from dramatic propriety in the entire *Canterbury Tales*. It is introduced indolently and pedantically, as if to save time and labor, rather than to co-ordinate the *Tale* with the Wife of Bath. And to whatever degree the Merchant repeats ideas from the *Wife's Prolog* he does not take issue with her. So far from keeping the Wife of Bath "in the foreground," or in "the centre of the stage," the *Merchant's Tale* serves rather to show that, for the moment, there is neither foreground nor center to hold. Literary perspective, in fact, disappears.

The *Franklin's Tale* is very beautifully co-ordinated with the Squire's. The story of the "faucoun peregrine" is expressive of great sensibility and compassion, far more so than the Wife's discourse on "gentillesse," which is distinctly argumentative. Not only does the Squire actually use the words *gentil*, *gentillesse*, some nine or ten times,¹⁵ but he is telling a tale of courtly love and tender sensibility. Surely there is every reason to suppose that the Franklin is entirely candid when he appears to take his cue from the Squire, even for his introductory discourse on "gentillesse." For in fact, the *Franklin's Tale* is barely if at all co-ordinated with anything that precedes the Squire's. The mere mention of sovereignty and service hardly reminds us of the Wife of Bath; neither does the mention of the praise which clerks have given to patience inevitably recall the Clerk of Oxford. And there is absolutely nothing that has as yet been tortured into a reference or allusion by the Franklin to the Merchant.

¹⁵ Namely in vv. F, 426, 452, 479, 483, 505, 517, 546, 620, and 622.

On the other hand the Franklin is in a number of ways co-ordinated with the Squire, and if some of these are subtle or even fortuitous, others are deliberate and unmistakable, and the import of the whole is not open to a doubt. Whichever of the four chief characters of the *Franklin's Tale* may appear to us the most generous, there is no doubt that Aurelius and Dorigen are the most prominent. And Aurelius, as Professor Kittredge ingeniously points out, is a young squire with just such graces and accomplishments as Chaucer's pilgrim Squire possesses, and as the Franklin wishes his own son to acquire. The story of Aurelius is now used as a compliment to the pilgrim Squire, and indirectly to his father, the pilgrim Knight. On previous occasions we may believe, if we will, that Aurelius has been held up as an example to the Franklin's graceless son. Hence the heart-felt eloquence of the beautiful little discourse on mutual subjection and forbearance.

Nor does this exhaust the exquisite adjustment of the *Franklin's Tale* alike to the character of the teller and to the situation. Whether by accident, by instinct, or by design, the Franklin chooses the very happiest moment and method to introduce himself to the attention of his social superiors. I find it difficult to believe that he is at the same time thinking of the Wife of Bath.

The Franklin confesses with regret that he has never studied Marcus Tullius Cicero, a name whose luster Petrarch had recently renewed. But Chaucer seems at least to have heard of Cicero's treatise on "gentillesse," the *De Amicitia*, though he may have confused it with the *De Beneficiis* of Seneca when he bade Scogan "thenke on Tullius Kyndenesse." If we may take the beautiful discourse on mutual forbearance and subjection as an at-

tempt on the part of Chaucer or the Franklin to give us a medieval *De Amicitia*, the Franklin's reference to Cicero is explained. And, indeed, I know of no reason why we should not so understand the Franklin's sermon, even tho the Franklin emphasizes Christian and medieval virtues, and includes and even emphasizes marriage as a form of friendship.

Certainly it is a mistake to regard the Franklin's sermon as primarily concerned with matrimony. There is a long passage of twenty-six lines¹⁶ in which women, love, and friendship are mentioned, but never marriage. Dorigen and Aurelius are unmarried one to another. The Franklin is obviously interested in the Squire, in his own son and in "gentillesse." He does not mention his own wife, nor does he evince any pre-occupation with matrimony. And certainly he cannot be said to bring a debate on matrimony to a "triumphant conclusion" so long as his *Tale* is followed in any degree of proximity by the *Second Nun's Tale* of the unconsummated marriage of Saint Cecilia, which might easily be drawn into the debate by just such processes of reasoning as those by which the debate itself has been constructed.

It is not the least defect of Professor Kittredge's interpretation of Groups D, E, and F that he makes the Clerk and the Franklin surprize the reader by entering the debate quite as truly—or as hypothetically—as they surprize the Canterbury Pilgrims. An author or a playwright may surprize his characters as much as he pleases, but the moment he begins to surprize the reader or the spectator he begins to destroy the literary or dramatic illusion which it is his business to create. But this subject has been so competently treated by such writers as Messrs.

¹⁶ F, 761-786.

William Archer and Brander Matthews¹⁷ that I gladly excuse myself from discussing it further, and I summarize my conclusions as follows:

The debate on, or discussion of, matrimony, amounts to this: Both Wife and Merchant discuss matrimony, deliberately, formally, and fully, but without taking issue one with another; and the Merchant takes issue with the Clerk, not so much as to matrimony as concerning the sincerity and virtue of women. The Merchant also incorporates—in his *Tale* two debates, one on matrimony, the other as to—the worth of women.

On the other hand the *Wife's Prolog* and *Tale* find their most unifying theme neither in heresy, in schism, nor even in polemic, but in the Wife's practical search for a sixth husband. The Clerk is interested in matrimony merely because it typifies the Christian life. His *Tale* is demonstrably unco-ordinated with the Wife's talk until we reach a casual allusion to the Wife at the very end. The Clerk's *Envoy* was originally written to satirize the story of Griselda, and not to caricature the Wife of Bath. It

¹⁷ William Archer, *Play-Making, a Manual of Craftsmanship*, pp. 201-234; Brander Matthews, *A Study of the Drama*.

I will add that Chaucer recognizes the principle, and makes exquisite use of it in the *Knight's Tale*, by adding to Boccaccio's story an appeal twice made by Venus to her "father" Saturn, who twice assures her that ultimately she shall have her way. We are thus prepared for divine intervention, and the sudden miracle by which Arcite is mortally wounded in the very hour of victory makes no discord in our imaginations.

A friend who has read my proofs contributes the following suggestion: "Apropos of surprise you might refer to Kittredge (*Shakspeare*, Cambr., 1916, p. 19): 'In his exposition Shakspeare always follows the established Elizabethan method, which was, to make every significant point as clear as daylight, and to omit nothing that the writer regarded as of importance. However much the *dramatis personae* mystify each other, the audience is never to be perplexed: it is invariably in the secret.'"

is not in character for the Clerk. The *Merchant's Tale* is out of character for the teller, and mentions the Wife of Bath in such a way as to destroy literary perspective rather than to place the Wife in a foreground or center. The position of Group F with reference to D and E is uncertain. If it had to be related to D—which it does not—we should do well to place F before D rather than after E. The Franklin evinces no interest in any individual pilgrims except Our Host, the Squire, and possibly by implication the Knight. He discusses marriage only as a form of friendship. His *Tale* cannot be said to terminate any discussion of marriage so long as it is followed in any degree of proximity by the *Second Nun's Tale*. In fact, Groups D, E, and F, taken in their entirety, are far from constituting a "complete and highly finished" "act" in "Chaucer's Human Comedy."

HENRY BARRETT HINCKLEY.

XII.—SPENSER, LADY CAREY, AND THE COMPLAINTS VOLUME

The proposal of Dr. P. W. Long to connect Lady Carey with the *Amoretti* of Spenser,¹ interesting as it is, has perhaps not met with universal acceptance. It seems to rest on too slender a thread of evidence for overthrow of the traditional and more natural explanation of the sonnets as belonging to Spenser's own courtship. Without debating that question, however, so far as Dr. Long's suggestion rests upon a public promise of Spenser to "display" "in ampler wise" his "good will" to Lady Carey,² I propose another explanation of how that promise was fulfilled. In addition I shall attempt a somewhat fuller examination than has hitherto been made of Spenser's volume called *Complaints*.

The first three books of the *Faerie Queene* were registered with the Stationers' Company Dec. 1, 1589, though the explanatory letter to Raleigh, printed at the end of the volume, was not written until Jan. 23, 1590. The book appeared sometime after March 25 of the latter year, since the date 1590 on the title-page indicates a time after the beginning of the new year in the Elizabethan age. Now the very next work of Spenser to be printed, and doubtless the earliest to which he set his hand after the *Faerie Queene* was issued, was one dedicated to Lady Carey, the graceful *Muiopotmos, or Fate of the Butterflie*. This we know, because the *Muiopotmos* was included in the *Complaints* volume, entered for publication Dec. 29, 1590,

¹ *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, III, p. 257.

² To Lady Carew (Carey), one of the dedicatory sonnets to the *Faerie Queene* (1590).

and because the poem was actually printed in that year, that is before March 25, 1591, as shown by the separate title-page. The time of composing the *Muiopotmos* is even more restricted if the latest interpretation be accepted, that recently proposed by Miss Jessie M. Lyons with so much semblance of reason.³ The reference of the poem to the Raleigh-Essex rivalry at court places its composition between Jan. 23, 1590, when Spenser finished his explanatory letter to Raleigh, or perhaps the time when he had finished seeing the first part of the *Faerie Queene* through the press, and the exposure of Essex's marriage, with the consequent anger of the queen, that is in the summer of that year.⁴ The final appearance of the *Muiopotmos* at the end of the volume of *Complaints* will be discussed later. Let me here note another relation of part of the *Complaints* volume to Spenser's promise and its fulfilment.

It has been generally assumed that the words "these few leaves" in Spenser's dedicatory letter to Lady Carey

³ *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xxxi, p. 90. Miss Lyons might have strengthened her case for the date by the relation of the *Muiopotmos* to the dedicatory sonnet to Lady Carey accompanying the *Faerie Queene*. I trust also that this paper will show added reasons for considering the date 1590 on the *Muiopotmos* title-page to be correct.

⁴ The exact date of Essex's marriage to the widow of Sir Philip Sidney must be inferred from the birth of their first child, Robert, who was christened Jan. 22, 1591. The exposure of the marriage by the pregnancy of the Countess Essex may well have been in the summer of 1590, for we are told that by the middle of October she was publicly waited on as the new countess. By Nov. 24 Essex was again in "very good favor."—*Lives of the Earls of Essex*, by W. B. Devereux, i, pp. 210-12.

The secrecy of the marriage is attested by Watson's dedication of the English *Eglogue upon the Death of Walsingham* to Lady Frances Sidney, although it could scarcely have appeared before she had become the Countess of Essex.

apply to the *Muiopotmos* alone. Yet Spenser can be shown to have had a larger purpose in arranging with that poem the three *Visions*, as he called them, which complete the *Complaints*. Indeed, it may be fully established that he linked the four poems together, and related them all to Lady Carey. I suggest that this was ample fulfilment of his public promise in the *Faerie Queene* sonnet.

The three *Visions* following the *Muiopotmos* are the translations of Bellay and Marot, together with an original series by Spenser himself. The first two are revised but still early versions of what is believed to be the first printed work of Spenser, the translations for Van der Noodt's *Theatre for Worldings*. The third is also regarded as early work, but was probably composed somewhat later than the first two. Perhaps it is Spenser's substitute for the four sonnets by Van der Noodt himself, which the young poet had also translated from the French for the *Theatre*. This third poem, the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, was placed immediately after the *Muiopotmos* in the *Complaints*, and given a direct reference to Lady Carey in the last lines of the first sonnet. Speaking of the visions he says:

Such as they were (*faire Ladie*) take in worth,
That when time serves, may bring things better forth.*

This may possibly be a modification of another ending in an earlier form, since the last sonnet of the series closes with a more general application:

*That these lines may suggest a further purpose to honor Lady Carey, as Dr. Long thinks (see his article above cited), is no reason for believing the *Muiopotmos* and the following *Visions* are not a fulfilment of the promise in the dedicatory sonnet of the *Faerie Queene*. Besides, as Mr. J. C. Smith points out (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, v, p. 276), the same promise of "other more worthie labour" was made to Lady Compton and Monteagle,—a promise never fulfilled so far as we know,—and something like it to Lady Strange.

And ye, that read these ruines tragicall,
 Learne by their losse to love the low degree;

For he that of himselfe is most secure,
 Shall finde his state most fickle and unsure.

But there is more significant evidence of Spenser's intention to link the following *Visions* with the *Muiopotmos*, and relate the whole to Lady Carey. In the original form of the English *Theatre* these translations are found in the order *Visions of Petrarch* called *Epigrams*, *Visions of Bellay* called *Sonets*, and the four *Visions* of Van der Noodt himself. In the *Complaints* Spenser's *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* precede, displacing Van der Noodt's poems entirely, and are followed by the *Visions of Bellay* and *Visions of Petrarch*. Marot's envoy to the latter, which Spenser had formerly translated word for word, would naturally have concluded the series. Yet not only did Spenser rearrange the several pieces, but he made the greatest change in this envoy, by displacing Marot's lines with an entirely new sonnet of his own. Moreover, this new envoy is equally appropriate to both the *Muiopotmos* and the three *Visions*, while it is also directed to the same "faire Ladie," who can be no other than Lady Carey herself. In other words this is Spenser's own envoy to the series of four poems which close the *Complaints*, and binds them together with direct reference to her to whom the first is specifically dedicated.

The relationship of this last sonnet in the Petrarch *Visions* has been curiously obscured by editors and critics. In the first Quarto it is not numbered at all, and is thus set off by itself, as it should be always, in spite of the Folio number 7 which seems to make it a part of the preceding series. Unfortunately most editors have followed the Folio, not the Quarto reading. Critics, too, have been

themselves misled or have further misled their readers. Thus Sidney Lee, writing of Spenser's second form of the *Visions of Petrarch*, said:

The expansion . . . of the four lines of the French envoy into fourteen lines, fails in any material respect to differentiate the English and French renderings of Petrarch's ode.⁶

In his edition of Spenser, Dodge is equally at fault when he says (p. 125) of the revised form of the *Visions*:

The object of the youthful poet . . . was apparently not to better his translation, but, for merely artistic effect, to turn the irregular stanzas of the Petrarch group and the blank verse poems of the Bellay group into formal sonnets.⁷

Dodge does not even mention what is certainly noteworthy, that two of the Petrarch *Visions* were already English (or Surrey) sonnets, and thus so far as we know the earliest sonnets of any form which Spenser wrote. Again, De Sélincourt underrates the importance of Spenser's envoy by merely saying:

In place of the quatrain which in 1569 closed the series he now added a sonnet of his own rhyme scheme (abab bcba cded ee).⁸

The position of this last sonnet in relation to the preceding series will be best understood from some description

⁶ *Elizabethan Sonnets*, I, p. xxxvi. Sir Sidney was no more exact in reference to Spenser's *Visions of Bellay* on the foregoing page. He there speaks of "fifteen of the Frenchman's sonnets . . . rendered by Spenser while a schoolboy," instead of eleven, later increased to fifteen by four new translations when the *Visions* were revised.

⁷ Compare also p. 764 of Dodge's *Spenser* for a similar statement.

⁸ *Spenser's Poetical Works*, Introd., p. xxxi. Nor does De Sélincourt recognize the two English sonnets among the *Visions of Petrarch*, but says of Spenser's revised version: "The latter needed less manipulation [as compared with the blank verse *Visions of Bellay*], for he had rhymed them in the earlier version." May I add that it is also strangely inept to introduce the anachronism "sonnets of Shakespearian form" in writing of Spenser's early work.

of the first Quarto. That booklet consists of twenty-three sheets folded into ninety-two pages, with signatures running through an Elizabethan alphabet. That is, no J is used and V does duty for U, V, and W. The *Ruines of Time*, with the preliminary matter, fills the sheets having the signatures ABCD, sixteen (unnumbered) pages. The next twenty-four pages, signatures EFGHIK, include the *Teares of the Muses* and *Virgils Gnat* with title-page and dedication. Then come, with their title-pages and dedications, the *Prosopopoia* and *Ruines of Rome*, filling signatures LMNOPQRS, thirty-two pages, and the longest part. The *Muiopotmos* and the three *Visions* occupy signatures TVXYZ, twenty pages. Thus each of these four parts fills a multiple of four pages, while each also has its separate title-page and dedication, so that each is to all intents a separate booklet.

To bring about this result some accommodation in paging was clearly made. The Contents of the whole book was printed on the reverse of the principal title-page, while the reverse of every other title-page is blank. The dedicatory letter to Lady Strange is crowded upon one page, Spenser's signature being placed in very small type, and the next poem begins on the following (left-hand) page, the only poem so arranged. To bring the third part into thirty-two pages the *Ruines of Rome* sonnets are much crowded together. Most of the pages have two sonnets and part of another, sometimes only a single line, while all the other sonnets of the volume are arranged two to the page. On the other hand, the fourth part is somewhat spread out in order to fill the last twenty pages. In addition to the blank reverse of the title-page, a blank (left-hand) page occurs after the *Muiopotmos*, and the last two pages are entirely blank. The *Visions* are printed two sonnets to a page, except the fifteenth of the *Visions of*

Bellay and the last one in the book, each of which occupies a page by itself.

There is here almost unmistakable evidence that the *Complaints* is made up of four booklets, each of which might have been issued separately without disturbing the arrangement of a single page. The last part, containing the *Muiopotmos* and attendant *Visions*, was certainly so issued if the date 1590 on the title-page is to be trusted. This seems the more certain because, if the book had been printed as one from the beginning, there would surely have been no crowding in parts two and three when there were three extra pages in part four which might have been used. An exact parallel to such separate publication of the four booklets is the *Daphnaïda*, also printed in 1591. That poem fills just six sheets, twenty-four pages, with the reverse of the title-page and the last page blank. In other words, the *Daphnaïda* is a booklet exactly equal in size to the second in the *Complaints* volume.⁹

To return to the argument of this paper. The position of the last sonnet in the *Complaints* volume is clear indication that it was not a part of the Petrarch sonnet series. It occurs alone under the heading of the last printed page,

⁹In some particulars the Harvard Library copy, which I have used, differs from any examined by De Sélincourt (*Minor Poems of Spenser*, Introd.). It usually agrees with the Huth Quarto where that differs from the Bodleian Library copy, which De Sélincourt made the basis of his text. It disagrees with the Huth Quarto and agrees with the Bodleian in reading 'crime,' not 'raine' (*Tears of the Muses*, 435). It differs from both in reading 'Viminal' (*Ruines of Rome*, 56), not 'Vimnial' with the Bodleian Quarto, or 'Viminall' with the Huth Quarto; and in 'attempted.' (*Muiopotmos*, 346), not 'attempted,' with the Bodleian, or 'attempted' with the Huth Quarto. These different readings in different copies of the Quarto of course show that there were different impressions of the whole or parts of the *Complaints*, and add force to the suggestion that the four booklets may have appeared separately.

with no number before it in the Quarto, as already mentioned. The break from one page to another made unnecessary such space as would probably have preceded this envoy, if it had stood on a page with another sonnet; or such paragraph marks as Spenser used in a similar case when he set off the two stanzas following the first vision in the *Ruines of Time* (lines 589-602). Why Spenser did not call it "L'envoy", as in the case of those at the end of the *Ruines of Time* and *Ruines of Rome*, we do not know. Perhaps it was just because this last sonnet is not an envoy to the poem immediately preceding, but rather belongs to the whole series of four poems. In any case it should not be numbered with the Petrarch *Visions*, or be so placed as to be confused with that piece.

Further evidence that Spenser's envoy is not a part of the Petrarch *Visions* is found in both its form and content. As already noted it is not an English sonnet, the form Spenser had first learned to use. That form he had also continued to use in the revised *Visions of Bellay* and *Visions of Petrarch*, as well as in the *Ruines of Rome* based on Bellay. Then Spenser developed his distinctive sonnet form (abab bcbe cdcd ee), which he commonly employed thereafter.¹⁰ The latter is the form in the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, in the dedicatory sonnet to *Virgils Gnat*,

¹⁰ He used the English form twice, possibly three times, afterwards. The eighth sonnet of the *Amoretti* is in that form, and the twentieth might be claimed for it, though it is possibly a Spenserian sonnet with imperfect rimes. Spenser's commendatory sonnet *Upon the Historie of George Castriot* is also of the English form. The envoy at the end of the *Ruines of Rome* is partly an English sonnet, partly a Spenserian, the scheme being abab cdcd dede ff. Can this be the intermediate experiment which led Spenser from the Surrey type to his own distinctive rime scheme? The chronology of Spenser's poems would seem to justify this conjecture.

I do not here take account of the sonnet Dr. Long thinks he has discovered in *Colin Clout*, 466-479.

both regarded as early work, in the dedicatory sonnets to the *Faerie Queene*, and in the *Amoretti*, with the exception already mentioned. Between the writing of the last two works, that is in 1590, Spenser must have composed this envoy to the four poems which conclude the *Complaints*. It is a distinctly late sonnet and unrelated in form to the poem with which it is placed.

The content shows even more conclusively that this new sonnet was a true envoy to the four poems preceding. The Marot envoy of the translation from Petrarch asks his "song" to say to his patron that the "six visions" contain a "sweete request," which it is to "yelde,"

Ere it be long within the earth to rest.

Now Marot's envoy could scarcely be more radically changed than it has been by Spenser. The emphasis upon

this tickle trustles state
Of vaine worlds glorie,

is peculiarly characteristic of Spenser, and peculiarly appropriate to the *Muiopotmos* and following *Visions*. To the first it is even more concretely applicable in relation to the Raleigh-Essex rivalry at court, the last and best interpretation of the allegory, it seems to me. The first quatrain thus sums up the *vanitas vanitatum* which is the persistent note of all the poems. If it be said that it is the dominant note of some others of the *Complaints*, it may be answered that it is not the note in the same degree of any other series of four pieces.

The second quatrain, with its intense feeling in

I wish I might this wearie life forgoe,

aptly fits this period in Spenser's career. At the suggestion of Raleigh he had returned to England, with high hopes of some recognition at court that he might settle

down to complete, in congenial surroundings, his great poem. The disappointment that had attended his departure for Ireland in 1580, voiced with such strong emotion in the dedicatory sonnet to *Virgils Gnat*, was temporarily forgotten. Yet a new and keener disappointment was to be his even in the moment of his apparent success. He was to wait more than a year for some tangible recognition of his great genius, since the parsimony or partisanship of Burghley delayed his patent for a pension until February, 1591.¹¹

Finally the sestet of the sonnet envoy is as clearly devoted in its entirety to her who had so recently become his engaging patroness, to whom he had dedicated the *Muioptmos*, and with whom he had linked the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* by the close of the first sonnet in that poem. Thus only one of the four poems does not contain a distinct reference to Lady Carey, while the last reference to her in Spenser's last sonnet, as can scarcely be doubted, is the envoy to the new booklet he had completed in her honor. The conclusion seems inevitable that these last four poems of Spenser's *Complaints*, bound together as they are by dedication and envoy to Lady Carey, formed no unworthy fulfilment of Spenser's promise to exalt her name, as made in the dedicatory sonnet to the *Faerie Queene*. If this be so, it is wholly unnecessary to assume, as Dr. Long has done in his argument for Lady Carey as the lady of the *Amoretti*, that the latter must be the real completion of Spenser's purpose.

But it may be asked why, if such honor was intended

¹¹ With the sentiment expressed in this second quatrain compare Spenser's autobiographic allusions in *Ruines of Time*, 446-8, also a clear reference to Burghley's unappreciativeness, and the more specific complaint of himself in *Daphnaïda*, 33-36, both passages written in this year of waiting.

for Lady Carey, the booklet did not appear at the beginning of the *Complaints* volume? The point is somewhat complicated by the uncertainty as to Spenser's part in arranging that volume, and by the statement of the publisher Ponsonby that he had collected some of the pieces. The latter's reference to the matter will be considered in a later paragraph. Here it will be fair to assume that Spenser probably would have issued the Lady Carey portion of the *Complaints* first—perhaps prepared so to issue it independently as shown by the date 1590 on the title-page—and then attempt to account for its final appearance at the last of the volume.

We can only conjecture how the idea of the *Complaints* developed in Spenser's mind. Yet the success of the *Faerie Queene* may reasonably have suggested a new volume made up of poems of earlier composition. To print such a volume would have been doing what many a writer has since done. In such a book the new *Muiopotmos* and the three *Visions* would naturally have found a first place, if the former had not yet been published. Such an arrangement might later have been altered for one or more of several reasons. For example the *Muiopotmos* would have been appropriate to the Raleigh-Essex rivalry only before Essex had lost the favor of Elizabeth, that is before the summer of 1590. For as soon as Essex had lost and Raleigh had regained the queen's favor, the Lady Carey portion of the *Complaints* would have lost its appropriateness, either as an independent issue or as the first part of a new volume.¹²

¹² The subject of the *Muiopotmos* may have been in Spenser's mind even before 1590. One of the first topics of conversation between Spenser and Raleigh in Ireland must have been the Essex rivalry and Raleigh's virtual exclusion from the court circle. Even then it is not likely the poem was composed before Spenser's visit to England.

Still another and perhaps more cogent reason may account for the place of the Lady Carey portion of the *Complaints*. Scarcely had Spenser prepared his series of poems in Lady Carey's honor before another urgent claim was made upon him, owing to an unforeseen circumstance. He was importuned to honor another of his friends, and one more important because a national figure. In 1590 the publication of an unauthorized edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* revived the memory of one always dear to Englishmen as the finest example of their best manhood. The new interest in Sir Philip Sidney was doubtless the reason why Spenser's friends upbraided him—to use his own words—for not having “shewed anie thankefull remembrance towards him or any of them,”¹³ that is the Dudley family, to which his patron Leicester had also belonged. “Whome chiefly to satisfie,” he continues, “or els to avoide that fowle blot of unthankfulnessse, I have conceived this small poem,” the *Worlds Ruines* as he called it, or the *Ruines of Time* as it is now named.¹⁴ This new occasion, then, may have been the deciding reason for placing the *Ruines of Time* first among the *Complaints* and putting the *Muiopotmos* and the *Visions* in another position.¹⁵

“Dedicatory letter to *Ruines of Time*.”

“It must be remembered that in the opening lines to *Astrophel* Spenser had given a reason for not printing that poem in honor of Sidney. It was designed, he tells us, “not to please the living but the dead,” and intended only for those “shepheards” who mourned with him the loss of a friend. Nor did he actually print the poem until two of the elegies had been published or entered for publication. Besides, he was now including Sidney in the larger plan of praising all the deceased members of the Dudley house.

“Before the end of 1590 Spenser felt called upon for another commemorative poem, the third new one of the year. On August 13, 1590, the wife of his friend Arthur Gorges had died, and for her Spenser composed his *Daphnoida*. It was dedicated on what most

On the other hand, if Spenser was not responsible for the final arrangement of the *Complaints* volume, Ponsonby would have been equally influenced by the Sidney revival, especially as he had himself printed the *Arcadia*. Besides, another circumstance had added still further to Sidney's fame, and may have influenced Ponsonby. Without doubt because Sidney's name had been revived by the *Arcadia*, three editions of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* quickly followed in 1591, the year of Spenser's *Complaints*. No one of these three editions was entered in the Stationers' Register, but it is not unreasonable to believe the first of them appeared early in the year, and not unlikely before the *Complaints*. This new-blown trumpet in Sidney's honor would then have been an added reason why Ponsonby himself may have placed the *Ruines of Time* first in the new Spenser volume. In either case, therefore, whether Spenser or Ponsonby finally arranged the volume, there seems ample reason for the first piece of the book, and for the consequent displacement of the Lady Carey portion.

As was noted above, there is an apparent conflict between the idea that Spenser himself arranged the *Complaints* and the statement of Ponsonby the publisher in his advertisement "To the Gentle Reader." Is it possible to smooth out this apparent inconsistency? The known facts regarding the *Complaints* volume may be briefly

critics believe to have been Jan. 1, 1591, though such a dating in Spenser's time would ordinarily have meant Jan. 1, 1592, nearly a year after he left England. Perhaps the date at the end of the letter of dedication is a mere printer's error for 1590, the figures 'nauht' and 'one' often looking alike in handwriting. Why Ponsonby, who printed the poem separately in 1591, did not gather it into the *Complaints* volume we do not know. Perhaps he had not found it in time, or some arrangement may have been made for its independent issue.

given. It was entered with the Stationers' Company December 29, 1590, while Spenser was probably still in England. This "probably" could be made "certainly" if we were sure that Spenser's dating of the *Daphnaïda* dedication meant January 1, 1591, New Style. In any case Spenser would probably have remained in London until the patent for his pension was issued in February, 1591. Thus he would probably have been responsible for such of the *Complaints* as Ponsonby entered in December, 1590.

Here I can but suggest that the volume first proposed by Spenser may have included only the last four poems. Even Ponsonby's entry in the Stationers' Register reads: "A booke entytuled Complaintes conteyninge sondrye small Poemes of the worlds vanity." This would admirably apply to the *Muiopotmus* and three *Visions*, while the last expression could not as well apply to the longer poems of the *Complaints*, especially *Virgils Gnat*, *Prosopopoia*, or the *Teares of the Muses*. On the other hand, if the volume at first included only the last four poems, that would be another reason for the date 1590 on the one title-page, while the three others bear the date 1591, when Spenser was presumably back in Ireland. Or Spenser may have originally intended to honor the three ladies of the Spencer of Althorpe family, who had now claimed him as a relative, and assisted him to some extent, as shown by the dedicatory letters to the *Teares of the Muses* and *Mother Hubberds Tale*. In that case the *Muiopotmos* and its accompanying poems would probably have appeared first, followed by those addressed to Lady Strange and Lady Compton and Monteagle. Either of these arrangements of the poems may have been disturbed by the changed relations of Essex and Raleigh, or by the new interest in Sidney.

Whatever Spenser's own plan, Ponsonby's statement in "The Printer to the Gentle Reader" must be considered. It reads:

I have sithence endeavoured by all good meanes (for the better encrease and accomplishment of your delights) to get into my handes such smale poemes of the same authors; as I heard were disperst abroad in sundrie hands, and not easie to bee come by, by himselfe; some of them having bene diverslie imbeziled and purloyned from him, since his departure over sea.*

Now, remembering that the *Complaints* volume, or most of it, was not printed until Spenser had left England, we may still accept Ponsonby's statement. Spenser had certainly arranged the last four poems. He had dedicated the *Teares of the Muses* and *Mother Hubberds Tale* to Lady Strange and Lady Compton. He had written and dedicated the *Ruines of Time*. On the other hand, the gathering of all these for issuance in book form may have been done by the publisher. Or if all these had been put in Ponsonby's hands by Spenser himself, the former would still have been responsible for obtaining the *Ruines of Rome* and *Virgils Gnat*. Thus Ponsonby may have secured from two to four or possibly five of the *Complaints*, and, as noted in his advertisement, was still looking for other poems, which he proposed to the reader to publish "for your favour sake." In any case the statement of Ponsonby need not be explained away or distrusted, as has sometimes been done. Nor is it at variance with Spenser's being in London when the *Complaints* was entered for publication, although he had left England before any but the last four poems, those written or arranged for Lady Carey, had been printed.

* The meaning, not quite clearly expressed, must be "not easy to be obtained from him, partly because he had lost some of them while in England, partly because of his departure over sea."

Before leaving Spenser's volume some account should be taken of the curious suggestion in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (article Elizabeth Carey), that "some of the renderings of Petrarch [that is, in the *Petrarch Visions*] . . . may be from Lady Carey's pen." The conjecture rests upon a sentence in Nash's dedicatory letter, prefixed to *Terrors of the Night* and addressed to Elizabeth, daughter of Spenser's Lady Carey. Of the latter Nash says: "Into the Muses society her selfe she hath lately adopted, and purchast divine Petrarch another monument in England." Yet Nash's words scarcely warrant the interpretation put upon them above, or at least may be explained in a simpler fashion. They need mean no more than rather extravagant flattery, based on Spenser's dedication of the *Muiopotmos* to Lady Carey and his combining with it the *Visions of Petrarch*, "another monument in England." Nash's *Terrors of the Night* was printed in 1594, and surely "lately" was accurate enough for a book printed three years before. Besides, there is here some support for one of the contentions of this paper. With the Quarto edition of Spenser's *Complaints* before him—and he could have had no other—Nash must have recognized the reference to Lady Carey in the sonnet following the *Visions of Petrarch*, and thus have been led to emphasize her connection with them. His "Muses societie" may refer to this specific connection, or even to the fact that the volume also contained the well-known *Teares of the Muses*. In any case the conjecture of the writer in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* seems unsupported.

The purpose of this paper is to show that, some years before writing the *Amoretti*, Spenser fulfilled the promise he made to Lady Carey in a sonnet accompanying the *Faerie Queene*. He did this by dedicating to her in the

same year his *Muiopotmos*, probably newly composed for her, and uniting with it, by an allusion in the first and especially by a new envoy at the close, three of his early *Visions*, making a complete booklet in her honor. This booklet was perhaps printed separately from the rest of the *Complaints*, not only because of the date on the title-page, but because the arrangement in the larger Quarto shows separate printing to have been possible without disturbing the paging in any particular. It follows, therefore, that we need not look for the fulfilment of Spenser's promise to the *Amoretti*, as has been done, or to any other later work of the poet.

This paper also suggests some probable reasons why the Lady Carey portion of the *Complaints*, first published as shown by the date on the title-page, was later displaced from the initial position, either by the revival of Sidney's fame in 1590 and the consequent writing of the *Ruines of Time* at the urging of Spenser's friends, or by the changed relations of the Raleigh-Essex rivalry at court. Besides, some fuller examination of the *Complaints* volume has been made, showing how it consists of four independent booklets, each of which, like the *Daphnaïda* to which they bear the closest likeness, might have been separately issued and perhaps was so. Finally, it attempts to reconcile Spenser's part in arranging the *Complaints*, or a portion of it, with the part claimed for himself by the publisher Ponsonby.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

XIII.—THE LEGEND OF ST. WULFHAD AND ST. RUFFIN AT STONE PRIORY

In a recently published volume I have referred ¹ to the curious relationship that subsists between the legend of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin,² which is known to us through the Cottonian ms. Nero C. XII, and a set of verses dealing with the founders and benefactors of Stone Priory in Staffordshire, which has been preserved by Dugdale in the *Monasticon*.³ In my *Saints' Legends* I had not the space to present in detail the evidence by which these two documents are connected, nor to discuss freely the interesting problems that they suggest. The evidence is of such a character, and the problems involved are so novel, that a further consideration of the matter seems desirable.

I

INTERRELATION OF THE DOCUMENTS

The legend, with which we may begin our examination, is unfortunately extant in a somewhat fragmentary state only. So little remains of the first seventy lines that they cannot well be reconstructed. Except for the light they might have thrown on the archaeological question presently to be discussed, the loss cannot, however, be greatly deplored. The legend is very rudely fashioned in fifteenth-century alliterative verse, for the most part rhyming in couplets, but occasionally using a convenient rhyme more freely or falling back on shameless assonance. It has

¹ *Saints' Legends*, 1916, pp. 273-275.

² Ed. Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, N. F., pp. 308-314.

³ Ed. 1846, vi, pp. 230-231.

neither literary pretensions nor literary merit. In most ways, moreover, it has slight historical or hagiographical value, for the information it gives about St. Wulfhad and his brother was taken from the ornate Latin *Passio*,⁴ still extant, which is presumably the "cronakle" mentioned in v. 155.

The legend is a precious document simply and solely because of its origin and use at Stone Priory, where it was written or painted upon a "table" on the epistle side of the choir. There is evidence of this in the poem itself.

And hys broder Ruffyn, þat withe hym is shryned infere,
As thys tabyll maket mensyon that ys wryttn here.
And all that on this tabull redes, god grante them hys grace.
(vv. 379-381)

The position of the tablet is curiously restricted to the left side of the choir by two references in the legend to a couple of other "tables" similarly placed within the church. The first of these seems to have been inscribed with the names of the lords who came from Normandy with William the Conqueror.

Whos names be writyn in a tabull on the right syde the qweer.
(v. 318)

The second, with which we are more nearly concerned, is described thus:

How the lordes of Stafforde fowndyd þis place, þe sothe if ye will
here,
Here-by in a tabull is wryttn all the processe infere. (vv. 351-352)

Since the first tablet is said to have been placed on the right side of the choir, and the second to have been "here-by" the one on which the legend was inscribed, it seems

⁴B. H. L. 8735. Printed by Dugdale, vi, pp. 226-230, from ms. Cott. Otho A. xvi, and thence in A. SS. IUL. v, pp. 575-581.

clear that the latter must have been situated, as I have said, on the epistle side.⁵

Oddly enough, the inscription on the tablet that hung, or was affixed, near the legend is the document preserved by Dugdale. How he obtained this account of the re-establishment of Stone after the Conquest, and of its subsequent history, I do not know. He says of it simply: "The Copie of the Table that was hanging in the Priorie of Stone, at the time of the Suppression of the same, in the xxix. yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the VIII." The verses—in the same metre and in the same slipshod style as the legend—begin thus:

All manner of men, that lust for to here
How this Monasterie was founded here,
Read out this Table, that here it is written,
And all this matter so may ye witten.
Saint Armemild that good woman,
Saint Wolfad's mother this place first began,
Who soe lust to witt what wise, and why,
Read over this other Table that here is written by.
And all the whole matter there shall ye finde
In the life of Saint Wolfade and nothing left behinde;
But who that . . . canons began here first to dwell,
In this present Table here shall you here tell.

However Dugdale may have obtained his copy of this inscription, the reference to the "other table," with its legend of St. Wulfhad, is explicit. The two sets of verses, though they have been preserved to us by entirely different channels, were beyond question once placed side by side in the Priory Church at Stone; and they were expressly designed to complement one another in the information they

⁵ When I wrote the paragraph about the legend in *Saints' Legends*, I had not, in my blindness, made out the reference to the list of Norman lords, and so placed the account of the founders on the right of the choir.

gave about the local legend and the history of the foundation.

As far as the latter is concerned, the tablet of benefactors is naturally of more value than its companion; and its record is of very considerable worth by way of supplement to the evidence concerning Stone Priory that survives in charters and other documents from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. Unfortunately the text printed by Dugdale is obviously very far from perfect,⁶ which leads to a probably unjustified distrust of the chronicle as a whole. The account of the relationship of the powerful Stafford line to the Priory seems, in point of fact, to be entirely worthy of trust.

There was, as is pointed out in both the legend and the memorial "table," a religious foundation on the site of Stone Priory as early as the seventh century, endowed by Eormengild, the mother of Wulfhad and Ruffin. Evidently it had fallen upon evil days before the Norman Conquest; and there is little reason to doubt the statement of the founders' tablet as to conditions at that time:

That two nunns and one preest lived in this place. (v. 16)

Thus reduced, it was attacked by the Norman lord of the manor, Enisan de Walton, who killed the little remnant of the establishment, either wishing to have it for himself or, as the memorial tablet more specifically says:

Because his sister should have this church thoe. (v. 20)

This Enisan seems to have been the son of the Ernardus (or Arnold)⁷ who held the manor of Walton at the time

⁶ Aside from obvious modernizations, the relations to the Priory of Nicholas de Stafford and his son Edmund (vv. 93-110) are reversed in the text as we have it.

⁷ See R. W. Eyton, in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire by the William Salt Archaeological Society*, II, p. 200.

of the Domesday survey of 1085-6, in which Stone is not directly mentioned, being covered by the entry for Walton.⁸ This omission from the Domesday Book is, again, indirect evidence that the shrine of Wulfhad and Ruffin was neither wealthy nor illustrious at that day. Enisan, like Arnold, acknowledged the overlordship of Robert de Stafford, the chief landholder of the county.⁹

The two documents that we are considering agree in ascribing the re-establishment of Stone as a priory to Enisan's deed of violence; and they enable us to fix the date of the foundation more exactly than can be done by means of any charters extant. Both of them state that Geoffrey de Clinton, who was chamberlain of Henry I, was at that time building "the abbey of Kenelworthe." Now the second charter of Kenilworth Priory, which was founded by Geoffrey, was witnessed by Simon, Bishop of Worcester, who was consecrated in 1125.¹⁰ It must have been erected, accordingly, not far from that date. Since Stone Priory was ceded to Kenilworth between 1130 and 1135, as we shall presently see, we cannot be far wrong in believing that Enisan established it between 1125 and 1130.

In only one particular do the legend and the memorial tablet disagree, or seem to disagree. The legend says that Enisan, when he had repented of his crime because of sickness, went to Geoffrey de Clinton¹¹ for advice. Geof-

* "Ipse Rotbertus (de Stadford) tenet Waletone et Ernaldus de eo."

⁸ See W. H. R. Curtter, in *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, p. 222. Robert de Toeni assumed the style of de Stafford, though it was not till a century and a half later that his descendant Ralph (1299-1342) became Earl of Stafford.

⁹ See Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 1854, III, p. 49, and Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 1897, p. 44.

¹¹ The text reads "Glentone" and "Glentam," which are corruptions. Enisan reads "Ensam," it may be noted.

frey, who was "nye cosyn" to Enisan,¹² advised him to restore Stone and to found there "a howse of chanons in worshipec of sent Wolfade." This Enisan did, and was healed. Thus the legend. The founders' tablet, after remarking that Enisan's sister, for whose sake he had sacked the church, "soon died and himself great vengeance had," goes on to say that Robert de Stafford went to Geoffrey de Clinton for counsel in the matter, and that he himself established the canons at Stone. At first sight, this looks like a rather startling discrepancy between the two inscriptions, the more marked because they refer to one another and were actually once set side by side in the Priory church. As a matter of fact, however, I believe that the disagreement is only apparent, and of no real significance. If it be true that Enisan was ill, and thought his affliction the result of his misdeeds, what more natural than that his overlord should be his emissary to Geoffrey de Clinton? What more natural than that the part played by Robert should be stressed on the founders' tablet, which summarized the connection of the entire Stafford line with Stone Priory, while Enisan's rôle in re-establishing the house was properly emphasized in the legendary inscription? There is no real contradiction between the two statements; nor have we any reason to doubt the credibility of the essential evidence.¹³ This question of the foundation has a bearing upon the authorship of the two inscriptions, a matter that we must shortly consider.

Although Enisan de Walton was the actual founder of the house of Augustinian canons,¹⁴ which replaced the

¹² Of this relationship I find no other mention, and see no way to test the accuracy of the statement.

¹³ The skepticism of R. W. Eyton, *place cited*, seems to me quite misdirected.

¹⁴ By a stupid lapse, not easy to forgive, I wrote Carthusian instead of Augustinian in *Saints' Legends*, p. 274.

earlier foundation at Stone, the Staffords were the great patrons of the Priory from the beginning. Down to the fifteenth century most of the earls were buried there, and the hereditary interest of the family in the house seems never to have lapsed. It was Robert de Stafford, according to the founders' tablet (vv. 37-38), who sent one of the canons to Rome to arrange for the canonization of Wulfhad.¹⁵ Furthermore, Robert's son Nicholas was a party to the cession of Stone to Kenilworth Priory by Enisan de Walton and his son Arnold. In this transaction Geoffrey de Clinton also appeared, paying Arnold fifty pounds and a palfrey, and Enisan a "pallium grisum" and a palfrey. Nicholas de Stafford had to give assent to the transfer as the overlord of Enisan. The two charters in question can be dated within a few years. The Stafford charter was given in the reign of Henry I, and Enisan's was witnessed by Roger, Bishop of Chester. Now, Roger de Clinton was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield, Coventry, and Chester on December 22, 1129, while Henry I died in 1135. The charters must thus be dated between 1130 and 1135.¹⁶

It is interesting to note, as a confirmation of the general credibility of the English inscriptions at Stone, that the

¹⁵ According to the legend (vv. 364-370) and the Latin *Passio* (*Monasticon* vi, p. 230), St. Wulfhad's head was left by the canon at Viterbo, on his way home. The Latin particularizes that it was deposited at the church of St. Laurence there. It does not appear in the very full lists of relics belonging to the Cathedral of S. Lorenzo, to be found in F. Cristofori, *Le Tombe dei Papi in Viterbo*, 1887, pp. 234-237. The Latin account implies, though it does not expressly say, that the visit of canonization took place soon after the Benedictine Revival. This does not agree with the English statements, and it is inherently improbable.

¹⁶ Both of them are to be found in the *Monasticon* vi, pp. 231-232. For Roger de Clinton, see LeNeve's *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, i, p. 544, and Stubbs, *Registrum*, p. 226. Stubbs failed to note that Roger was not enthroned until 1130.

Stafford charter expressly states that it was placed "super altare" there, while the founders' tablet remarks of Nicholas:

And to this place did many benefits sekerlie,
As by his charters appeareth apertlie. (vv. 51-52)

Apparently the writer of the inscription had seen the charter in its place above the altar. Later—very much later—Robert de Stafford, a great-great-great-grandson of the original Robert, made Stone free of Kenilworth, as it remained until its destruction during the reign of Henry VIII.¹⁷

The question now arises whether the two inscriptions that we have been discussing were composed by the same hand. The cross-references between them, which I have already instanced, make it clear that they must have been put into position at about the same time. If I am right in believing that their slightly varying accounts of the establishment of the Augustinians at Stone were due to a natural difference of stress, there seems to be no reason for doubting that they were written by the same man. Their tumbling metre is the same; and such characteristics of versification and phrasing as they boast—literary style they have none, as I have said—indicate a common

¹⁷ The statement in *A Survey of Staffordshire . . .* by Sampson Erdeswick Esq., ed. T. Harwood, 1844, p. 36, note, to the effect that Ernaldus de Walton forfeited Stone to the King, who then granted it to Robert de Stafford, is apparently based on the legend, vv. 349-350, which, however, refers to Arnold's property at large. Robert, the grandson of the original Robert, seems to have swallowed up his vassal's forfeited lands and thus to have come into a more direct patronage of Stone Priory, though the title to it was clearly vested in the Canons of Kenilworth. See G. Wrottesley, in *Collections . . . by the William Salt Arch. Soc.* I, p. 178, for the record of a fine due by Arnold in 31 Henry I. The Priory Church fell in 1749. The state of the ruins in 1909 is described by F. Parker, *Collections . . . by the William Salt Arch. Soc.*, New Ser., XII, p. 105.

authorship. Unfortunately the copies in which they are preserved are so imperfect that the application of linguistic tests is out of the question.

Whether or no the verses on the two tablets were written by the same man, as seems to me certain, they must have been made at practically the same time. The cross-references would otherwise be inexplicable. The approximate date at which they were set up is fortunately made clear in the closing lines of the founders' inscription, which read:

And his brother sir Hugh, the lord Bouchier,
Is buried in the south side of this quier,
Besides his father earle Hugh, as you may see,
In a fayre new tombe here buried is hee.

Now, Hugh de Stafford, Lord Bouchier, died in 1420.¹⁸ If we allow a sufficient time for the making of his tomb, the period during which it could be called new would certainly not pass the middle of the century. Indeed, since the last Earl of Stafford mentioned in the record (vv. 147-156), Lord Bouchier's brother Edmund, was killed at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, it seems probable that 1425 would be a nearer approximation to the date than 1450.

II

THE QUESTION OF MURAL DISPLAY

As we have already seen, the verses that we are studying were in some manner or other inscribed on tablets in the choir of the church at Stone Priory. On the other side of the choir was a third tablet inscribed with the names of the lords "which camme frome Normandy" with "Willam Bastarde." If we may believe Dugdale, which appears safe, these "tables" were "hanging" in

¹⁸ See Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, p. 174.

the church. Three questions at once suggest themselves. Why were the tablets set up? What was their nature? Was it customary to employ sets of verses like these for mural display?

The first question is, of course, not difficult to answer. The canons of Stone took this means of informing all and sundry—the laity of the neighborhood, the pilgrims who came to the shrine of St. Wulfhad, and perhaps their own successors—with regard to the history of the establishment and the saint in whose honor it was founded. Anyone who could read at all would thus be enabled to learn without much effort everything he needed to know about the Priory.

The nature of the tablets, on the other hand, is a more difficult question. There is no indication in the two surviving inscriptions as to whether they were written on wood or engraved on metal, nor yet how they were affixed to the walls of the choir. Were they, moreover, in the choir itself or in the ambulatory outside? To resolve this problem, one needs to be better informed than anyone seems to be at present with regard to the use of long inscriptions on the walls of mediæval buildings. Some years ago, Miss Hammond drew attention to the question¹⁹ and illustrated some of its aspects by pointing out that at least four of Lydgate's poems were designed for mural display. The *Life of St. George* and the *Falls of Seven Princes*, which she printed,²⁰ were certainly used in this way, while the *Dance Macabre* and *Bycorne and Chichevache*²¹ were in-

¹⁹ E. P. Hammond, "Two Tapestry Poems by Lydgate," *Engl. Stud.*, XLIII, pp. 10-26.

²⁰ The *St. George* may also be read in H. N. MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, 1911 (EETS. CVII), pp. 145-154.

²¹ The former inedited as yet, the latter accessible in J. O. Halliwell, *Minor Poems of Lydgate*, 1840 (Percy Soc. II), pp. 129-135.

tended for a similar purpose. To this list should probably be added *A Prayer to St. Thomas of Canterbury* (first edited by MacCracken),²² which seems to have been meant as a votive offering to the saint.

As Miss Hammond says:²³ "It is not uncommon, in the representations of tapestry which remain to us, to see the descriptive quatrain of the versifier woven by the hand of the tapestry-maker into the margin of his work." All of us have seen these explanatory embroiderings;²⁴ and we are all familiar with similar descriptive indications in old paintings. The use of inscriptions on wood and stone, in every age and country, needs no illustration. The point is, as Miss Hammond remarks, that "if we are to believe some of the texts yet existing, a poem of considerable length could be painted or stitched, stanza by stanza, along with the scenes depicted by the artist;" or, I should add, could equally well be used in a window or on a tablet like those at Stone Priory.

As a matter of fact, it seems to me that Miss Hammond was mistaken in calling Lydgate's *St. George* a "tapestry poem." It is designated in the mss. "þe devyse of a steyned halle," "made with þe balades at þe request of þarmorieres of Londoun;" and it must thus have been intended for painting rather than weaving. The same seems to be true of *Bycorne and Chichevache*, as Miss Hammond notes, where "portreyed" is the word constantly used to indicate the figures that were to illustrate the text. It seems to me improbable, moreover, that the *Dance Macabre* was designed for tapestry. Its length, for one thing,

²² *Work cited*, pp. 140-143.

²³ P. 10.

²⁴ Miss Hammond's quotations (p. 21) from the lists of the tapestries of Charles VI of France and of Henry V of England are interesting and valuable.

makes the supposition unlikely: the expense would have been prohibitive. The *Falls of Seven Princes*, on the other hand, might well have been intended to accompany tapestry portraits of the ill-fated great men who were briefly celebrated in it.

That poems of no inconsiderable length were actually used in tapestry, as Miss Hammond says, there is no question. To the evidence she has presented may be added that of the series given in 1531 to the church of St. Remi at Rheims, in which the life of St. Remigius is related in one hundred and sixty-two verses.²⁵ Such an elaborate use of verse in tapestry must have been, however, comparatively rare, since the beautiful fabrics so intricately woven were always costly: a luxury for the rich and the powerful.

The same must be said of another use of verse in mediæval buildings—in stained glass—in which poems of any great length could not have been employed without adding vastly to the expense of production. Two striking instances of the custom of so using verse have, however, come to my attention. One is from Peterborough. In the *Monasticon*²⁶ are to be found eighty verses, in short rhymed couplets, printed by Dugdale from ms. Cotton Claudius A. V., which are superscribed: “*Historia de fundatione hujus coenobii, elegantissime in fenestris vitreatis, ex occidentali parte claustrum ibidem depicta fuit, cum Anglicanis hisce carminibus argumentum ejusdem illustrantibus.*” This poem, a very crude production, relates briefly the story of Wulfhad and Ruffin, and of the foundation of Peterborough by their father Wulfhere in expiation for their murder. The other illustration of the

²⁵ See M. Sartor, *Les Tapisseries de Reims*, 1912, pp. 137-158.

²⁶ I, p. 377.

use of rather long poems in windows comes from St. Albans, and likewise from the *Monasticon*.²⁷ In the account of that great monastery, there are printed two sets of Latin verses from ms. Laud 697, one of ninety-six lines from the windows of the cloister and one of forty-eight from the windows of the library. Both Peterborough and St. Albans were, of course, rich Benedictine houses that could afford to furnish instruction expensively while they patronized the arts. Only under such conditions would narratives in glass have been possible.

Wealthy, too, no doubt, were the patrons—or customers—for whom Lydgate made his pictorial poems. The length of at least three out of the five sets of verses²⁸ mentioned above would have made their inscription in any medium a matter of considerable difficulty and expense. Less extravagant than tapestry or stained glass, because done in a medium easier to manipulate, would doubtless have been mural paintings like those for the citizens of London to whom Lydgate furnished *Bycorne and Chichevache*. Even more readily within the range of slender purses, however, would have been mural inscriptions with no pictorial illustration at all. Such, evidently, were the “tables” at Stone Priory, which seems never to have known great worldly prosperity in spite of its powerful patrons.

To be sure, tablets might also be articles of great value when gilded and enamelled. An inventory of the objects in St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, made by one Walter Almaly in 1384, illustrates this fact.²⁹ Of one “tabula”

²⁷ II, pp. 246-248.

²⁸ *St. George* has 245 lines, *Dance Macabre* 672, *Bycorne and Chichevache* 133, *A Prayer to St. Thomas* 120, and *Falls of Seven Princes* 49.

²⁹ Printed in the *Monasticon*, VI, p. 1364, from an Ashmole ms.

there described more definite information would be very much to our purpose. "Item una tabula lignea stans super parvum altare in parte boreali, ex opposito summo altari, cum platis et imaginibus cupreis deauratis, continens passionem S. Georgii." I take it, though I do not feel certain of the fact, that this was a martyrdom in words and not merely in pictured scenes. If so, it must have been a luxurious example of something more crudely accomplished at Stone.

More nearly resembling the tablets there, would have been the one at Wirkesop Priory, Notts., if I am right in believing that some verses preserved in the *Monasticon*⁸⁰ were actually set up as an inscription. They consist of twenty-nine English stanzas in rhyme royal interspersed with bits of Latin, and they were made not long after 1410, as is shown by one of the inserted Latin epitaphs. They served as a guide to the tombs in the church, telling where various benefactors were buried, precisely as did the verses on the founders' tablet at Stone. The author, who was by no means an accomplished poet, named himself in stanza 28:

This processe one Pigote brevely thus saith.
If any can say more, it is corrigible;
To there better avise I me bequeath.

We cannot be sure that these verses were really inscribed on a tablet; but from their resemblance to those at Stone we have good reason to suppose that they were. In any case, they were quite clearly kept in the church for consultation.

From the evidence that I have presented, which is merely illustrative and by no means exhausts the possibilities of investigation, it is evident that the use of rather

⁸⁰ vi, pp. 122-124: "Ex vet. pergam. ms. penes . . . Talbot de Grafton, in Com. Wigorn. arm. a. 1587."

long poems for mural display was not at all uncommon during the later Middle Ages. The founders' memorial inscription at Stone with its one hundred and sixty-two lines, and the legend of St. Wulfhad with its three hundred and eighty-two, could have been put on tablets quite as easily as some of the other poems we have noticed could have been employed in mural decoration. It is not clear to me whether the tablets at Stone were wooden, though I incline to think so from the fact that the Priory was never rich. In that case, the verses must have been painted on a background of another color—a comparatively simple procedure. The necessary size of tablets so made has led me to wonder whether they may not have been affixed in the aisle outside the choir rather than in the choir itself; but this is mere hypothesis. The important facts we know: two sets of verses were inscribed in such a manner that they could be read by everyone, and they were so placed in public view in accordance with a well-marked custom of the times.

In conclusion, I should like to add that it seems to me not improbable that a good many late mediæval poems, legends and narratives of a moralizing tendency, were intended for pictorial illustration on the walls of buildings. More evidence with regard to the matter would be welcome, particularly as it might enable us to understand certain qualities of handling that are not very clear at present. Incidentally it is interesting to observe that verse would not have been used in tapestry, in painting, or in glass, nor would tablets have been set up for people to read, until a knowledge of reading was fairly common. Perhaps that is why most of the examples I have collected come from the fifteenth century.

GORDON HALL GEROULD.

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XIV.—THE *DISCOURSES* OF SIR JOSHUA
REYNOLDS

The *Discourses* of Sir Joshua Reynolds formulate a theory of painting which elevates that art to a kinship with the then more firmly established art of poetry. On the ground that painting is no mere handicraft, the great president of the Royal Academy recommended to his pupils "not the industry of the hands, but of the mind," and insisted that a successful painter "stands in need of more knowledge than is to be picked off his palette."¹ This general assertion is then amplified, in one of the most significant passages of the lectures. "Every man," Reynolds continued, "whose business is description, ought to be tolerably conversant with the poets, . . . that he may imbibe a poetical spirit, and enlarge his stock of ideas. He ought not to be wholly unacquainted with that part of philosophy which gives an insight into human nature. . . . He ought to know *something* concerning the mind, as well as *a great deal* concerning the body of man."

¹ *Discourses*, VII, pp. 91-92.

To attain this degree of general culture, the young artist was warned not to sacrifice excellence in the technique of his own particular art; reading should be only "the favourite recreation of his leisure hours." But this actual study could be supplemented, without sacrifice of time, by "the conversation of learned and ingenious men." "There are many such men in this age," Reynolds declared, who "will be pleased with communicating their ideas to artists, when they see them curious and docile, if they are treated with that respect and deference which is so justly their due."² Through such help the young student may indirectly acquire the learning that he needs for the formation of a "rational and systematic taste."

It is chiefly this suggestion of means that gives a touch of personality to the painter's words. Reynolds's predecessor, Jonathan Richardson, had mapped out an even more formidable course of study for the young artist. Reynolds, however, speaks from actual experience. Is not this suggestion virtually an admission of what he himself, with his meagre schooling, had learned through converse with friends in the London clubs? At the Turk's Head Tavern on Fleet Street he often saw one such man of letters claim respect and deference as his due. It may be that Reynolds in these words slyly alluded to the dictatorial ways of his friend, Johnson, which are so wittily travestied in one of the painter's *Dialogues*. But in all seriousness Reynolds acknowledged his friend's aid. "Whatever merit they may have," he once remarked of his lectures, "must be imputed, in a great measure, to the education which I may be said to have had under Dr. Johnson. I do not mean to say, though it certainly would be to the credit of these Discourses if I could say it with

² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

truth, that he contributed even a single sentiment to them; but he qualified my mind to think justly.”³ This admission is virtually confirmed by Burke, who wrote to Malone: “You state very properly how much Reynolds owed to the writings and conversation of Johnson; and nothing shows more the greatness of Sir Joshua’s parts than his taking advantage of both, and making some application of them to his profession.”⁴

Neither Burke, then, nor any other member of the literary club would have been surprised to hear Johnson exclaim, as he once did, “I think I might as well have said this myself.”⁵ In fact, the voice of Johnson is often audible in the *Discourses*. Reynolds, for example, has no patience with artists who attend “to times and seasons when the imagination shoots with the greatest vigour, whether at the summer solstice or the vernal equinox.”⁶ A reader of Johnson remembers that Milton’s “vein never happily flowed but from the Autumnal Equinox to the Vernal,” and that “a man may write at any time, if he will set himself doggedly to it.”⁶ Similarly, the positive dicta in *Rasselas* on the choice of life are mildly reflected in Reynolds’s words, “they proceed upon a false supposition of life; as if we possessed not only a power over events and circumstances, but had a greater power over ourselves than I believe any of us will be found to possess.”⁷ Or, again, after reading Johnson’s harsh judgment of *Lycidas* for its pastoral fiction, one will find an especial interest in Reynolds’s opinion: “It appears to me, that such conduct is no less absurd, than if a plain man, giving a rela-

³ Boswell’s *Life*, ed. G. B. Hill, III, p. 420.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 284, n.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 370.

⁶ *Discourses*, VII, p. 93. Boswell, I, p. 235.

⁷ *Discourses*, XII, p. 176. *Rasselas*, chaps. XVI, XX.

tion of real distress occasioned by an inundation accompanied with thunder and lightning, should, instead of simply relating the event, take it into his head, in order to give a grace to his narration, to talk of Jupiter Pluvius, or Jupiter and his thunder bolts, or any other figurative idea."⁸ So the firmer thread of Johnson's thought is woven with Reynolds's own opinions. Consequently, the statement is often made that the great dictator aided the painter very materially in the composition of the *Discourses*.

This view has usually been accepted without challenge by all who remember Reynolds's inadequate literary training and his greater deftness with the brush than with the pen. The painter, however, expressly declared that he received no such assistance. Johnson may have composed the dedication to the king for the edition of 1778, but beyond that he could hardly go. He knew so little of the theory of painting that he wondered at its affording material for a treatise so large as Richardson's, and, if stories by Hawkins and Mrs. Piozzi are to be trusted, he felt no æsthetic pleasure in the art.⁹ His serious judgment, one fancies, was expressed in the single statement, "painting, Sir, can illustrate, but cannot inform." In this terse declaration is embraced all that critics like Lord Shaftesbury, du Bos, and James Harris had written on the limitation of painting to a single moment of time and a well-known subject.¹⁰ But a trained artist like Reynolds could go on to demonstrate how painting, even under this limitation, can graphically portray what poetry elaborates. So

⁸ *Discourses*, XIV, p. 221.

⁹ Boswell, I, pp. 149, n., 421, n., IV, p. 370.

¹⁰ Shaftesbury, *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules*, ed. 1714, pp. 6-13; du Bos, *Réflexions Critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*, chap. XIII; Harris, *A Discourse on Music, Painting, and Poetry*, chaps. II, IV, V.

in general painting was willing to take over from the more solidly grounded art much of its fundamental theory. Nevertheless, the particular application of that theory to painting was work of which the unappreciative literary men were incapable. Reynolds alone could have elaborated the *Discourses*.

There were many men in England and France then busy with the problems that Reynolds discussed. The "art of painting" during the sixteenth century in Italy, and later in France and England, had been systematized and codified almost as frequently and extensively as the "art of poetry." There were the painters themselves, like Leonardo da Vinci, interested mainly in technique, yet not unmindful of deeper, æsthetic problems; there were the speculative philosophers, who laid down precise rules for others to follow; and, in Scotland, a group of philosophers, partly under French influence, was working on the problem of the beautiful in its relations to art and life. Reynolds belonged to no one party. In habits of thought he was too philosophical to be merely a technician; yet his relation to painting was too actual to leave him merely a theorist. Breadth of view and soundness of judgment are happily combined in the *Discourses*.

Without his bent for abstract speculation, Reynolds might have fixed the attention of the Academicians on principles of technique, for he was familiar with the most important treatises on the art. He supplied critical notes for Mason's translation of du Fresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*; he quoted from de Piles, who translated and augmented the poem of du Fresnoy, as well as from Leonardo. Dryden's interesting *Parallel of Poetry and Painting*, like *Discourses*, was known to Reynolds. Still more influential was Richardson's *Essay on the Theory of Painting*; for the author was the father-in-law of Reynolds's first teacher,

and his book roused in the young painter his first devotion to the art. Finally, Reynolds had his own experience and his own note books to draw from, had he wished to discuss pedantically the theory of painting.

Reynolds, however, was distrustful of such mechanical rules. Regarding art not as a mere handicraft, but as the expression of the mind addressed to the mind, he probed deeper than other painters had done. The eighth *Discourse*, in fact, apparently bids defiance to some well established rules. Actually, the lecturer did not wish to create in his pupils a disrespect for authority; his aim was to show how, over and above rule, there is a fixed reason for all sound theory, and how a student who possesses "an intimate acquaintance with the passions and affections of the mind, from which all rules arise," can safely disregard at times the letter of the law. So his chief concern was to establish a broad theory of the nature and object of his art.

Although Reynolds faced his problem in this spirit, he was not lured into the fruitless speculations of many philosophers who lacked his long and rigorous training. He could recognize the close alliance of the arts, without cursorily relegating painting, as Batteux had done, to a complete dependence on poetry.¹¹ Horace's phrase, "ut pictura poesis," had been often misinterpreted, to the utter confounding of the arts; but Reynolds never lost sight of the distinctive elements of painting, even in these lectures that aim to establish a common ground for the two arts.¹² These distinctions were not first drawn by him. Lord Shaftesbury had explained how a painter is restricted to a single moment in a continuous action, and

¹¹ *Les Beaux Arts Réduits à un même Principe*, Paris, 1747.

¹² See W. G. Howard, *Publications, Modern Lap-ya Association*, vols. XXII, XXIV, and edition of *Laocoon*, New York, 1910.

Abbé du Bos and James Harris had shown that a painter should confine himself to subjects marked chiefly by figure and color, to actions that can be well depicted in a single moment, to emotions not too subtle, and to subjects fairly well known. Reynolds barely alludes to such distinctions; for they impressed him as too obvious to merit much discussion. Still, he never surrendered the individual rights of painting. "No art," he declared, "can be grafted with success on another art," and a painter, he insisted, must acquire independently his own "genius of execution." In other words, painting has its own distinctive mode of appeal, its own *métier*.¹³ So he held aloof from the subtle refinements of the philosophers, as he avoided also the mechanical analysis of the painters, in the belief that, where speculation goes on unchecked, art must remain at a standstill.

One finds, therefore, in the *Discourses*, both a recognition of the fundamental principles common to the arts and a confident insistence on the autonomy of painting. In the higher social life of London Reynolds moved, a self-made man, among aristocrats and noblemen, with no trace of cringing. The same sincere modesty and independence mark his criticism. He approached his subject with some diffidence. A painter, whose main occupation has been "the use of the pencil and the palette," experiences, he felt, some difficulty in expounding "the interior principles" of the art. Poets, on the contrary, "are naturally writers of prose," and "may be said to be practising only an inferior department of their own art, when they are explaining and expatiating upon its most refined principles."¹⁴ Hence he stood ready to learn from JOHNSON, Burke, Beattie, or any critic who had vital

¹³ *Discourses*, XIII, p. 205.

ideas. But he still valued what they lacked — the power of execution; “one short essay written by a painter will contribute more to advance the theory of our art, than a thousand volumes such as we sometimes see.”¹⁴ So he avoided the pitfalls of useless speculation, as he avoided subservience to rule. Instead of the latter, he trusted to his own skill and experience; instead of the former, he accepted the theories that his own reason and the judgment of his literary friends sustained. With such ample support he could modestly boast: “We shall have nothing to unlearn. . . . As far as they [the painters] have yet proceeded they are right. With us the exertions of genius will henceforward be directed to their proper objects.”¹⁵

Reynolds's fundamental position regarding painting is well expressed in the words: “All arts having the same general end, which is to please, and addressing themselves to the same faculties through the medium of the senses; it follows that their rules and principles must have as great affinity as the different materials and the different organs or vehicles by which they pass to the mind will permit them to retain.”¹⁶ Many others, on the authority of Horace's “ut pictura poesis,” had held the same view. Dryden, for example, had quoted from Philostratus the words, “the art of painting has a wonderful affinity with that of poetry.” Lord Shaftesbury, too, had affirmed that “in a real history-painter, the same knowledge, the same study, and views are required, as in a real poet,” and that for success the painter must “apply himself to the study of moral and poetic truth.”¹⁷ Reynolds sensibly modifies this opinion by the saving qualification at the close, in

¹⁴ *Discourses*, xv, pp. 229-230.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, i, p. 4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vii, p. 100.

¹⁷ Dryden, *Parallel*, ed. Ker, p. 124. Shaftesbury, *Judgment of Hercules*, p. 43.

which one sees again his talent with the brush checking a natural taste for generalization. But the painter could not lose sight of the likeness of the arts. In a later lecture he asserted: "The great end of all those arts is to make an impression on the imagination and the feeling." Or, in other words, "art aims to produce a pleasing effect on the mind."¹⁸ Hence poets and painters alike are advised to study "the history of the mind" thoroughly, in order to comprehend the scope and mission of their art. To a consideration of these general principles, on which all the arts rest, the *Discourses* are mainly devoted.

The first established principle of eighteenth-century literary criticism that Reynolds applied to painting is, study the masters of old. Pope had compressed the precept in a few terse couplets:

You, then, whose judgment the right course would steer,
Know well each ancient's proper character;
Be Homer's works your study and delight,
Read them by day, and meditate by night;
Thence form your judgment, thence your maxims bring,
And trace the Muses upward to their spring.

Reynolds preached often on the same text.¹⁹ "Those great masters who have travelled the same road with success," he declared, "are the most likely to conduct others." For, as he understood it, "in the study of our art, as in the study of all arts, ~~something~~ is the result of our own observation ~~of nature~~; something, and that not a little, ~~the~~ effect of the example of those who have studied the same nature before us." So Reynolds insisted on imitation for beginners, and even recommended the same course to advanced students, in the belief that out of imitation grow variety, originality of invention, and even genius.

¹⁸ *Discourses*, XIII, p. 206; VII, p. 108.

¹⁹ *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 118-127. *Discourses*, II, p. 14; XIV, p. 211; VI, p. 72.

Reynolds, however, lived in an age whose classicism had outgrown its nonage. During the first years of the Renaissance, scholars were passionately engrossed in claiming their new inheritance. Then, after the period of acquisition had passed, followed a generation that blindly observed the rules derived from the classics. Finally, in the time of Boileau, these rules were found to be valid only as they comport with the higher law of universal reason, and critics shook off the old, slavish dependence on rule to follow reason as their surest guide. Poussin rendered the same service to painters. This saner acceptance of tradition is the message of the *Discourses*. Reynolds admitted that youth may "be too much led away by great names," and "too much subdued by overbearing authority." He realized, also, that ceaseless copying for the painter is "a delusive kind of industry," which can lead no farther for him, than ceaseless translation for the dramatist, toward a "sufficient knowledge of the appearances of nature, the operations of the passions, and the incidents of life." Nevertheless, he believed the well-advised study of the masters to be ever necessary. "The mind is but a barren soil; a soil which is soon exhausted, and will produce no crop, or only one, unless it be continuously fertilized and enriched with foreign matter."²⁰

In short, Reynolds's attitude toward rule resembles closely that of the sounder critics. The beginner should yield "implicit obedience to the Rules of Art, as established by the practice of the great masters." Later, these rules may be dispensed with, or at times even violated, by artists who have become masters themselves. As warrant for this concession, Reynolds quoted from Pope the phrase, "To snatch a grace beyond the reach of art." But, even

²⁰ *Discourses*, XIV, p. 211; II, p. 14; VI, p. 75.

in this freer creation, the painter is never to forget the necessity for painful exactness. Such discipline would reduce the mediocre artist to mere imitation. That, however, need not be the result; for "the daily food and nourishment of the mind of an artist is found in the great works of his predecessors." Or, as Reynolds again expressed the thought, "the habit of contemplating and brooding over the ideas of great geniuses, till you find yourself warmed by the contact, is the true method of forming an artist-like mind." Here is play for genius.²¹

In the literary criticism of the eighteenth century this fundamental rule, copy the ancients, was supplemented by another, follow nature. They seem at first incompatible. But the Georgian critics used the word "nature" as a synonym of truth and reason, and their second precept meant that the poet must read, beneath the accidental details belonging to a subject, the fundamental truths that bring out its relationship to unchanging human laws. Good workmanship and sanity were the lessons they stressed. But these qualities were found by them chiefly, if not exclusively, in the classics. So the two principles merged, and Pope could frame, as variants of the same idea, the two injunctions:²²

Be Homer's works your study and delight,
and
First follow Nature, and your judgment frame
Be her just standard, which is still the same.

On the harmony of the two principles the succeeding couplets insist:

But when t' examine ev'ry part he came,
Nature and Homer were, he found, the same.

²¹ *Discourses*, I, p. 4; XII, pp. 186-187.

²² *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 68-73, 130-135. Cf. *Discourses*, III, p. 28; VI, p. 78; III, pp. 22, 23, 27; XIII, pp. 197, 200.

Reynolds simply repeated the doctrine. On one occasion he said: "I know but of one method of shortening the road; this is, by a careful study of the works of the ancient sculptors." In a later discourse he again declared: "The great use of studying our predecessors is, to open the mind, to shorten our labour, and to give us the result of the selection made by those great minds of what is grand or beautiful in nature. . . . The highest beauty of form must be taken from nature; but it is an art of long deduction and great experience to know how to find it."

A gifted painter like Reynolds would experience some difficulty in maintaining harmony between the two principles. Where he made his greatest successes he seems to have forgotten the guidance of the ancients, to have followed nature in the modern sense, using the accidental detail, not the universal form. Several times he employed the word "nature" in this sense. But theoretically he turned in the other direction. He constantly reminded his listeners that they must overlook the accidental features of their subjects. "Nature herself is not to be too closely copied;" particular truths must yield to general truths; "imitation is the means and not the end of art." Reynolds believed that even poetry deviates from nature, since the diction, rhythm, and even the sentiments of poetry are not found in real life. To a still greater degree the graphic arts neglect the minor truths of nature in order to stress the grand ideas that their subjects represent; the painter's main concern is not literal truth, but ideal beauty. So to seize the essential, the enduring, is to follow nature.

The painter, therefore, must learn to transcend the actual, material world and realize the ideal forms that critics then accepted as "the source, and end, and test of

art." For all natural objects, Reynolds argued, are marred by blemishes. It rests with the artist, then, to correct nature, or, instead of copying exactly any object as it is, to create an ideal form that is free from the defects of actuality. Reynolds insisted that there is such an arch type for objects of every class, and that the artist can sense it by resort to the creative imagination. This ideal beauty never loses its appeal, and it alone can bestow on art a permanent value. Hence the painter, he urged, "must divest himself of all prejudices in favour of his age or country; he must disregard all local or temporal ornaments, and look only on those general habits which are everywhere and always the same; he addresses his works to the people of every country and every age, he calls upon posterity to be his spectators."²³

The doctrines of the ideal form and universal truth are as old as Plato and Aristotle. From his early teacher, Zachariah Mudge, "the wisest man" he ever knew, Reynolds had imbibed Plato's teaching, and the theory of the ideal had become an artist's commonplace through the teaching of du Fresnoy, Dryden, Bellori, and other critics. Richardson, for example, believed that actual nature was no more fit in a picture than plain narrative in a poem. "Nature," he asserted, "must be the Foundation, That must be seen at the Bottom; But Nature must be Rais'd; and Improv'd, not only from what is Commonly seen, to what is but Rarely, but even yet higher, from a Judicious, and Beautiful Idea in the Painter's Mind."²⁴ To this teaching the early writers on æsthetics gave their approval. Charles Batteux insisted that the artist, instead

²³ *Discourses*, III, p. 31. Compare this passage with the paragraph from *Rasselas* quoted below, and note the verbal similarities.

²⁴ *Essay on Painting*, ed. 1715, p. 162. *Essay on the Art of Criticism*, ed. 1719, p. 30.

of copying nature, must create, from all that he has seen, an ideal form transcending nature.²⁵ In England Alexander Gerard had taught the same in his *Essay on Taste*.²⁶ And, finally, Buffier believed that every species has "a fixed or determinate form, towards which all nature tends," but which no object in nature ever equals in beauty or perfection.²⁷

Reynolds was acquainted with Plato's work, with Richardson's treatise, and almost certainly with Buffier's and Harris's. It is significant, then, that he falls back for authority upon one of his literary friends. The passage just quoted from the third *Discourse* bears a striking verbal resemblance to the following words from *Rasselas*: "The province of poetry is to describe nature and passions, which are always the same," and the "business of the poet is to examine, not the individual, but the species; to remark general properties and large appearances. He does not number the streaks of the tulip, or describe the different shades in the verdure of the forest; he is to exhibit in his portraits of nature such prominent and striking features, as recall the original to every mind, and must neglect the minute discriminations." So also in his treatment of man, the poet "must divest himself of the prejudices of his age and country; he must consider right and wrong in their abstracted and invariable state; he must disregard present laws and opinions, and rise to general and transcendental truths, which will always be the same."²⁸ Reynolds takes these words of the philosopher, Imlac, as virtually the text of the third lecture. And at the close of the fourth, the same thought is repeated:

²⁵ *Les Beaux Arts*, p. 27.

²⁶ Ed. 1759, pp. 63, 143.

²⁷ *Traité des Premières Vérités*, I, chap. XIII; II, chap. XIV.

²⁸ *Rasselas*, chap. X. See above, p. 351.

"The works, whether of poets, painters, moralists, or historians, which are built upon general nature, live forever; while those which depend for their existence upon particular customs and habits, a partial view of nature, or the fluctuations of fashion, can only be coeval with that which first raised them from obscurity."

For the attainment of such universal truth the eighteenth century could prescribe only rigid exclusion of unessentials, careful selection of salient details, and compact organization. Poems were then written to expound some central thought. Because the *Traveller* is built around a plain and sound philosophic truth, Johnson preferred it to the *Deserted Village*, with its greater charm of detail. And he himself preached in the *Vanity of Human Wishes* on the same text that he later used for *Rasselas*. He valued the same sort of unity in painting. In Boswell's presence Barry once was praised because his canvases were designed "to illustrate one great maxim of moral truth, viz., that the obtaining of happiness depends upon cultivating the human faculties."²⁹ To this type of painting Lord Shaftesbury had given the name *tablature* — "a single piece, comprehended in one view, and formed according to one single intelligence, meaning, or design."³⁰ He recommended such concentration especially for historical painting, in which "the unity of design must with more particular exactness be preserved, according to the just rules of poetic art." Thus artists, poets, and philosophers were in substantial agreement that only by such unifying processes can art express and interpret the eternal aspects of life.

In exactly the same spirit, Reynolds insisted on sim-

²⁹ Boswell, IV, p. 259, n.

³⁰ *Judgment of Hercules*, ed. 1714, p. 4.

plification and generalization.⁸¹ "The sublime," he declared, "impresses the mind at once with one great idea; it is a single blow;" for in matters of taste "many little things will not make a great one." The painter succeeds according to "the grandeur of his ideas." He must therefore "overlook the accidental discriminations of nature," in order to "exhibit distinctly, and with precision, the general forms of things." Using almost the words of Johnson quoted above, he concluded: "He will permit the lower painter, like the florist or collector of shells, to exhibit the minute discriminations, which distinguish one object of the same species from another; while he, like the philosopher, will consider nature in the abstract, and represent in every one of his figures the character of its species."

Reynolds, carrying this opinion still further, believed that such centralization is more necessary for the painter than for the poet. The painter "has but one sentence to utter, but one moment to exhibit."⁸² He must therefore select that moment which expresses most forcefully the leading truth he sees. To depict David biting his lip as he hurls the stone from the sling, or Alexander as a man of mean stature, is for graphic art sheer falsification. The poet may offset such accidental or disparaging details with others more impressive; but the painter can depend on a single impression only, and must be therefore "well studied in the analysis of those circumstances which constitute dignity of appearance in real life." Thus the ordinary painter works under severe limitations. But the genius, who sees how "a greater quantity of truth may be said to be contained and expressed in a few lines or

⁸¹ *Discourses*, IV, p. 45; III, pp. 24, 35, 33.

⁸² *Discourses*, IV, p. 40.

touches, than in the most laborious finishing of the parts," rises above all restrictions to the comprehension of ultimate truth.⁸³

Painting, consequently, like poetry, is the product of the mind, and great painting, of the whole mind, active in interpretation and expression. Indeed, Reynolds asserted that the value of any work of art can be measured either by the mental labor exacted of the creator, or by the mental pleasure experienced by the observer. Hence it is impossible in the pursuit of art to neglect the study of the mind; for to "those precepts in the mind, those operations of intellectual nature . . . everything that aspires to please must be proportioned and accommodated."⁸⁴

Such an assertion seems at variance with the prevalent idea that art is created by genius and appreciated by taste, and that both operate with "entire exemption from the restraints of rules," uncontrolled by "reason, precept, or experience."⁸⁵ From this view Reynolds dissented. Like Gerard and Blair, he distinguished genius from taste only in that it has "added to it a habit or power of execution." And although genius is commonly supposed to work intuitively, and although tastes, according to the old proverb, "are not to be disputed," Reynolds denied that they are so the victims of caprice. He defined genius as "the comprehension of a whole," or the "taking of general ideas only," and taste as "that act of mind by which we like or dislike, whatever be the subject." Addison had designated taste "that faculty of the soul, which discerns the beauties of an author with pleasure, and the imperfections with dislike."⁸⁶ Reid, following this suggestion, spoke of "that power of the mind by which we are capa-

⁸³ *Ibid.*, XI, p. 171. ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 120. ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 95.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, XI, p. 160. *Spectator Papers*, no. 409.

ble of discerning and relishing the beauties of nature, and whatever is excellent in the fine arts." ³⁷ Reynolds's fundamental idea, then, was strictly in accord with current æsthetics — taste is a power of the mind and not the free play of whim.

Thus Reynolds led up to his doctrine that painting is an art whose "foundations are laid in solid science." Taste is simply a mental appreciation of truth in the representation of life. Where art deals with concrete, visible objects, the truth or falsity of that representation is absolutely demonstrable; a geometrical proof could not be more certain. But even where art seeks to represent ideas, of which no such plain demonstration can be expected, there is still a certain degree of fixity of opinion. ³⁸ If the opinions represented are not fantastical, if they have gained a wide and lasting acceptance, taste on these matters, too, can be called stable or determined. Even on purely imaginative work opinions of men concur. For after all, "invention, strictly speaking, is little more than a new combination of those images which have been previously gathered and deposited in the memory." The same idea is expressed again in a later lecture. "As the imagination is incapable of producing anything originally of itself, and can only vary and combine those ideas with which it is furnished by means of the senses, there will be necessarily an agreement in the imaginations, as in the senses of men." ³⁹ Hence Reynolds concluded "that the real substance . . . of what goes under the name of taste, is fixed and established in the nature of things; that there are certain and regular causes by which the imagination

³⁷ *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, "Of Taste," 1785. Akenside took the same view in *Pleasures of Imagination*, 1744.

³⁸ *Discourses*, VII, p. 91.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 13; VII, pp. 107-109.

and passions of men are affected, and that the knowledge of these causes is acquired by a laborious and diligent investigation of nature, and by the same slow progress as wisdom or knowledge of every kind."

Modern philosophers had already turned their attention to the questions here broached by Reynolds, and in the current treatises on æsthetics the essential points of his argument are found. In 1757, for example, Hume published *Of the Standard of Taste*, in which he tried to show that the principles of taste are universal and nearly, if not entirely, the same in all men. The general rules of art, he argued, are founded on experience and the observation of the common sentiments of human nature; even the imagination can handle only those ideas that are furnished by the senses. This was the accepted teaching of British empiricism. Similarly, Gerard believed that the judgment, as well as the senses, is a determining factor in taste; good sense, he asserted, is essential for good taste.⁴⁰ This opinion was accepted by Thomas Reid, who explained how our judgments on the beauty of objects are partly instinctive and partly rational, and how the rational element can be specified and accounted for.⁴¹ Of these discourses on taste, apparently, there was at the time no end. The author of a paper in the *Connoisseur* sarcastically remarked that "taste is at present the darling idol of the polite world, and the world of letters"; but he, too, accepted the prevailing idea that "taste consists in a nice harmony between the fancy and the judgment."⁴²

Of all the essays on taste, however, that of Edmund Burke, prefixed in 1757 to the *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, in-

⁴⁰ *Essay on Taste*, p. 105.

⁴¹ *Essays on the Intellectual Powers*, "Of Taste," 1785.

⁴² No. 120, 1756.

fluenced Reynolds most directly. Reynolds defined taste as "that act of the mind by which we like or dislike, whatever be the subject." Burke applied the term to "that faculty or those faculties of the mind, which are affected with, or which form a judgment of, the works of imagination and the elegant arts." On this basis Reynolds argued that taste is subject to reason and judgment, and is no variable and uncertain quality. "Our art," he insisted, "like all the arts which address the imagination, is applied to a somewhat lower faculty of the mind, which approaches nearer to sensuality: but through sense and fancy it must make its way to reason; for such is the progress of thought, that we perceive by sense, we combine by fancy, and distinguish by reason."⁴⁸ Burke had already argued that man knows external objects only through the senses, the imagination, and the judgment, and that through all these media uniform ideas are derived. The senses, first of all, must convey very similar impressions to all normal men. The same is true of the imagination, which "is incapable of producing anything absolutely new," but which "can only vary the disposition of those ideas which it has received from the senses." Consequently, he argued, "there must be just as close agreement in the imaginations as in the senses of men." Equally uniform is the judgment, which deals with the manners, characters, actions, and designs of men. If there be any certainty in morality and the science of life, there must also be uniformity here. So Burke and Reynolds are in perfect agreement that taste is not a distinct faculty, but is dependent largely on reason and judgment.

This short essay on taste, more directly than the *Inquiry*, determined Reynolds's thought. Certain ideas from the

⁴⁸ *Discourses*, IX, p. 144.

latter work are recognized in the *Discourses*.⁴⁴ Reynolds, like Burke, grants that the poet may express his meaning "with a certain degree of obscurity," and calls attention to the same sublime traits in Milton's picture of Eve that Burke had noted in the portrait of Satan. Furthermore, Burke might have dictated the words, "I fear we have but very scanty means of exciting those powers over the imagination which are so very considerable and refined a part of poetry." On other matters Reynolds's opinions do not coincide with those of the *Inquiry*. Burke does not regard poetry as a strictly imitative art; for "words have no sort of resemblance to the ideas for which they stand." Reynolds, on the contrary, ranks them both among the imitative arts. Nor would Reynolds confine painting to the lower sphere of the beautiful, and deny it a place with poetry in the realm of the sublime. He is also more chary than Burke in recognizing novelty as a legitimate source of beauty. In general, then, Reynolds seems to have gathered from Burke's aesthetics only a few general thoughts, which he could have acquired in conversation with his friends, and not the grasp of the philosophy as a whole. After all, he was chiefly a busy artist, believing that, "if we were obliged to enter into a theoretical deliberation on every occasion, before we act, life would be at a stand, and art would be impracticable."⁴⁵

It is impossible to tell how intimately Reynolds knew these philosophical works. In the eighth *Discourse* he remarked that "a complete essay or inquiry into the connection between the rules of art, and the external and immutable dispositions of our passions, would be going at

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 93; VIII, p. 139. *Inquiry*, II, sects. 3-5. See also W. G. Howard, *Burke among the Forerunners of Lessing. Publications, Modern Language Association*, XXII, pp. 608-632.

⁴⁵ *Discourses*, XIII, p. 196.

once to the foundation of criticism." When this lecture was printed, the author apologized in a footnote for forgetting at the time the "admirable treatise" of his friend Burke. Hence one might infer that he had studied it but casually, if at all, and that he was still less familiar with the work of du Bos, Gerard, Buffier, Lord Shaftesbury, and others. No one, of course, would question Reynolds's statement that he had given careful attention to "the opinions of others" in the preparation of the addresses.⁴⁶ But this view of taste, and the relation between the arts, and the basis of all arts, were possibly among the lessons chiefly learned in conversation with the willing and helpful friends he gratefully mentioned. His interest in these problems of æsthetics, and his knowledge of them, were mainly owing to Burke, Johnson, Beattie, and others in his circle of intimate acquaintance.

The direct influence of Johnson and Burke has been fully shown. From one friend Reynolds borrowed even the phrasing of some of his most essential thought; from the other he derived ideas on taste and beauty. Johnson's influence was more immediate, if Northcote's testimony is to be credited. After giving proof of Reynolds's authorship of the lectures, he tells of having seen the painter's manuscripts bearing corrections and suggestions in Johnson's handwriting. This would account for some of the verbal correspondences noted above. Burke's influence was less direct. Like Johnson, he had helped to "brush the cobwebs" from Reynolds's mind; but, although he furnished stimulant, he never, according to Northcote, lent a helping hand in the actual composition. Other influences came from sources more remote. Chief among them were the *Réflexions Critiques* of the Abbé du Bos, and the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, xv, p. 230.

Traité des Premières Vérités of Claude Buffier. Du Bos's work was quoted by Akenside in the first edition of *Pleasures of Imagination* in 1744, and was translated into English in 1780; but before that its most original teachings were borrowed by Reid, Beattie, and Akenside. Thus the attention of Reynolds would be drawn to du Bos and Buffier; but from both he derived only the larger thought that he could have learned orally from his friends.

In one of the three papers contributed in 1759 to the *Idler*, Reynolds expounded his theory of beauty. "Every species of the animal as well as the vegetable creation may be said to have a fixed or determinate form, towards which Nature is continually inclining." In this norm resides the beautiful. Buffier's idea is the same.⁴⁷ Reynolds then continued: "So it will be found that perfect beauty is oftener produced by Nature than deformity; I do not mean than deformity in general, but than any one kind of deformity." This theory, with the illustration of the human face accompanying it, comes from the apparent paradox of Buffier: "Beauté me semble donc consister en ce qui est au même temps de plus commun et de plus rare, dans les choses de même espèce." So beauty consists in the avoidance of the accidental, and the reproduction of the "invariable general form which Nature most frequently produces, and always seems to intend in her productions."

This conception of beauty depends directly on Buffier's belief in a "sens commun," which was his chief contribution to philosophical speculation. Common sense, as he conceived it, is "that disposition or quality which nature has placed in all men, or in the majority of men, to enable them, when they have arrived at the age and use of reason, to form a common and uniform judgment with respect

⁴⁷ *Idler*, no. 82; *Traité des Premières Vérités*, chap. XIII.

to objects different from the internal sentiment of their own perception, which judgment is not the consequence of any anterior principle." ⁴⁸ From this sense men learn that there are other beings in the world, that there is something not arbitrary called truth, and that what is generally believed by men of all ages is true. Although the faculty is not possessed in equal degree by all men, nevertheless the great first truths, of which a taste for art is one, are apprehended by all normal men.

Buffier's assumption of a "sens commun" was adopted by Reid, Beattie, Hugh Blair, and other Scotch philosophers. Even before Buffier the idea had been suggested. In the seventeenth century Lord Herbert of Cherbury developed the doctrine almost as fully as Buffier. ⁴⁹ Addison declared that painting, poetry, and oratory should derive their laws from the "general sense and taste of mankind, and not from the principles of those arts themselves." ⁵⁰ Possibly Addison, like Daniel Webb some years later, had in mind the words of Cicero, "All men, by a kind of tacit feeling, without art or science, distinguish, in both cases, what is right from what is wrong." ⁵¹ Cicero thought it remarkable that the judgment of individuals on works of art should vary so little. So again Reynolds was simply voicing a common sentiment when he said: "The principles of these are as invariable as the former, and are to be known and reasoned upon in the same manner, by an appeal to common sense deciding upon the common feelings of mankind." ⁵²

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. v.

⁴⁹ *De Veritate*, ed. 1624, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Spectator Papers*, no. 29, 1711.

⁵¹ *De Oratore*, I, 3, c. 196, 197. *Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting*, p. 17.

⁵² *Discourses*, VII, p. 107.

Because Reynolds dealt mainly with these broad æsthetic theories, it is hard to mark positively the sources from which he drew. For example, one might take the painter's assertion that the mind's "search after truth in the more serious duties of life" rests upon the same basis as the taste for beauty in man's "lighter amusements," and find in it proof of Lord Shaftesbury's influence. But Aken-side, also, had proclaimed, on the authority of Socrates, the interrelation of beauty and truth.⁵³ Or again, Reynolds's disparagement of coloring might be related to the statement of Lord Shaftesbury: "The pleasure [from colors] is plainly foreign and separate. . . . It is always best, when the colours are most subdued, and made subservient."⁵⁴ But such correspondences hardly indicate direct borrowing; many of them are natural to the subject or characteristic of the age. Reynolds asserted, "What has pleased, and continues to please, is likely to please again." Several years later Hugh Blair ended his chapter on taste with these words translated from the Latin: "Time overthrows the illusions of opinion, but establishes the decisions of nature." But through what channels the thought came to the two men no one can determine, or need determine. If such testimony be valid, a hundred citations could be made to convict Reynolds of widespread plagiarism.

Significantly, however, the painter's friends thought more highly of the originality of the *Discourses*. Dr. Beattie wrote in his diary: "This day I had a great deal of conversation with Sir Joshua Reynolds, on critical and philosophical subjects. I find him to be a man, not only of excellent taste in painting and poetry, but of an en-

⁵³ *Pleasures of Imagination*, I, p. 375, n., 1744.

⁵⁴ *Judgment of Hercules*, last page.

larged understanding, and truly philosophical mind. His notions of painting are not at all the same with those that are entertained by the generality of painters and critics."⁵⁵ Evidently, Beattie did not accuse Reynolds of pilfering from his work. Nor could Burke have regarded Reynolds as a common borrower when he wrote to Malone: "He was a great generalizer, and was fond of reducing everything to one system, more, perhaps, than the variety of principles which operate in the human mind, and in every human work, will properly endure."

Burke, who knew Reynolds best, was doubtless right. The *Discourses* seem to be the work of a thinker prone to generalize. Burke attributed this habit partly to Reynolds's nature and partly to the influence of Mudge, who taught Reynolds Plato and encouraged a love for speculation. Hence Reynolds was naturally interested in all that he heard or read of Lord Shaftesbury, du Bos, and Buffier, and entered eagerly into conversation with Johnson, Burke, Beattie, and other men of letters who were concerned with the general problems of art. But Reynolds never professed to speak with authority on deep problems of philosophy. "Perhaps the most perfect criticism," he modestly admitted, "requires habits of speculation and abstraction, not very consistent with the employment which ought to occupy and the habits which ought to prevail in a practical artist."⁵⁶ Away from his easel, Reynolds was habitually so deferential toward others that it is easy to speak slightly of the *Discourses*. Philosophers of his own time, however, were apt to praise them. Beattie quoted at length from two of the addresses, and Dugald Stewart cited with commendation several of the

⁵⁵ Quoted from the biography by Sir William Forbes, p. 358.

⁵⁶ *Discourses*, XIII, p. 195.

painter's theories. These were not essentially new to the author. They were the broad, well-established ideas that philosophy and criticism then stressed. Reynolds's first interest in them was due to his friends in London, but he handled them as his own. The *Discourses* express the convictions of a broad and philosophic mind.

Inconsistencies in Reynolds's statements can easily be detected; for the first paper in the *Idler* appeared in 1759, and the last address was delivered in 1790. Moreover, the artist did not always practise what he preached. Nevertheless, there is a general uniformity in his teaching.⁵⁷ He insists ever on obedience to the "higher tribunal [reason], to which those great masters themselves must submit, and to which indeed every excellence in art must be ultimately referred." The painter may resort to the various devices known to dramatists and poets — contrast, novelty, simplicity, repose. But he must remember that no trick can be safely carried to excess, and that reason must dominate all. This reason prescribes to the painter an ideal beauty. "The beauty of which we are in quest is general and intellectual; it is an idea that subsists only in the mind; the sight never beheld it, nor has the hand expressed it; it is an idea residing in the breast of the artist, which he is always labouring to impart, and which he dies at last without imparting." The same holds of other arts. Their first aim may be to gratify the senses; but no art can rest content there. They are forced on to "the idea of general beauty and the contemplation of general truth." Art deals with matter higher than can be found in actual nature, and to that level the mind must be raised. The arts, so conceived and so executed, will "raise the thoughts and extend the views of the spectator." Thus

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 119; IX, pp. 143-144.

the effects of art "may extend themselves imperceptibly into public benefits, and be among the means of bestowing on whole nations refinement of taste; which, if it does not lead directly to purity of manners, obviates at least their greatest depravation, by disentangling the mind from appetite, and conducting the thoughts through successive stages of excellence, till that contemplation of universal rectitude and harmony which began by Taste, may, as it is exalted and refined, conclude in Virtue."

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON.

XV.—THE PURPORT OF SHAKESPEARE'S
CONTRIBUTION TO 1 HENRY VI

There is a fairly general agreement among the critics that the *First Part of Henry the Sixth* was not originally written by Shakespeare, but was revised by him, that it is the play which Henslowe recorded as "new" on March 3, 1591/2, and frequently enough thereafter to attest that it was one of the most popular pieces of the day, and that it was this same popular piece to which Nashe referred in the always quoted passage in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592): "How would it have ioyed braue Talbot (the terror of the French), to think that after he had lyen two hundred yeare in his Toomb, he should triumph againe on the Stage and haue his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least (at several times) who in the Tragedian that represents his person imagine they behold him fresh bleeding." There seems no sufficient reason for doubting these natural conjectures. The play was included in the First Folio, which indicates that it was at least in part Shakespeare's work; it was not mentioned by Meres, which seems to imply that it was not fundamentally his;¹ it was acted by Lord Strange's company, which would accord with its being revised rather than originally written by Shakespeare.² It is such a play as, judging by the other notable successes of the time, would be immensely popular; and it answers perfectly to Nashe's reference.

It is further agreed, though with less unanimity among

¹ See "The Authorship of *Titus Andronicus*," *Flügel Memorial Volume*, p. 115.

² *Ibid.*, p. 123, n.

the critics, that Shakespeare's hand may be found in the Temple Garden scene (II, iv), where the plucking of the red and white roses marks the beginning of the struggle between Richard Plantagenet and Somerset; in the scene following, where the historical situation is elaborately stated for the formal instruction of the audience; in some of the Talbot scenes (IV, ii-vii), and perhaps in the wooing of Margaret (V, iii). The rest of the play is most often assigned to Greene, with traces of Peele, Nashe, and even of Marlowe here and there. The evidence is based, as is customary, upon the individual critic's perception of Shakespeare's superior genius, and upon the detection of certain words and phrases which are found in Greene or some one of the others, but not elsewhere in Shakespeare. The use of double endings and other tests are less frequently applied.

Though my belief in the cogency of these tests is always most tentative, I do not by any means feel that they can be wholly ignored. Like all statistics, they present an appearance of scientific accuracy, and hence are particularly dangerous in the hands of a clever manipulator. The most abused of all is the "parallel passage" test, which includes the once-used word and reminiscent phrase; for here we have often an array of factitious evidence based on a tenuous hypothesis.³ The most reliable of the tests

*I quote from Mr. H. C. Hart's Arden Edition of the play before us the first four reminders of Spenser which he finds. Of course these are not to show Spenser's authorship but his influence, since Spenser is naturally not a candidate; but let the reader compare these with the first four in any list by which Greene's authorship of one play or another has been "established":

I, i, 11-13: *His arms spread wider than a dragon's wings; His sparkling eyes replete with wrathful fire More dazzled and drove back his enemies.* Compare with *Faerie Queene*, I, xi, 14-18: "His blazing eyes, like two bright shining shields, Did burne with wrath

seems to me that of the double ending, for the difference between Shakespeare and the others is here very great, and personal opinion cannot alter it. Greene in the five plays known to be his has a sum total of thirty-five double endings; Shakespeare in his first five plays has over twelve hundred. Peele never rises as high as three per cent. in any play, taken in its entirety, and Marlowe never as high as four per cent.; when, therefore, we find twenty-three per cent. in the Temple Garden scene, and seventeen per cent. in the Talbot scenes (IV, ii-iv), and at the same time the tone and manner of Shakespeare, we do not guess, but we know (humanly speaking) that these scenes are his.⁴

and sparkled living fyre. As two broad Beacons . . . warning give that enemies conspyre. . . . So flamed his eyne with rage and rancorous yre. . . . Then with his waving wings displayed wyde."

I, i, 64: *burst his lead and rise from death*. Compare with *Shepheards Calendar*, June: "Nowe dead he is and lyeth wrapt in lead." And *idem*, October: "all the worthies ligger wrapt in leade."

I, i, 104: *laments . . . bedew King Henry's hearse*. Compare *Faerie Queene*, III, i, 16: "they did lament . . . And all the while salt teares bedewd the hearers cheeks."

I, i, 124: *Here, there, and everywhere, enrag'd he flew*. Compare *Faerie Queene*, III, i, 66: "Wherewith enrag'd she fiercely at them flew . . . Here, there, and everywhere, about her swayd Her wrathful steele."

⁴An indication of authorship which I have not seen mentioned might perhaps be found in Shakespeare's remarkable adjective groupings. Thus we have:

"Shall lay your stately and air-braving towers"
 "Thou ominous and fearful owl of death"
 "Lo, there thou stand'st, a breathing valient man"
 "Shall see thee withered, bloody, pale, and dead"
 "O, negligent and heedless discipline"
 "But rather, moody-mad and desperate stags"

—all these in a scene of fifty-six lines (IV, ii). I have never found in Greene or Peele a grouping of words which requires of us a sudden expansion of the imagination,—of adjectives each appropriate but

With this nucleus before us, we have a clear lead for determining what else in this drama Shakespeare must have written. Of course the absence of double endings does not in the least count against his authorship, as their presence in profusion implies it; for Shakespeare's habit in this particular varies. The opening scene of the *Comedy of Errors* has less than three per cent. of double endings, and the scene following has twenty-one per cent. The first act of *King John* has over twelve per cent., while the other acts range from two to four per cent. It will be evident to anyone at a glance that there is reason for this. In the former case, Aegeon's narrative is much more formal than what follows, just as in the latter case the Bastard's lively impudence contrasts with the remainder of the tragedy. When we turn, therefore, from the plucking of the roses in the Temple Garden to the recitative explanations and exhortations of the dying Mortimer, we come upon a Shakespearean scene where the double endings are few. But that this scene belongs to Shakespeare has been the opinion of most critics, and the proof of it, in want of any indication to the contrary, lies in the fact that it depends upon the Temple Garden scene, to which it makes a direct reference.⁵

not belonging together until combined in a line of great poetry.
Hamlet's

“—why the sepulchre . . .

Hath oped his ponderous and marble jaws”

gives us this perfect combination of dissimilars; but when in the play before us we read

“This speedy and quick appearance argues proof” (V, iii, 8),
we have a combination of words which it is not at all necessary to attribute to Shakespeare!

*The scanning here of *Henry* as a trisyllable required in the line
“Long after this, when Henry the Fifth” (II, iv, 82)

What else is there in this play which depends upon the scenes which we have found to be Shakespeare's? There is not the least difficulty in discovering the answer to this question. In the Temple Garden scene, Vernon is one of those who pluck a white rose with Plantagenet; in act III, scene iv, and in act IV, scene i, we find Vernon continuing this quarrel of the roses with Basset, a follower of Somerset. Basset does not appear in the Temple Garden scene, but it is Shakespeare's way to carry a discussion down and on in this manner. Do these new portions

suggests another interesting test which has been too often overlooked. Though this is not Shakespeare's usual way, still he has the line

"So stood the state when Henry the Sixth"

in *Richard III* (II, iii, 16), and the same pronunciation of the name is frequently required in the second and third parts of *Henry VI*, as it is in both parts of the *Contention*. Note, for example:

"Crowned by the name of Henry the Fourth" (*2 Henry VI*, II, ii, 23)
and

"Resigned the crown to Henry the Fourth" (*3 Henry VI*, I, i, 1390).
Sometimes both pronunciations occur in the same passage:

"You told not how Henry the Sixth hath lost
All that which Henry the Fifth had gotten"

(*3 Henry VI*, III, iii, 89, 9).

In the present play we have the line

"O my good lords and virtuous Henry" (III, i, 76)

which would tell against the claim of any dramatist who used the name frequently and always as a dissyllable. But such a test, if it should count at all, must be used with extreme caution. In this play, Gloucester is scanned as a trisyllable in act I, scene iii (four times). Peele has the name twenty times in *Edward I*, and always with only two syllables; his claim to I, iii, which was made for him by Fleay, would therefore look doubtful. But Marlowe has *emperess* ten times in *Tamburlaine* to *empress* four times, and *emperess* occurs frequently in the non-Shakespearean portions of *Titus Andronicus*; yet it would be most hasty to suspect Marlowe on this count. Shakespeare has *children* over a hundred times as a dissyllable, and as a trisyllable just once (*Errors*, V, i, 360). Often such words may be scanned in either way.

seem to be in Shakespeare's style? The first is a brief bit, not particularly characteristic, though there is nothing in it which suggests that it could not be his; the second bears the strongest evidence of Shakespeare's work.⁶ The King is here the same King Henry that we find in the additions to the second and third parts of *Henry VI*, and that we find nowhere else in this drama.⁷ But what is most important is that it is in this scene that Shakespeare gives us the clue by which we may discover the extent and the significance of his contribution to the play. This clue is contained in King Henry's lines:

That for a toy, a thing of no regard.
King Henry's peers and chief nobility
Destroyed themselves and lost the realm of France (IV, i, 145-8).

We find this same attitude elsewhere in Shakespeare, notably in the closing lines of *King John*:

This England never did, nor never shall
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.
Now these her princes are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.

Now if Shakespeare's revision of the play is to be found in a series of scenes which are wholly devoted to the working out of an idea, and that idea is itself eminently char-

⁶ I note the following adjective groupings, which I offer for exactly what they are worth and no more:

"With other vile and ignominious terms"
"For though he seem with forged quaint conceit
To set a gloss upon his bold intent"
"When for so slight and frivolous a cause"
"With this immodest clamorous outrage"
"In France, amongst a fickle, wavering nation"

⁷ Unless momentarily in act III, scene i.

acteristic of Shakespeare, the assumption seems to me unescapable that these scenes were written—not revised—by him, and that by incorporating this idea he sought to give an essential unity and significance to the old drama. For it should not be forgotten—as it too often is—that what would appeal to a man like Henslowe when he had one of his plays revised, was not that the crumpled lines should be ironed out nor yet that some of the scenes should be decorated with all the graces of a Shakespeare's style, but that new features should be added,—new episodes, new ideas, even,—so that in reviving the play he could advertise it as something essentially different from what it was before.

Shakespeare's contribution to *1 Henry VI*, so far as we have now followed it, consists, then, of II, iv, where the quarrel of the roses is first introduced, II, v, where Mortimer gives the historical background of this quarrel, III, iv, from line 28 on, and IV, i, from line 78 to the end of the scene, wherein the quarrel has spread farther among the followers of these hostile lords, and the King shows the far-reaching evils which were destined to result from it. The next three scenes, which have already by common consent been assigned to Shakespeare, show the defeat of Talbot as directly due to the quarrel between Somerset and Richard Plantagenet, now Duke of York. York puts the blame on Somerset:

A plague upon that villain Somerset,
That thus delays my promised supply
Of horsemen, that were levied for this siege! . . .
We mourn, France smiles; we lose, they daily get;
All long of this vile traitor Somerset.

Somerset, in turn, puts the blame on York:

This expedition was by York and Talbot
Too rashly plotted. . . .

York set him on to fight and die in shame,
That, Talbot dead, great York might bear the name.

And Sir William Lucy, who goes as messenger to each in turn, places the blame on both:

Thus, while the vulture of sedition
Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders,
Sleeping neglecton doth betray to loss
The conquest of our scarce cold conqueror,
That ever living man of memory,
Henry the Fifth. Whiles they each other cross,
Lives, honours, lands, and all hurry to loss.

There is no reason why the remaining Talbot scenes, which are written almost wholly in couplets, should be by Shakespeare. The death of Talbot was an essential part of the old play; and even if these couplets were written by a later hand, there is not the slightest indication that that hand was Shakespeare's.

There is another quarrel of the nobles in this play—that between Gloucester and Winchester. It begins in the opening scene, is continued in scene iii, then jumps to act III, scene i, and there ends—except for an “aside” of Winchester at the close of V, i. Though so much is made of this quarrel, and its dire effects upon England are hinted at, yet the play shows no evil results arising from this dissention. The King effects a mere nominal reconciliation between the two, and Exeter predicts terrible things to follow, but nothing happens. In the scenes relating to this quarrel I find some evidence of Shakespeare's work. In the two important scenes which show the beginning of the quarrel and its culmination (I, i, and III, i), there is a certain eloquence and majesty for which one will look in vain through the pages of Greene and Peele. There is something Marlowesque in the opening lines and in other bits; but I think that Marlowe himself

cannot be read into this drama. The Shakespearean tone shows most plainly in the opening forty lines of act III. I confess that I was puzzled and annoyed that Shakespeare's language and his meter should so manifestly obtrude themselves in a scene which I had not the faintest desire to give to him, and which, indeed, soon grew quite away from him. But my case was hopeless. Starting with the scene as Shakespeare's, it would not remain his; and turning from the close of it back to the opening, it was at once and unmistakably his again.

Now I hold that it is not sufficient for one who concerns himself with matters of this sort to announce that here or there the hand of Shakespeare is apparent, and not be troubled as to what bearing this may have upon his relation to the play in its entirety.⁸ We have seen that Shakespeare's contribution to this drama, where it is most evident, consists in the complete working out of a single idea; that this idea is one which finds expression in his later work; and no one will deny that in most of the scenes there is not the faintest evidence of his workmanship. He may have taken the trouble to straighten out some of the lines or remove some of the crudities; of that we can know nothing. It is certain that he left much that was crude and raw, I presume because it was theatrically effective.⁹

⁸ In Mr. Hart's edition, to which I have already referred, he states of act I, scene iv: "This scene is by Shakespeare. Nashe seems to have assisted" (Introduction, p. xv). Now since Nashe was not Mr. Bernard Shaw, his complimentary allusion to the play practically rules him out from any claim to part authorship in it; and there is no particular evidence of him anyway, so far as I can see. Of Shakespeare in this scene I am able to find no trace in any particular. I resent being told without qualification and without argument that it is Shakespeare's.

⁹ It may be argued that this indicates collaboration rather than revision; but revision is precisely what is evident in the very scenes I am now considering.

Now if we venture an opinion that Shakespeare revised the opening scenes of the first and third acts, we must ask ourselves whether there is any particular reason why this should be the case.

It was natural enough that Shakespeare should begin his revision at the beginning of the piece, rewriting and correcting for a scene or two. In the opening scene he found the beginning of the quarrel between Winchester and Gloucester, and at once, unless this was a part of the original drama, related it to the loss of the French cities which the Messenger reports:

Exeter. How were they lost? What treachery was used?
1st Messenger: No treachery, but want of men and money.
 Amongst the soldiers this is muttered,
 That here you maintain several factions,
 And whilst a field should be dispatched and fought,
 You are disputing of your generals. . . .

But the crucial scene of this quarrel is act III, scene i; and Shakespeare, I believe, intended to make this scene his own, for the first part of it is in his best style of this period. Who can doubt the authorship of Winchester's opening speech?—

Com'st thou with deep premeditated lines,
 With written pamphlets studiously devised,
 Humphrey of Gloucester? If thou canst accuse,
 Or aught intend'st to lay unto my charge,
 Do it without invention, suddenly;
 As I with sudden and extemporal speech
 Purpose to answer what thou canst object.

But in this scene the King effects a reconciliation between these quarreling lords. I think I detect Shakespeare's hand again, in the lines which save this quarrel for later developments:

Winchester. Well, Duke of Gloucester, I will yield to thee;
 Love for thy love and hand for hand I give.

Gloucester [Aside]. Ay, but I fear me, with a hollow heart.—
 See here, my friends and loving countrymen,
 This token serveth for a flag of truce
 Betwixt ourselves and all our followers.
 So help me God, as I dissemble not!
Win. [Aside]. So help me God, as I intend it not!

But (if I read the evidence of the text aright) Shakespeare soon saw that nothing could really be done with this dispute between the King's uncle, who was the Lord Protector, and his great-uncle, the Cardinal. These characters were introduced throughout the rest of the play in a way that allowed for no new development of the action; nor did Holinshed provide him with any material to incorporate.

But a quarrel between Somerset and Richard Plantagenet, who later in the play becomes regent of France, *was* possible; for in Holinshed we read that the Duke of York "so disdeined of Edmund, duke of Summerset¹⁰ (being cousine to the King,) that by all meanes possible he sought his hinderance, as one glad of his losse, and sorie of his well dooing: by reason whereof, yer the duke of Yorke could get his dispatch, Paris and diuerse other of the cheefest places in France were gotten by the French king."¹¹ Holinshed records more of the hostility of these two nobles and of their accusing each other of treason;¹² though he gives no source for the Temple Garden scene and the subsequent quarrel between Vernon and Basset, nor does he connect any quarrel of the nobles with the death of Talbot.

If, then, Shakespeare abandoned the quarrel between Winchester and Gloucester in favor of one between York

¹⁰ Boswell-Stone shows that Edmund not John Beaufort is referred to (*Shakspeare's Holinshed*, p. 218).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 287.

and Somerset, which he worked out in the way I have already indicated, we may see not only the exact limits of his contribution to this drama, but also just what his method of work was when he was given this play to revise. This method does not at all correspond with that which he is commonly supposed to have employed in revising the second and third parts of *Henry VI*; but of that I trust I shall have something to say at a later time.

The only other scene in this play which has been frequently attributed to Shakespeare, is that of the wooing of Margaret. This episode is structurally unrelated to the Shakespearean portions, but it also has distinctly the appearance of being the work of a reviser rather than of the original writer of the drama. We must examine the evidence.

The arguments in favor of Shakespeare's authorship are (1) that it is not unworthy of him, and (2) that this episode is what gives a unity to the *Henry VI* trilogy, Shakespeare, as the creator of the Margaret of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* and *Richard III*, here introducing her and "making her his own." This latter argument appears to me negligible because it implies Shakespeare's authorship of the "Contention" dramas on which 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were based, and some consistency in the character of Margaret herself. No one claims the former; and anyone can see that the coy Margaret of 1 *Henry VI* bears no resemblance to the stormy Queen who finally looms so malignant a force in Shakespeare's *Richard III*. The girl was not mother to the woman in this case.

Now the Margaret story involves the first and last scenes of act V, as well as the actual wooing in scene iii; and we note that the King in these scenes is not at all like Shakespeare's King Henry. The wooing scene itself does not seem to me at all in Shakespeare's manner; and though

good enough, perhaps, is by no means beyond the power of the man who wrote the Margaret scenes in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. Indeed it has the same loitering indirectness which is characteristic of Greene in every play he wrote. Strongly reminiscent of *James IV* are Suffolk's introspective asides:

Fond man, remember that thou hast a wife;
 Then how can Margaret be thy paramour? . . .
 There all is marred; there lies a cooling card." . . .
 And yet a dispensation may be had.

The lines:

She's beautiful and therefore to be wooed;
 She is a woman, therefore to be won,

occur, with variations, five times in Greene, and once in a non-Shakespearean passage in *Titus Andronicus*. I can find nothing in the scene which strongly suggests Shakespeare.

Should Greene be credited with more than the three scenes I have indicated? His manner and particularly his diction have been pointed out by various critics in almost every scene of the play, with the customary straining of this much abused "test." It should be noted, however, that there is a fundamental discrepancy in the play which is not removed by taking away the portions which I have now assigned to Shakespeare and to Greene. The drama as we see it with these complications and certain other scenes to be considered later set aside, is a crude but vigorous chronicle of disputes and broils designed to please an honest fight-loving audience. It runs as follows: 1. The English learn of the loss of French cities and agree to regain them. Winchester quarrels with Gloucester. 2. The English win. "Joan la Pucelle" comes to the aid

²² "Not again in Shakespeare. . . Greene made it a sort of hall-mark of his work" (Hart, p. xix).

of the French and establishes her claim to be supernaturally aided. 3. Gloucester's serving-men in blue coats and Winchester's men in tawny coats have a lively row which the Mayor of London pacifies. 4. Talbot and Salisbury before Orleans. Salisbury is shot from the wall and killed. 5. Talbot fights with Joan. She abruptly leaves him to "go victual Orleans," and enters the town with soldiers. 6. The French, with Joan to help them, are victorious. 7. Talbot retakes Orleans. The French leap over the walls in their shirts and run away. 8. Winchester and Gloucester quarrel again, and their men enter in skirmish with bloody pates. The King makes them agree to be friends. 9. Joan in disguise, with four soldiers, takes Rouen by strategem, and taunts Talbot and the others from the wall. The English reënter the town. Sir John Fastolfe runs away. Bedford dies contented when he sees the English are victorious. 10. Joan wins over the Duke of Burgundy. 11. The King praises Talbot and makes him Earl of Shrewsbury. 12. The King is crowned in France, the Governor of Paris taking oath. Talbot shames Fastolfe for his cowardice. They learn of Burgundy's revolt and the King sends Talbot after him. 13. Talbot and his son are killed. Sir William Lucy is permitted to take away their bodies. 14. The French expect to win, now that Talbot is slain. 15. But the English capture Joan and send her off to execution. 16. The French come to ask on what conditions they may have peace. They are told:

That, in regard King Henry gives consent,
Of mere compassion and of lenity,
To ease your country of distressful war,
And suffer you to breathe in fruitful peace,
You shall become true liegemen to his crown;
And, Charles, upon condition thou wilt swear
To pay him tribute and submit thyself,
Thou shalt be placed as viceroy under him,
And still enjoy thy regal dignity.

After some hesitation, Charles and his party give signs of fealty.

Surely here was entertainment at which Christopher Sly would never have dozed off. A Shakespeare who made away with such good stuff as this would never be entrusted to revise another play. Now all these scenes which I have here set down as belonging to what appears to me the original draft of "harey vj," treat Joan of Arc with a fair amount of dignity and respect, and they always give her the name of Joan la Pucelle, or simply Pucelle. The word is regarded obviously as a proper noun:

Excellent Pucelle, if thy name be so (I, ii, 110).

Thus Joan la Pucelle hath performed her word (I, vi, 3).

Speak, Pucelle, and enchant him with thy words (III, iii, 40).

But in act V, scene iv, where she is shown as contemptible and vile, she is called Joan of Arc, though "la Pucelle" is always retained in the stage directions. This is the form which occurs again in the scene where Talbot is invited to visit the Countess of Auvergne; and this episode of the Countess is the first place in which we distinctly feel the presence of a new hand at work. There is no warrant in the early part of the drama for the later outrageous treatment of Joan of Arc.

Was Greene the reviser or collaborator who is responsible for this horror? There is nothing improbable about it, and there are one or two things which seem to make it likely. Before her shameless and disgusting confession Joan repudiates her peasant father as casting a slur upon her "noble birth" in very much the same way that Rada-gon repudiates his peasant father in *A Looking-Glass for London and England*.¹⁴ The contributory scene where

¹⁴ For a proof that this scene is by Greene and not by Lodge, see my "Greene as a Collaborator" in *Modern Language Notes*, December, 1915.

Joan is deserted by her "fiends," who walk about and shake their heads, is for all the world in Greene's manner; ¹⁵ and the episode of the Countess has his characteristic "smartiness" in the turning of the tables.

But unless he was responsible for the sentimental couplets in the Talbot scenes (IV, v-vii), which he was both natural enough a poet and artificial enough a dramatist to have done, this seems to mark the extent of his connection with this drama. The fundamental scheme of the play as outlined above is quite unlike him; and there is every reason to assume that the man who wrote the "Pucelle" scenes did not write the "Joan of Arc" scenes, as we may call them for convenience.

Who this original author may have been, it seems to me almost impossible to determine. Somewhat to my regret, I do not find the slightest indication that it was Peele. Any of a dozen men whose names we have never heard of might have done it, for all that we can tell. Perhaps the reminders of Greene which various critics have noted throughout the play are sufficient to warrant the assumption that he made a thorough revision of the whole piece. If he did so, and if even then the play was given to Shakespeare for additional improvements, I think that every feature of the play as it now stands would be well accounted for. And if this happened shortly after Greene had himself revised Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (which is my personal conviction), we have a sufficient explanation of his jealous hostility.

HENRY DAVID GRAY.

¹⁵ In each of Greene's plays there is some introduction of the supernatural. He has devils in *Friar Bacon* and the *Looking-Glass*, fairies and antics in *James IV*, Venus and the Muses in *Alphonsus*, and a dance of Satyrs in *Orlando*. The minister who acted the pinner's part himself did not introduce this element in *George-a-Greene*.

XVI.—THE TROILUS-CRESSIDA STORY FROM
CHAUCER TO SHAKESPEARE

Viewed from any angle Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* is an unattractive play. The heroine is a wanton. Ulysses reads her at a glance and finds

language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,
Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirits look out
At every joint and motive of her body.¹

He sets her down at once as "a daughter of the game," and at every opportunity the foul-mouthed Thersites corroborates this description. "They say Diomedes keeps a Trojan drab," he monologizes, "and uses the traitor Calchas his tent. I'll after;"² and in the rather awkward scene in which Cressida's perfidy is revealed to Troilus, he gleefully whispers: "Any man may sing her, if he can take her cliff. She's noted."³ Even in this scene, however, Shakespeare is not devoid of sympathy; Cressida's qualms of conscience as she pins on Diomedes the sleeve Troilus had given her, as she feels herself yielding, are touching. Yet Cressida is a woman of loose morals, and Troilus himself, though irreproachable as a warrior, in his relations with her hardly warrants one's sympathy. There is no mistaking the sensuality of his desires when for the first time he is to meet her alone:

I am giddy; expectation whirls me round.
The imaginary relish is so sweet
That it enchants my sense: what will it be,
When that the watery palates taste indeed,
Love's thrice repured nectar?⁴

¹ IV, v, 54 ff.

² v, i, 104.

³ v, ii, 10.

⁴ III, ii, 19 ff.

Cressida, too, knows what to expect from the visit. Pandarus describes her as blushing and fetching her "wind so short, as if she were afraid with a sprite;"⁵ but it is to be feared that her agitation arose less from modesty and timidity than from a sense of elation at having at last caught a lover of exalted rank. She is not at all shocked by her uncle's disgustingly coarse jests nor by his efforts to hurry the assignation. Of course Elizabethan audiences were not repelled by such scenes, and Shakespeare himself saw no particular moral significance in them, as is proved by the plots of *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure*; nevertheless, there is no other scene in all his plays so frankly sensuous as this. Nothing can be more different than his treatment and Chaucer's of the morning after the lovers' meeting. In Chaucer one thinks of the ardent devotion of the lovers; in *Troilus and Cressida* the details are so coarsened that one thinks only of the animal nature of their love. In the play Pandarus has been joking boisterously with Cressida (an incident borrowed from Chaucer, although in the poem Troilus is not present during this scene), when a knock is heard at the door. After the conversation that then takes place (IV, ii, 36-40), Troilus may protest as much as he wishes about the purity of his love for Cressida, but we cannot help feeling that his animal nature is most deeply stirred by her loss.

Since its surreptitious publication in 1609 and its admission, apparently as an afterthought, into the First Folio, *Troilus and Cressida* has always been a puzzle. It seems hardly necessary to enumerate the widely divergent theories that have been advanced to explain Shakespeare's purpose in writing the play. The two most striking theories, that the play was Shakespeare's contribution to the

⁵ III, ii, 32.

war of the theatres and that it was a deliberate vulgarization of the Greek and Trojan heroes and of Cressida caused by Shakespeare's jealousy of the rival poet, Chapman, are not now generally believed. But a peculiar view is still held by almost all critics. A Chaucerian scholar's comment will serve as well as any: Shakespeare has approached the love story "in a spirit of bitter cynicism and blackest pessimism. The love story . . . is merely disgusting . . . To crown all, the final worthlessness of Cressida, and the breaking heart of Troilus, are interpreted to us by the syphilitic mind of Thersites, whose whole function in the play is to defile with the foulness of his own imagination all that humanity holds high and sacred. . . . It remains one of the puzzles of criticism that such a work should ever have proceeded from the great soul of Shakespeare." ⁶

Is this true? Did Shakespeare himself debase the story? Does he pursue Cressida, as other critics have said, with relentless hatred? Dr. Small briefly hinted at the reason for the loose character of Shakespeare's Cressida,⁷ but Professor Tatlock, almost alone among editors and commentators, has, I think, correctly analyzed the play. He writes: "Shakespeare came to the material of this play, then, precisely as he came to that of the English historical plays, finding incidents and characters largely fixed beforehand, and too intractable to be greatly modified, even had he wished to modify them. It is as a historical play, in the Elizabethan sense, that it should be regarded; often serious, sometimes verging on the tragic, but pervaded with comedy." ⁸

⁶ R. K. Root, *The Poetry of Chaucer*, pp. 104-105.

⁷ *The Stage Quarrel*, p. 155.

⁸ *Troilus and Cressida*, Tudor edition, pp. xix-xx. In articles on "The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature, Especially in Shake-

This is almost the whole secret of the play, and my own remarks may, in the main, seem to be only a reinforcement of Professor Tatlock's conclusions. The history of *Troilus and Cressida* and Pandarus from Chaucer to Shakespeare has not before been traced, however, although this is almost essential for a genuine understanding of what Shakespeare tried to do, of what indeed he did do, and it reveals also facts of some importance in regard to Henryson and Chaucer. When Sir Sidney Lee writes in 1916: "At one point the dramatist diverges from his authorities with notable originality. Cressida figures in the play as a heartless coquette; the poets who had previously treated her story . . . had imagined her as a tender-hearted, if frail, beauty, with claims on their pity rather than on their scorn. But Shakespeare's *innovation* is dramatically effective, and deprives fickleness in love of any false glamour";⁹ or when an editor of Miss Porter's experience can write as late as 1910, "Shakespeare evolves his own name [*Cressida*]. He seems to use Caxton's form as a whole, prefaced by Chaucer's initial letter,"¹⁰ surely it is time to consider the history of the love story and the lovers.

speare and Heywood" (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xxx, pp. 673-770) and "The Chief Problem in Shakespeare" (*Sewanee Review*, April, 1916), which appeared after the present article was completed, Professor Tatlock has even more clearly and convincingly developed this view, and has also called attention to the relation of Heywood's *Iron Age* to Shakespeare's play.

⁹ *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1916), p. 370.

¹⁰ *Troilus and Cressida*, First Folio edition, p. 131. It may be remarked that the two title-pages to the First Quarto run "The Historie of Troylus and Cresseida" and "The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid," the spelling used in the Edinburgh, 1593, edition of Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*. Shakespeare's favorite form, if indeed he had a favorite, was *Cressid*, and this had been used for years before he wrote. Even in MSS. of Chaucer's own poems the name is found with the spelling "Crisseyde," "Cresseyde,"

It was quite in a spirit of prophecy that Chaucer's Criseyde lamented:

Allas! for now is clene a-go
My name of trouthe in love, for ever-mo!
For I have falsed oon, the gentileste
That ever was, and oon the worthieste!

Allas, of me, un-to the worldes ende,
Shal neither been y-written nor y-songe,
No good word, for thise bokes wol me shende,
O, rolled shal I been on many a tonge!
Through-out the world my belle shal be ronge."¹¹

Some thirty years after she had thus bewailed her fate, Lydgate, translating Guido at the command of Prince Hal, had to retell her story. He did so with some diffidence, referring his readers to his master Chaucer for a complete and accurate account. Lydgate added nothing to the story, but he was in thorough sympathy with his Cryseyde, bitterly reprov'd Guido for his slanders of women in general, and tried to excuse Cryseyde in particular because Nature had made her variable.¹² She also escaped harsh words from the author of the *'Laud Troy Book'* (about 1400), who indeed may have known her only through Guido, and who usually calls her Bryxeida or Brixaida. But when the author tells us that Diomedes struck down Troylus and sent his horse to "Cresseide, ðat fair woman, That sumtyme was Troyle lemman,"¹³ he perhaps had Chaucer's Criseyde in mind.

"Criseida," "Creseide." In this article the spelling used by the authors who are quoted is retained.

¹¹ Bk. v, st. 151-152.

¹² In H. Bergen's edition of the *Troy Book* (E. E. T. S., 1906-1910) the story may be followed in Bk. II, ll. 4676-4762, Bk. III, ll. 3664-3754, 4077-4263, 4343-4448, 4619-4659, 4820-67, Bk. IV, 2132-77, 2401-2779.

¹³ L. 9053 (ed. Wülfing, E. E. T. S., 1902-03). The main events of the story occur at ll. 9065-92, 13427-38, 13543-64, 14857 ff.

Nor does Caxton's *Recuyell* (1474) concern us, save that in his history of Troylus and Breseyda he, like Lydgate, referred all readers, Shakespeare presumably among them, to Chaucer for further details. Calchas, he writes, "had a passing fayr doughter and wyse named breseyda/ Chaucer in his booke that he made of Troylus named her creseyda";¹⁴ and again, "Ther was neuer seen so moche sorowe made betwene two louers at their departyng/ who that lyst to here of alle theyr loue/ late hym rede the booke of troyllus that chawcer made/ wherin he shall fynde the storye hooll/ whiche were to longe to wryte here."¹⁵

During the sixteenth century the story seems to have been constantly on men's tongues, though few people could comprehend the spirit of high comedy and irony in which Chaucer had written. Of the characters as he portrayed them, Pandarus was by far the most dramatic, but naturally enough Pandarus quickly developed into a low comedy figure. On *Twelfth Night*, 1515/6, at Eltham, Cornish and the Children of the Chapel Royal acted the *Story of Troylous and Pandor*. Cornish himself, "clad in mantle and bishop's surcoat, took the role of Calchas. The children acted the roles of Troilus, Cressid, Diomed, Pandor, Ulysses, and others not named . . . Chaucer's 'Criseyda in widowes habite blak' remained in the account of the furnishings as 'Kryssyd imparylled lyke a wedow of onour, in blake sarsenet and other abelements for seche mater.'" ¹⁶ Pandar, the go-between, had probably, even

¹⁴ Ed. H. O. Sommer, vol. II, p. 601.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 604. These allusions are not in Miss Spurgeon's *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*. Unless her book is directly referred to, it may be assumed that other allusions to Chaucer noted in this article are not there printed.

¹⁶ C. W. Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare*, Berlin, 1912, p. 48.

in this early play, degenerated into a clown. There was no other way in which to treat him. Not long afterward, Nicholas Grimald, according to Bale, wrote a Latin comedy, *Troilus ex Chaucero*, of which, however, there is no other record;¹⁷ and in *The Rare Triumphes of Loue and Fortune*, which was "plaide before the Queenes most excellent Maiestie" about 1582 and published seven years later, the first of the plays given before the gods was that of "Troilus and Cressida," at the conclusion of which Mercury says:

Behold, how Troilus and Cressida
Cries out on Love, that framed their decay.¹⁸

How these plays treated Cressid it is useless to speculate. But in the popular literature of the early Tudor period she became a staple comparison while her uncle's name was becoming a common noun. Peculiarly enough, Cressid was often glorified as the highest type of a sweetheart,—

|| ¹⁷ Miss Spurgeon, vol. I, p. 95.

|| ¹⁸ Dodsley-Hazlitt's *Old Plays*, vol. VI, p. 155. This play reminds one of the Troilus-Cressida burlesque—over which wars of words have been waged—in *Histrionastix*. Nobody, I believe, has noticed that the latter is closely paralleled by this passage in Samuel Rowlands's *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine* . . . At London, Printed by W. White for W. F. 1600, signs. E b-E 2 (Hunterian Club edition, vol. I, pp. 66-67):

My hartes deare blood sweete *Cis*, is thy carouse,
Worth all the Ale in *Gammer Gubbins* house:
I say no more affaires call me away,
My Fathers horse for prouender doth stay.
Be thou the Lady *Cressit-light* to mee,
Sir *Trollelolle* I will proue to thee.
Written in haste: farewell my Cowslippe sweete,
Pray lets a Sunday at the Ale-house meete.

The early date of *Humours Blood* makes this passage of much importance in connection with the supposed allusion in *Histrionastix* to Shakespeare's *Troilus*.

as a complaisant damsel who "yielded grace" to her lover's importunities, and who was worthy of emulation. One could almost suspect that, tired with Chaucer's long-drawn-out narrative, certain readers stopped at the great climax in the third book of the *Troilus* and went on their way, blissfully unaware of Criseyde's later perfidy. John Skelton's poem, "To my lady Elisabeth Howarde" (1523), uses Creisseid as a convenient means of complimenting Lady Elisabeth's beauty,¹⁹ but the exaltation of Cressid as a model mistress really begins with *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557), where an unknown author is represented by a poem called "A comparison of his loue with the faithfull and painful loue of *Troylus* to *Creside*."²⁰ He had evidently read Chaucer carefully through the third book, for he borrows Chaucer's details freely. He tells how Troilus fell in love with Creside at first sight, how he was so hopelessly smitten that "euery ioye became a wo," and how

His chamber was his common walke,
Wherin he kept him se[c]retely.
He made his bedde the place of talke.

If the author had read all of the *Troilus*, he disregarded the tragic *dénouement* for effect. After Creside had granted her lover's wish, he says, she loved him faithfully and studied "his whole minde full to content." He concludes by imploring his mistress

To graunt me grace and so to do,
As Creside then did Troylus to.
And set me in as happy case,
As Troylus with his lady was.

¹⁹ *Works*, ed. A. Dyce, 1855, vol. II, p. 208. Cf. Miss Spurgeon, vol. I, p. 74.

²⁰ Arber's reprint, pp. 192-194. There were eight editions of this miscellany by 1587.

As a model lover Cresseda was depicted by William Elderton, the first noteworthy professional ballad-writer. In "The panges of Loue and louers fittes," his first known ballad, published on March 22, 1559/60, Elderton threw in a number of stock comparisons to romance and story, and wrote of Cresseda:

Knowe ye not, how Troylus
Lanquished and lost his joye,
With fittes and fevers mervailous
For Cresseda that dwelt in Troye;
Tyll pytie planted in her brest,
Ladie! ladie!
To slepe with him, and graunt him rest,
My dear ladie.²¹

William Fulwood, a merchant-tailor who wrote a bitter though coarsely humorous satire on Elderton, published in 1568 *The Enimie of Idlenesse*, perhaps the first "complete letter-writer" in English. "The fourth Booke. Conteyning sundrie Letters belonging to love" contains a model poetical letter alluringly entitled "A constant Lover doth expresse His gripyng griefes, which still encrease,"²² the first few verses of which show a knowledge of Chaucer's story:

As Troylus did neglect the trade of Lovers skilfull lawe,
Before such time that Cresseid faire with fixed eyes he sawe,

and then plunges into a series of conventional comparisons—"But sith I lacke some such a friende as he of Pandor had . . ." and the like. The "letter" concludes with the plea:

²¹ J. P. Collier's *Old Ballads*, p. 26 (Percy Society, vol. 1). The ballad is reprinted also in H. L. Collmann's *Ballads and Broadsides*, Roxburghe Club, 1912, p. 111.

²² Available to me only as reprinted (pp. 72-73) in Paul Wolter's *William Fullwood*, Diss. Rostock, Potsdam, 1907.

Therefore graunt grace, as Cressida, did unto Troylus true:
For as he had hir love by right, so thine to me is due.

Cressida must have been held up as a worthy example by many young lover-writers, for the *Enimie of Idlenesse* went through eight editions by 1598.

The early Elizabethan poets, particularly Turbervile and Gascoigne, and ballad-mongers²³ of a much later period were fond of thus exalting Cressida. Poetic license, or licentiousness, was their only excuse, for her reputation had long been hopeless. In 1501 Gavin Douglas²⁴ casually referred to "Trew Troilus, vnfaithfull Cressida," as if these epithets had already become stereotyped; and in *Philip Sparrow* (1507) Skelton²⁵ summarized Chaucer's story, scoffed even at Troilus, and harshly expressed the general opinion of Cressida and Pandar:

For she dyd but fayne;
The story telleth playne . . .
Thus in conclusyon,
She brought hym in abusyon;
In earnest and in game
She was moch to blame;
Disparaged is her fame,
And blemysshed is her name,
In maner half with shame;
Troylus also hath lost
On her moch loue and cost,
And now must kys the post;
Pandara, that went betwene,
Hath won nothing, I wene . . .
Yet for a speciall laud
He is named Troylus baud,
Of that name he is sure
Whyles the world shall dure.

²³ See *A Handfull of Pleasant Delights*, 1584, Spenser Society edition, pp. 45, 56; Richard Johnson's *Crown Garland of Golden Roses*, 1612, Percy Society Publications, vol. vi, pp. 52, 67.

²⁴ *The Palice of Honour*, Works, ed. J. Small, 1874, vol. i, p. 23.

²⁵ Works, ed. Dyce, 1855, vol. i, pp. 84-85.

In the hands of "vulgar makers" Chaucer's story lent itself admirably to burlesque. Skelton's own "doings" (which, Puttenham gravely assures us, were always ridiculous) could only have added to Cressid's ill fame. But worse was to come.

In 1565 a professional versifier wrote a coarsely humorous ballad on the lovers, which is preserved in a Bodleian Library manuscript, famous because it contains the older version of "Chevy Chase."²⁶ The ballad follows Chaucer in every particular: Troilus thinks his heart is so perfectly under control that no beauty can allure him, but one day at church he sees Cressyd. What a lurch did the sight

²⁶ *Songs and Ballads* . . . Edited from a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum by Thomas Wright, Roxburghe Club, 1860, pp. 195-197. The ballad is also reprinted in vol. XXXI, pp. 102-105, of the old Shakespeare Society *Papers* by Halliwell-Phillipps as well as in his edition of *Troilus* (*Folio Shakespeare*, vol. XII, p. 307). This is almost certainly the "ballett intituled 'the history of Troilus, Whose throtes [*i. e.*, troth] hath Well bene tryed'" which was registered for publication by T. Purfoote in 1565-66 (*Arber's Transcript*, vol. I, p. 300).

Another ballad on Troilus and "Cressus," preserved in the *Percy Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, vol. III, pp. 301-302, depends solely on Chaucer's poem. It begins:

Cressus: was the fairest of Troye,
whom Troylus did loue!
the Knight was kind, & shee was coy,
no words nor worthes cold moue,
till Pindaurs [!] soe playd his part
that the Knight obtained her hart
the Ladyes rose destroyes:
[They] held a sweet warr a winters night
till the enuyous day gaue light;
which darkness louers ioyes.

It is most surprising that Henryson's story was not worked into many lugubrious moralizing ballads of the type so dear to Elizabethan readers. One of these is mentioned on p. 24, below; and probably there were others not now preserved.

give his heart! He is dismayed, and seeks the help of her uncle Pandarus. Pandar tells Cressyd that Troilus is dying for her love, though the young warrior nevertheless goes to the battlefield and gives the Greeks "many a lusty thwake-a." Cressyd, caught at her uncle's house by a rain-storm, is forced to pass the night there. Troilus goes to her chamber with Pandar, but is too tongue-tied to speak. He kneels by the bed, but Pandar places him in it, blows out the light, and leaves the two together. In the morning he returns.

"In faythe, old unkell," then quoth she,
 "Yow are a frend to trust-a."
 Then Troylus lawghed, and wat you why?
 For he had what he lust-a.

Halliwell-Phillipps first commented on the resemblance of the ballad to Shakespeare's play. That resemblance is unmistakable, particularly in the characterization of Troilus,²⁷ who both in ballad and in drama is frankly sensual. It is by no means improbable that Shakespeare had heard this ballad sung about the streets of London,²⁸ and that alone would have given him a distaste for the love story: ballad-mongers and ballad-singers had made it coarse and farcical, and no Elizabethan poet would gladly, or willingly, have treated a theme which they had popularized and befouled.

Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cressyde* was published in Thynne's 1532 edition²⁹ of Chaucer, introduced

²⁷ Cf. especially *Troilus and Cressida*, iv, ii, 36-40.

²⁸ I have observed that one of the ballads in this MS. was registered in October, 1564, and yet was printed under Richard Johnson's name in his *Crown Garland*, 1612. The ballad on Troilus and Cressida could easily have been in circulation in Shakespeare's day.

²⁹ The quotations in this article are from Thynne's text (as normalized in Gregory Smith's *Henryson*, vol. III, pp. 177-198), because this was long the only text known in England. Otherwise the Scottish text (1593) would be preferable.

with the statement that "Thus endeth the fyfth and laste booke of Troylus: and here foloweth the pyteful and dolorous testament of fayre Creseyde," and concluding, "Thus endeth the pyteful and dolorous testament of fayre Creseyde: and here foloweth the legende of good women." The poem was probably written in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The earliest record of it is in the table of contents of the British Museum ms. Asloan, *circa* 1515, but the portion of the ms. which contained the poem is lost, and Thynne's is the earliest extant text. Perhaps Thynne did not intend it to be taken as Chaucer's work—Chaucer, indeed, is several times mentioned in the poem—but it was reprinted in all editions of Chaucer down to Urry's (1721), was attributed to him by Bale, Leland, and Tanner (1748), and was even included among his poems in Chalmers's *Works of the English Poets* (1810).³⁰ The oldest extant separate text is that published by Henry Charteris at Edinburgh in 1593. Six years after this, one of Francis Thynne's *Animadversions on Speght's Chaucer* was: "yt wolde be good that Chaucer's proper woorkes were distinguyshed from the adulterat, and suche as were not his, as the Testamente of Cressyde";³¹ but in his 1602 edition Speght not only ignored this advice but inserted the following passage at the beginning of Chaucer's poem (folio 143): "In this excellent Booke is shewed the feruent loue of Troylus to Creiseid, whome hee enioyed for a time: and her great vnruth to him againe in giuing her selfe to Diomedes, who in the end did so cast her off, that she came to great miserie. In which discourse Chaucer liberally treateth of the diuine purueiaunce."

³⁰ Henryson's *Works*, ed. Gregory Smith, Scottish Text Society, vol. I, p. xlv ff.

³¹ Miss Spurgeon, vol. I, pp. 154-155.

Chaucer had confined himself to the tragi-comedy of Troilus, but the Scottish poet, on a cold winter night when he was reading the story "written by worthy Chaucer glorious,"³² perceived that inherent in the theme there was a real tragedy of Criseyde, a tragedy suggested by her own adjuration:

And thou, Simoys, that as an arwe clere
 Thorough Troye rennest ay downward to the see,
 Ber witness of this word that seyde is here,
 That thilke day that ich untrewed be
 To Troilus, myn owene herte free,
 That thou retorne bakwarde to thy welle,
 And I with body and soule sinke in helle!³³

The continuation of the story, as Henryson wrote it, is the most artistic, the most powerful handling made by any poet after Chaucer. Animated no doubt by a desire to warn "worthy women" to "myngie nat your loue with false discepcion," he nevertheless wrote a genuinely dramatic poem, powerful in its delineation of character, gripping in the inevitability of its *dénouement*, and yet marked by the same sympathetic comprehension of the character of Criseyde that had made Chaucer pity her. The story could hardly end as Chaucer left it. There the ghost of Troilus looks down from the clouds upon the *comédie humaine* in which he had played such an unfortunate rôle and laughs at the pitiableness of his efforts and those of the living Trojans. But what of Criseyde? Was she true to Diomed? Could so sensual a man be true to her? Or was not his infatuation a mere whim caused by a desire of showing his superiority to her Trojan lover? Henryson's beautiful story answers all these questions in a manner

³² The allusions to Chaucer in the *Testament* are, of course, in Miss Spurgeon's book (vol. I, p. 56).

³³ *Troilus and Criseyde*, Bk. IV, st. 222.

that is beyond praise—with the sure touch of an artist. But in doing so he rang Criseyde's "bell" so loudly that it reverberated to the time of Shakespeare, and forever damned her as a loose woman.

The Diomedes Chaucer portrayed could not possibly have been true to Criseyde: once he had gained her body, once he had triumphed over the lover Troilus, Criseyde could no longer attract him. Henryson knew this. And he was entirely unfamiliar with the courtly-love rules that had motivated Chaucer's treatment of Criseyde, but instead regarded her as a wanton even in her relations with Troilus and as the kept mistress of Diomedes.³⁴ Accord-

* So thought also Sir Francis Kinaston, who circa 1635 began to translate *Troilus* into Latin and pointed out that the "Sixt & Last Booke of Troilus and Creseid" was not by Chaucer but by "Mr. Robert Henderson,"—surprising news to most of his contemporaries. "This Mr Henderson," he said, "wittily obseruing that Chaucer in his 5th booke had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Creseid, he learnedly takes vpon him in a fine poetickall way to expres the punishment & end due to a false vnconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery" (G. Smith's *Henryson*, vol. I, p. ciii; cf. also Miss Spurgeon, vol. I, p. 207). Both Henryson and Kinaston were quite modern in their attitude toward Cressid.

Ballad-mongers naturally took an unfavorable view of Cressid's relations with Troilus. So "A Ballade in Praise of London Prentices, and What They Did at the Cock-Pitt Playhouse" (Collier's *Hist. Eng. Dramatic Poetry*, 1879, vol. I, p. 387), of the date of March, 1616/7, tells us that

King Priam's robes were soon in rags,
And broke his gilded scepter;
False Cressid's hood, that was so good
When loving Troylus kept her. . . .

The ballad, if genuine, perhaps throws some light on the way in which actors played the part of Cressid. The author of "A New Ballad of King Edward and Jane Shore," 1671 (*Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. VIII, p. 424), is quite as uncomplimentary to "young Troyalus" as his predecessors were to Cressid.

ingly, he tells us that it was not long before Diomedes tired of Creseyde and drove her out. It grieves him to be forced to admit that

Than desolate she walked vp and downe,
As, some men sayne, in the courte as commune."²

Finally she returns to Calchas. Going into a private oratory of the temple, she bitterly reproaches Venus and Cupid for the evils they have sent on her; and falling asleep, dreams that her case is being tried by the gods, that Venus is demanding punishment for her impiety, that the gods decree her offence punishable by leprosy. Cynthia and Saturn descend to deliver the verdict. And a fearful one it is!

Thy christal eyen menged with blode I make;
Thy voice so clere, vnpleasaunt, heer, and hace;
Thy lusty lere ouerspred with spottes blake,
And lumpes hawe appering in thy face;
Where thou comest, eche man shal flye the place;
Thus shalte thou go beggyng fro house to hous,
With cuppe and clapper lyke a lazarus."³

Creseyde awakes to find that her dream has come true. She leaves the temple secretly with her father, and goes to the "spyttel house," where only a few lepers recognize her. She moans and cries, but finally is reconciled to begging. One day Troilus, riding by, is reminded by her terrible eyes of his lost lady-love, and impetuously pours money and jewels into her dish. Creseyde is frantic with grief. Feeling death approaching, she requests one of the lepers to carry her ruby ring to Troilus and to tell him of her unhappy end. When Troilus receives the ring and hears the message, he is filled with agony. But, alas! what can he do? She has been untrue to him—he can only furnish the

² Ll. 76-77.

³ Ll. 337-343.

grave in which the lepers have hastily buried her with a splendid monument and think of her! A beautiful and a pitiful story!

It should be obvious that most readers took the *Testament* for Chaucer's own work. In the third and fourth lines Henryson does say, "whan I began to write this tragedy," but that statement could easily be overlooked because of what follows, and besides the poem was unsigned. It was a stormy, cold night, Henryson says; I mended the fire, took a drink to arm me from the cold, opened a book written by glorious Chaucer, in which I read the story of fair Creseyde and Troilus,—of how Troilus nearly died of grief when he was forsaken. And then

To breke my slepe another queare I toke,
In whiche I founde the fatal desteny
Of fayre Creseyde, whiche ended wretchedly.

Who wot if al that Chaucer wrate was trewe?
Nor I wotte nat if this narration
Be authorysed, or forged of the newe,
Of some poete, by his inuention.*

This "other queare" could easily have been mistaken for a continuation of the story by Chaucer. Perhaps in the verses just quoted Henryson was trying to give that impression.⁸⁸ At any rate, the stanza form, the smoothly flowing verse (which probably sounded smoother and more regular to the Elizabethan ear than did Chaucer's own), the attitude towards the characters,—these might well have been thought Chaucer's. And the inevitability of Henryson's *dénouement*, even though it necessitated the resur-

* Ll. 61-67.

⁸⁸ Professor Skeat thought that these lines threw some doubt on Henryson's authorship. Cf. his *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 522.

rection of Troilus, should have removed all doubts of the authenticity of the poem.

Henryson made his Creseyde a life-like, suffering woman, struck down in the height of her folly by inexorable retribution. For authors and for readers up to 1600 Henryson's Cressid was *the* Cressid; but lacking his sympathy, they regarded her as a light-of-love who finally paid for her faithlessness and unchastity by leprosy. The influence of Henryson on the story was immense. He completely diverted it from the channel in which Chaucer had left it; but, nevertheless, every mention of Cressid as a leper, at least to 1600, is an allusion to Chaucer. People thought they were reading Chaucer: nobody had ever heard of Robert Henryson, schoolmaster.

Nor did Elizabethan writers have any idea of the origin of the Cressid myth, although many of them knew Boccaccio's "tragedies." A ballad registered at Stationers' Hall in 1564-65 and preserved in a Bodleian Library manuscript⁸⁹ begins,

In Bocas an Guydo I rede and fynde,
Thatt women of verrey nature and kynde,
Be subtyll and unstedfaste of mynde,

but shows no knowledge of Guido's or Boccaccio's Cressid. George Turberville translated some of Boccaccio's tales, constantly quotes him, and mentions him in connection with Chaucer, but knew Troilus and Cressid only as they appeared in Chaucer's works. In his *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (1567) Turberville devotes a poem to the story of Briseis, Chryseis, and the Wrath of

⁸⁹ Registered, I have observed, under the title of its refrain, "I will say nothing," in 1564-65 (Arber's *Transcript*, vol. i, p. 270); printed in Thomas Wright's *Songs and Ballads*, Roxburghe Club, 1860, p. 163.

Achilles; ⁴⁰ if he had actually read the *Iliad*, he must have observed that a Pandarus plays an important rôle in Books iv-v and that Briseis, in Book xix, is described as a Trojan widow. But Turberville, though deeply impressed by Chaucer's and Henryson's narratives, perceived no connection between Briseis and Cressid, and probably derived his information about Achilles, Briseis, and Chryseis, only from Ovid's *Epistles*, which, in 1567 (or earlier), he had translated. His poems are literally full of allusions to the Troilus-Cressida story, which he constantly uses in his doleful love ditties, as a fearful warning to obdurate and faithless mistresses. On one occasion "Finding his Mistresse vntrue, he exclaimeth thereat" ⁴¹ as follows:

Farewell thou shamelesse shrew,
faire Cresides heire thou art:
And I Sir Troylus earst haue been,
as proueth by my smart.
Hencefoorth beguile the Greekes,
no Troyans will thee trust:
I yeeld thee vp to Diomed,
to glut his filthie lust.

But the Henryson story was always in Turberville's mind. "The Lover in utter dispaire of his Ladies returne,

* In J. P. Collier's reprint of the *Epitaphes*, pp. 223-226. On p. 10 occurs this little known allusion to Chaucer and Boccaccio:

Pause, pen, a while therefore,
and use thy woonted meane:
For Boccas braine, and Chaucers quill
in this were foyled cleane.
Of both might neither boast
if they did live againe;
For P[yndara]. would put them to their shifts
to pen hir vertues plaine.

(¹) ⁴¹ In *Tragical Tales*, translated by Turberville, *In time of his troubles*, 1587 (Edinburgh reprint, 1837, p. 330). The *Tales*, as I shall prove elsewhere, was first printed in 1574-75.

in eche respect compares his estate with Troylus," a poem in the *Epitaphes* (p. 249), brims with allusions to Chaucer's own poem but concludes with this characteristic passage, which borrows both details and phrases from Henryson:

But though my fortune frame awrie,
And I, dispoylde hir companie,
Must waste the day and night in wo,
For that the gods appointed so,
I naythelesse will wish hir well
And better than to Cresid fell:
I pray she may have better hap
Than beg hir bread with dish and clap,
As shee, the sielie miser, did,
When Troylus by the spittle rid.
God shield hir from the lazars lore,
And lothsome leapers stincking sore,
And for the love I earst hir bare
I wish hir as my selfe to fare.

The poet was not always so charitable. "To his cruel Mistresse,"⁴² at another time, he frankly remarks:

"*Ibid.*, p. 369. On p. 334 we read: "

When Cresid clapt the dish,
and Lazer-like did goe:
She rewde no doubt that earst she did
the Troyan handle so.
And might she then retirde
to beuties auncient towre:
She would haue stucke to Priams sonne,
of faithful loue the floure.
But fond, too late she found
that she had been too light:
And ouerlate bewaild that she
forewent the worthy knight.

So in the *Epitaphes*, 1567 (Collier's reprint, pp. 108-109):

Let Creside be in coumpt
and number of the mo,
Who for hir lightnesse may presume
with falsest on the row;

And if I may not haue
 the thing I would enioy:
 I pray the gods to plague thee
 as they did the dame of Troy.
 I meane that Creside coy
 that linkt her with a Greeke:
 And left the lusty Troyan Duke,
 of all his loue to seeke.
 And so they wil, I trust,
 a mirror make of thee:
 That beuties darlings may beware,
 when they thy scourge shal see!

The enormous popularity of Turbervile's poems, doggerel though most of them are, helped to make the name of Cressid odious, or worse, comical.

Thomas Howell's "The britlenesse of thinges mortall, and the trustinesse of Vertue," a poem in spasmodic rime royal published in his *Newe Sonets, and pretie Pamphlets* (circâ 1570),⁴⁸ is so important for this discussion and so

Else would she not have left
 a Trojan for a Greeke.
 But what? by kinde the cat will hunt;
 hir father did the like.

There are similar long allusions on pp. 54, 56-57. The *Epitaphes* was issued in 1565, 1567, 1570, 1579, 1584. Turbervile had a brother and various nephews and cousins named Troilus (Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of Dorset*, 3rd edition, vol. I, pp. 139, 201), but whether there were likewise Cressids in the family, the record telleth not!

⁴⁸Originally licensed in 1567-68, but no copy of the first edition remains. The present edition claims to be "newly augmented, corrected and amended. Imprinted at London in Flete-streete, at the signe of S. Iohn Euangelist, by Thomas Colwell." Colwell's last license (for a ballad) was secured in July, 1571 (Arber's *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 444); he is last heard of in a marginal note beside the entry of a book he had registered in 1568-9: "solde to Benyman, 19 Junij 1573" (Arber, vol. I, p. 378); so that Howell's *Newe Sonets* probably appeared about 1570. Grosart, reprinting the second edition, does not attempt to date it. Miss Spurgeon, vol. I,

inaccessible as to deserve quotation. Four stanzas of the poem deal with Cressid:

Where is faire *Helines* bewtie now he come,
Or *Cressed* eke whom *Troylus* long time serued,
Where be the decked daintie Dame of Rome,
That in Aurelius time so flourished:
As these and many mo are vanished,
So shall your youth, your fauor, and your grace,
When nothing els but vertue may take place.

To vertue therfore do your selues applie,
Cale *Cressids* lyfe vnto your youthly minde,
Who past her time in *Troye* most pleasauntly
Till falsinge faith to vice she had inclinde
For whiche to hir suche present plagues were sinde,
That she in Lazars lodge her life did ende,
Which wonted was most choysly to be tende.

Hir comly corpes that *Troylus* did delight
All puft with plages full lothsomly there lay:
Hir Azurde vaines, her Cristall skinne so whight,
With Purple spots, was falne in great decay:
Hir wrinkeled face once fayre doth fade away,
Thus she abode plagde in midst of this hir youth,
Was forst to beg for breaking of hir truth.

After having thus paraphrased Henryson, the last stanza, with unconscious irony, continues the denunciation with an imitation of Chaucer's phraseology:

Lo here the ende of wanton wicked life,
Lo here the fruit that Sinne both sowes and reapes;
Lo here of vice the right rewarde and knife,
That cutth of cleane and tombleth downe in heapes,
All such as treadeth Cressids cursed steps,
Take heede therefore how you your youthes do spende,
For vice bringes plagues, and vertue happie ende."

p. 100, merely refers to the work under its original date. But cf. Herbert-Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, II, p. 932.

"*The Poems of Thomas Howell*, ed. A. B. Grosart, pp. 121-122. Cf. Chaucer's *Troilus*, Bk. v, st. 262, 265.

In 1581 Howell published his *Deuises, for his owne exercise, and his Friends pleasure*,⁴⁵ and there included this poem, changing the title to "Ruine the rewarde of Vice," considerably recasting all the verses, and adding a stanza. It is very probable that Shakespeare knew Howell's *Deuises*, and he could hardly have accused Howell of writing maliciously of Cressid. It cannot be insisted too often that readers of the *Testament* thought they were reading Chaucer. "Chaucers woorkes bee all printed in one volume," John Fox wrote in 1570, "and therefore knowen to all men."⁴⁶ But if all men had read that volume, they also had the idea of Cressid that Howell has here expressed.

George Gascoigne was fascinated by the Troilus-Cressid story, and refers to it with persistent and monotonous reiteration. The *Posies* (1575), his ungainly collection of plays and poems, mentions the lovers on nearly every page! Miss Spurgeon⁴⁷ quotes these verses from "Dan Bartholmew his first Triumphe":

Thy brother *Troylus* eke, that gemme of gentle deedes,
To thinke howe he abused was, alas, my heart it bleedeth!
He bet about the bushe, whiles other caught the birds,
Whome crafty *Cresside* mockt to muche, yet fed him still with
words.

And God he knoweth, not I, who pluckt hir first-sprong rose,
Since *Lollius* and *Chaucer* both make doubt vpon that glose.

The mention of Lollius is important as showing that Gascoigne had read *Troilus* with some care but that he knew nothing of its source in Boccaccio,—a fact which, in the light of his knowledge of Italian, is a bit surprising. Miss

⁴⁵In Grosart's edition. A separate edition was edited by Sir Walter Raleigh, Oxford, 1906.

⁴⁶Miss Spurgeon, vol. I, p. 105.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 110.

Spurgeon omits the four lines that directly follow those above:

But this I knowe to well, and he to farre it felte,
How *Diomede* vndid his knots, & caught both brooch and belt,
And how she chose to change, and how she changed still,
And how she dyed leaper-like, against hir louers will.

Gascoigne's information about Cressid's unchastity, then, came primarily from the *Testament*. Henryson's Creseyde's last words were:

"O Diomede! thou hast both brooch & belte,
Whiche Troylus gaue me in tokenyng
Of his trewe loue"—& with that worde she swelte,"

* Ll. 579-581. The belt is Henryson's addition. The Scottish poet Wedderburne (*Bannatyne MS.*, 1568, ed. Hunterian Club, vol. iv, p. 761; Sibbald's *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, vol. III, p. 236), following both Henryson and Chaucer, piles an alarming assortment of articles on the weapon of Diomedes:

God wait quhat wo had Troyelus in deid,
Quhen he beheld the belt, the brooch and ring,
Hingand vpoun the speir of Diomeid,
Quhilk Troyellus gaif to Cresseid in luvie taikning.

This last line is almost an exact quotation of Henryson, ll. 500-501 (quoted above). But Wedderburne, like his English contemporaries, thought he was quoting Chaucer. In this same poem there is a stanza (unnoticed by Miss Spurgeon) in which he summarizes the *Miller's Tale*.

The limits of this article necessarily preclude an attempt to trace the story through the Scottish poets. A remarkable poem, "The Laste Epistle of Creseyd to Troyalus," attributed to William Fowler (*Works*, vol. I, pp. 379-387, ed. H. W. Meikle, 1914), should be mentioned, however. This aims to finish Henryson's poem, and does so by borrowing his situation and retelling the whole story of the *Testament* plus details presumably from Lydgate and certainly from Chaucer. The date of this poem is, I should guess, about 1603, when Fowler came to London with Queen Anne. (The second volume of Meikle's edition has not appeared, and he has not expressed his opinion.) At any rate, Fowler was unaware of, or totally unimpressed by, Shakespeare's play.

and this explains the persistent allusions in Elizabethan poems to "brooch and belt."

In "Dan Bartholmewes Dolorous discourses" Gascoigne writes:

I found naught else but tricks of *Cressides* kinde,
Which playnly proude that thou weart of hir bloud.
I found that absent *Troylus* was forgot,
When *Dyomede* had got both brooch and belt,
Both gloue and hand, yea harte and all, God wot,
When absent *Troylus* did in sorowes swelt,⁴⁸

and then concludes by imitating Chaucer's epilogue to the *Troilus*:⁵⁰

Lo, here the cause for why I take this payne!
Lo, how I loue the wight which me doth hate!
Lo, thus I lye, and restlesse rest in Bathe. . . .⁴⁹

In another passage Gascoigne remarks:

And saye as *Troylus* sayde, since that I can no more,
Thy wanton wyll dyd wauer once, and woe is me therefore,⁵¹

almost an exact rendering of Henryson's lines (591-592). Such examples, and more could easily be cited, show clearly that Gascoigne made no distinction between Chaucer's poem and Henryson's. On the contrary, they prove that, at least from Gascoigne's point of view, his allusions to Cressid's leprosy are allusions to Chaucer.⁵²

George Whetstone, in the *Rocke of Regard* (1576), was,

⁴⁸ *Complete Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, vol. I, p. 114.

⁴⁹ Bk. v, st. 262, 265. Cf. Howell, p. 404, *supra*.

⁵⁰ Hazlitt's ed., vol. I, p. 115.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 90. Henryson's lines are:

Sigheng ful sadly, sayde, "I can no more;
She was vntrewe, and wo is me therefore!"

⁵² Similar allusions may be found in Hazlitt's edition, vol. I, pp. 54, 55, 92, 98, 101, 105-106, 133, 139, 140, 363, 493, 495, and elsewhere.

perhaps even more than Gascoigne, influenced by Henryson, and is extremely severe on poor Cressid, frankly announcing in his preface "To all the young Gentlemen of England" that in *Cressids Complaint*, the title of one poem in the first division of his book, "the subtilties of a courtisan discovered may forwarne youth from the companie of inticing dames." "The Argument for Cressids complaint," quoted below, shows to what a sad state Henryson's poem had brought the reputation of Cressid, making her, in Whetstone's eyes, a strumpet even while she was carrying on her love affair with Troilus:

The inconstancie of Cressid is so readie in every mans mouth, as it is a needelesse labour to blase at full her abuse towards yong Troilus, her frowning on Syr Diomedes, her wanton lures and love: neverthelesse, her companie scorned, of thousandes sometimes sought, her beggerie after braverie, her lothsome leprosie after lively beautie, her wretched age after wanton youth, and her perpetuall infamie after violent death, are worthy notes (for others heede) to be remembered. And for as much as Cressids heires in every corner live, yea, more cunning then Cressid her selfe in wanton exercises, toyes and inticements, to forewarne all men of such filthes, to perswade the infected to fall from their follies, and to rayse a feare in dames untainted to offend, I have reported the subtile sleites, the leaud life, and evill fortunes of a courtisane, in Cressid[s] name; whom you may suppose, in tattered weedes, halfe hungerstarved, miserably arrayde, with scabs, leprosie, and mayngie, to complaine as followeth.⁵⁴

In the complaint itself, which ironically enough is written in rime royal, Cressid frankly admits that she was always a wanton, that she deliberately enticed Troilus and was all the while prostituting her body to other Trojans. She refers to "Syr Chaucer"⁵⁵ (which shows that Whetstone wrote the piece with Chaucer's Criseyde in mind), but borrows all her woes (including, of course, "the brooch

⁵⁴ *Rooke of Regard*, J. P. Collier's reprint, p. 35.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39 (Miss Spurgeon, vol. I, p. 113).

and belt " which Diomedes got) from Henryson. Where Creseyde has said :

This leper loge take for thy goodly bour,
And for thy bedde take nowe a bonch of stro;
Far wayled wyne and meates thou had tho,
Take mouled breed, pirate, and syder sour:
But cuppe and clapper, nowe is al ago,"

Whetstone's Cressid cries,—

Glad is she now a browne breade crust to gnawe,
Who, deintie once, on finest cates did frowne;
To couch upon soft seames a pad of straw,
Where halfe mislikt were stately beds of downe:
By neede enforst, she begs on every clowne
On whom but late the best would gifts bestow;
But squemish then, God dyld ye, she said no."

The Epilogue imitates Chaucer's conclusion in the same fashion as Howell and Gascoigne had earlier done:

Loe! here the fruits of lust and lawlesse love,
Loe! here their faults that vale to either vice;
Loe! ladyes, here their falles (for your behove)
Whose wanton willes sets light by sound advice.
Here lords may learn with noble dames to match;
For dunghill kyte from kinde will never flye. . . ."

Surely if Dr. Furnivall had read *Cressids Complaint* he would never have said that we owe Shakespeare a grudge for debasing Chaucer's beautiful story! The grudge, if one be owed, must be against Henryson, while Shakespeare deserves our thanks for pulling Cressid partly out of the mire in which Henryson's followers had placed her.

" Ll. 433-437.

" Collier's reprint, p. 40. Thomas Deloney's ballad of "Jane Shore" (*Works*, ed. F. O. Mann, p. 304, st. 9-11) seems to be imitating both Whetstone and Henryson, though the resemblance is probably accidental. Whetstone has other allusions to Cressid on pp. 134, 279. Cf. also his mention of Achilles and Briseis on p. 140.

" Collier's reprint, p. 91.

Sabia, in *Common Conditions* (before 1576), replies to Nomides's question, "What constancy in *Creseda* did rest in every thinge?" thus:

How faythfull was *Deomedes* one of the *Greekishe* crew
Though *Troilus* therin was iust yet was hee found vntrewe.
And so betweene those twaine, and fortunes luckles hap,
Shee was like Lazer faine to sit and beg with dish and clap.*

The allusions were no doubt understood and appreciated by every audience. From 1575 to 1585 poetical miscellanies, under fantastic and verbose titles, swarmed; and *Cressid*'s name monotonously appears in them, along with that of Helen, as a fearful example. *Cressid*, however, is only once referred to in *The Paradyse of daynty deuises* (1576): there a certain R. L. has occasion to illustrate his remarks by the story of Medea and Jason. He then writes:

Vnto whose grace yelde he, as I doe offer me,
Into your hands to haue his happ, not like hym for to be:
But as kyng Priamus [?sonne], did binde hym to the will,
Of Cressed false whiche hym forsoke, with Diomed to spill.

So I to you commende my faithe, and eke my ioye,
I hope you will not bee so false, as Cressed was to Troye:
For if I bee vntrue, her Lazares death I wishe,
And eke in thee if thou bee false, her clapper and her dishe.**

The *Gorgious Gallery of gallant Inuentions* (1578) is crowded with allusions to Henryson's *Cressid*. One lover, who is quite as ungallant as R. L., "writeth to his Lady a desperate Farewell," and remarks:

Thy fawning flattering wordes, which now full false I finde,
Perswades mee to content my selfe, and turne from *Cressids* kinde.

* *Common Conditions*, ed. Tucker Brooke, 1915, ll. 801, 820-823. See also l. 1281.

** "Beyng in Loue, he complaineth," J. P. Collier's reprint of 1578 edition of the *Paradyse*, p. 132. There were eight editions by 1600.

And all the sorte of those: that vse such craft I wish
A speedy end, or lothsome life, to liue with *Lazars* dish.^a

Another lover, exhorting "his Lady to bee constant," reminds her that

The fickle are blamed:
Their lightiloue shamed,
Theyr foolishnesse doth make them dye:
As well,
Can *Cressid* beare witnessse,
Forge of her owne distresse,
Whom Leprosy paynted
And penury taynted.^a

More intelligent use of Henryson's narrative is made by *A poore Knight his Pallace of priuate pleasures* (1579), an elaborate allegory. Morpheus escorts the poor knight to the Vale of Venus, where among other unfortunate lovers he sees Troilus and Cressid:

And as I pryed by chaunce, I saw a damsell morne,
With ragged weedes, and Lazars spots, a wight to much forlorne.
Quoth *Morpheus* doost thou see, wheras that caytiffe lyes,
Much like the wretched *Crocodill*, beholde now how shee cryes.
That is *Pandare* his Nice, and *Calcas* only childe,
By whose deceites and pollicies, young *Troylus* was beguilde.
Shee is kept in affliction where many other are,
And veweth *Troylus* lying dead, vpon the Mount of *Care*.
Shee wepte, shee sighed, she sobd, for him shee doth lament,
And all too late, yet to to vaine, her facte shee doth repent:
How could that stedfast knight, (quoth I) loue such a dame?
Morpheus replied in beauty bright, shee bare away the fame:
Till that shee had betrayd, her *Troylus* and her dere,
And then the Gods assigned a plague, and after set her here.^a

^a Sign. C b (*Three Collections of English Poetry*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, London, 1845).

^a Sign. E iii b (*ibid.*) Similar allusions may be found at signs. B ii b, B iii, E ii b, F iii b, G iv b, H ii, K iii b, and elsewhere.

^a Sign. B iii b (Ellis's *Three Collections*). The phrase "*Pandor* his Neece" is used again at sign. D ii b, and of course comes only from Chaucer's story.

The poor knight, indeed, seems to have read the *Testament of Creseyde* with more attention than most of his fellow writers. He noticed, for instance, that while Creseyde had bequeathed her "corse and caryoun With wormes and with toodes to be rent," she had also said:

My spirite I leaue to Diane, wher she dwelles,
To walke with her in waste wodes & welles; "

and accordingly, in another poem, he puts her in the train of Diana. Cupid's army approaches, and Desire is sent to demand Diana's surrender. This is refused. Desire returns to Cupid, and is ordered to ambush the maidens. He does so, and "when as worthy *Troylus* came, how could Dame *Cressid* fight?" But this was no prelude to a happy reunion in the Other World. The poor knight was too prejudiced for that, and hastened to add:

But rather then Dame *Cressid* would, so quickly seeme as dead,
Shee vowed her selfe from *Troylus* true, to flattering *Diomed*.
So that the periured *Grecian*, or els the *Troyan* knight,
Should haue Dame *Cressid* vnto loue, yea both if so it might."

In "Iustice and Iudgement, pleaded at Beauties Barre," the poor knight devotes five stanzas (in rime royal) to Cressid.⁶⁶ All the gods and Venus sit beside Beauty, and after Helen has been condemned and led away, Troilus offers his bill of complaint against Cressid. Diomedes tries

⁶⁶ Ll. 577-578.

⁶⁷ Sign. D iii b.

⁶⁸ Signs. F-F b. Cf. also sign. I iii. In W. A.'s *Speciall Remedie against the furious force of lawlesse Loue*, 1579 (reprinted in Ellis's *Three Collections*), sign. F ii b, there is a rather interesting reference to Cressid:

What madnesse then remaines, in mens vnruly mindes,
to feede one fruits of vaine desire, ye which so soone vntwindes[?]
For wher is now become, dame *Cressids* glorious hue,
whose passing port, so much did please, young *Troilus* eyes to vew?
W. A., of course, is alluding to the leprosy story.

to defend her, but is routed by Troilus; Calchas offers "glistening gobs of gold" if Beauty will spare her; but Beauty would not

giue eare, vnto the tale hee tolde,
But iudged her which was the Prophets daughter
A Leper vile, and so shee liued after.

Here a new twist has been given to the story, though the author was indebted to Henryson for his idea. He has simply paraphrased the description of Creseyde's dream as given by the Scottish poet.

On June 23, 1581, Edward White licensed "A proper ballad Dialoge wise betwene Troylus and Cressida," which was probably, I think, a reprint of a ballad in two parts—"A Complaint" (by "Troilus") and "A Replye" (by "Cressida")—that had been published in the 1580 edition of the *Paradyse of daynty deuises*.⁶⁷ The "Complaint" is a bitter attack in which Troilus laments that Cressida's "gadding moode" caused her to be unfaithful. "If she in *Troy* had tarried still," the ballad-writer makes Troilus say,

She had not knoune the Lazars call,
With cuppe & clap her almes to winne:
Nor how infective scabbe and scall,
Do cloth the Lepre Ladies skinne:⁶⁸
She had no such distresse in *Troy*,
But honor, favour, wealth, and ioy.

In the "Replye" Cressida denies that a "gadding moode, but forced strife" took her from Troy: if Troilus had only made her his wife, they might have lived happily together. As it is, she asks for pity, not blame; and grieves because

⁶⁷ Edited by Sir E. Brydges, 1812, pp. 100-102. Published also in Gascoigne's *Poems*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, vol. II, pp. 331-333.

⁶⁸ This absurd phrase may come from Henryson, l. 464: "a leper lady rose, and to her wende."

Troilus is "blazing" her "plague to make it more." In the *Testament* Troilus is profoundly touched by the resemblance of the leper to Cressid, and almost dies of grief when he discovers that the leper *was* Cressid. Such a production as this ballad, then, keeps neither to the spirit of Henryson nor of Chaucer, but the ballad-writer was reflecting the popular idea of the unfortunate woman.

"The Louer complaineth the losse of his Ladie," a ballad by I. Thomson in *A Handefull of pleasant delites* (1584),⁶⁹ combines details from the *Troilus* and the *Testament* in this fashion:

If *Venus* would grant vnto me,
 such happinesse:
 As she did vnto *Troylus*,
 By help of his friend *Pandarus*,
 To *Cressids* loue who worse,
 Than all the women certainly:
 That euer liued naturally.
 Whose slight falsed faith, the storie saith,
 Did breed by plagues, her great and sore distresse,
 For she became so leprosie,
 That she did die in penurie:
 Because she did transgresse."⁷⁰

The "storie" to which Thomson refers was, of course, the six books of *Troilus and Criseyde* as printed by Thynne.

Robert Greene, in *Euphues his censure to Philautus* (1587), introduces Iphigenia, Briseis, and Cressida, as three Greek ladies who frequently meet with Cassandra,

⁶⁹ That the *Handfull of Pleasant Delights* first appeared in 1566, as an entry in the Stationers' Registers for that year (Arber's *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 313) would naturally lead one to expect, and that most of the ballads printed in the 1584 *Handfull* had actually been published before 1566, I have attempted to prove in an article presently to appear in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.

⁷⁰ *A Handefull*, etc., Spenser Society edition, p. 32. Henryson does not mention Pandarus.

Polyxena, Andromache, and the Greek and Trojan warriors to discuss philosophy and literature,—all these personages being sublimely unconscious that the works they are discussing were not to be written for hundreds of years. Mr. C. H. Herford has suggested ⁷¹ that this anachronism may have led Shakespeare into putting Aristotle's philosophy in Hector's mouth. Certainly in the *Winter's Tale* Shakespeare followed Greene by giving Bohemia a sea-coast—an error that aroused the scornful ridicule of Ben Jonson. In the "third discourse" Greene speaks of "*Cressida*, who all that night had smothered in hir thoughts the perfection of *Troilus*," ⁷² but a remark of his Orlando Furioso,—

Why strumpet, worse than Mars his trothlesse loue.

Falsere than faithles Cressida: strumpet thou shalt not scape,—⁷³

shows that his opinion of Cressida was hardly favorable.

With *Willobie His Avis*. Or *The true Picture of a modest Maid, and of a chast and constant wife* (1594) we come close to Shakespeare. In her "Second Temptation . . . after her marriage by Ruffians, Roysters, young Gentlemen, and lustie Captaines, which all shee quickly cuts off," the impossible Avis, out-Susanning Susanna, delivers this crushing retort to her tempters:

Though shamelesse Callets may be found;
That Soyle them selves in common field;
And can carire the whoores rebound,
To straine at first, and after yeeld:
Yet here are none of *Cresseds* kind,
In whome you shall such fleeting find.⁷⁴

⁷¹ In his *Works of Shakespeare* (1902), vol. III, pp. 359-60.

⁷² Greene's *Prose Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart, vol. VI, p. 233.

⁷³ *Historie of Orlando Furioso*, Malone Society reprint, II. 1065-66. For similar slurs see Greene's *Never Too Late*, 1590, *Prose Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. VIII, pp. 26, 59, 68.

⁷⁴ Ed. Charles Hughes, 1904, Canto XVIII, p. 51.

Willobie himself then assailed the constant dame, only to be told in "Avisa, her last reply,"

Assure your selfe, you know my mind,
My hart is now, as first it was,
I came not of dame *Chrysiodes* kind.⁷⁵

To the *Avisa* is added a poem called "The praise of a contented mind," in which Willobie shows that Henryson was his chief authority for the Cressid story. He writes:

For carelesse Crysed that had gin, her hand, her faith and hart,
To Troilus her trustie friend, yet falsely did depart:
And gylotlike from Troye towne, to Grecians campe would goe,
To Diomede, whom in the end, she found a faithless foe.
For having aliu'd the gentle slip, his love was turnd to hate.
And she a leaper did lament, but then it was too late.
Now foolish fancie was the cause, this Crysed did lament,
For when she had a faithfull friend, she could not be content.⁷⁶

Sir Sidney Lee⁷⁷ believes that Shakespeare was the Mr. W. S., an old player, referred to in the *Avisa*; but whether or not this be true, Shakespeare probably noticed the book because he was actually mentioned by name in the prefatory verses. His opinion of Cressida was exactly the same as that of Master Willobie.

By 1596, the year in which Thomas Heywood's *Iron Age* seems to have first been played,⁷⁸ Cressid's features

⁷⁵ Ed. Hughes, p. 133, Canto LXXII.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139. The third verse is a rendering of Henryson's "And go among the grekes early and late, So gyglotlyke, takyng thy foule plesaunce" (ll. 82-83). The ugly phrase in the first half of the fifth line is also used by Gascoigne, *Poems*, ed. Hazlitt, vol. I, p. 105.

⁷⁷ *Life of Shakespeare* (1916), pp. 219-221.

⁷⁸ *Troy* was entered in Henslowe's *Diary* (ed. Greg, vol. II, p. 180) as a new play on June 22, 1596, and was performed five or six times during June and July (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 42). Greg (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 180) thinks that this was an earlier and shorter part of the *Iron Age*, which was later expanded into a two-part play. The *Iron Age* was first published in 1632; in the preface to the two parts Heywood

were fixed, so that no writer could possibly have further degraded her. And it was probably the success of this play that caused Henslowe to order another, on a similar theme, from Dekker and Chettle. On April 7, 1599, he loaned them three pounds "in earneste of ther boocke called Troyeles & creasse daye,"⁷⁹ and on April 16 twenty shillings "in pte of payment of ther boocke called Troyelles & cresseda."⁸⁰ The play is not extant, but among the Henslowe papers there is a rough plot of a Troilus-Cressida play which may have been this one. A section of it runs thus:

Enter Cressida wth Beggars, pigg Stephen, mr Jones his boy
& mutes to them Troylus, & Deiphobus & proctor exeunt,⁸¹—

wrote that they had been "often (and not with the least applause,) Publickely Acted by two Companies, vppon one Stage at once." This performance may have been given during the autumn of 1597, when from October 11 to November 5 Pembroke's and the Admiral's men played together at the Rose. Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 285) believed this, but Greg (*Diary*, vol. II, p. 180) denies it. Nevertheless, among the inventory of properties owned by the Admiral's men (Heywood's company) on March 10, 1597/8, there was a "great horse with his leages" (*Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 118), a property absolutely necessary for the second part of the *Iron Age* and very probably used for it during the performances of the preceding winter. Heywood's *Golden Age*, *Silver Age*, and *Brasen Age* seem to have been first performed on March 5, 1594/5, May 7, 1595, and May 23, 1595 (*Dairy*, ed. Greg, vol. II, p. 175; Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, vol. I, pp. 283-284, and *History of the Stage*, p. 114); and it seems highly probable that the *Iron Age* immediately followed these. The best discussion of the date of the *Iron Age* is that in Professor Tattlock's "Siege of Troy," *PMLA.*, vol. XXX, pp. 707-719. He decides (p. 719) that "an earlier date for *Iron Age* than for Shakespeare's *Troilus* (1601-02) is favored by some of [the] evidence and opposed by none of it."

⁷⁹ Henslowe's *Diary*, ed. Greg, vol. I, 104.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* The play of *Agamemnon* which was entered on May 26 and May 30, 1599 (*ibid.*, p. 109), Greg (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 202) does not believe to have been the same as the Dekker-Chettle *Troilus*.

⁸¹ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 142.

enough to show that Henryson's poem had decidedly colored the plot.

Heywood probably got most of his material from Lydgate, though he also knew the *Iliad* and from it took his Thersites. But he has a number of remarkable deviations from Lydgate's narrative, many of them due, no doubt, to his knowledge of Homer. He seems not to have known Chaucer's *Troilus*,⁸² but the final scene in which his Cressid appears is taken from Henryson's poem. "Pandors" is once used as a common noun,⁸³ but Pandarus is nowhere mentioned; and while Troilus is exalted to a position almost equal to that of Hector (as in Chaucer and Lydgate), the chronology of the love story is hopelessly muddled, and the characterization of Cressid is absurd. The outline of the story will indicate many points of resemblance between the *Iron Age* and Shakespeare's play.⁸⁴

Troilus appears in the first scene of Act I, Part I, where

⁸² But in his *Troia Britanica*, 1609 (note to Canto XI, p. 254), Heywood refers to the story of Troilus and Cressida written by "the reuerent Poet Chaucer."

⁸³ Pt. II, Act v (*Plays*, ed. Pearson, vol. III, p. 428).

⁸⁴ It is altogether improbable that, as almost all critics have said, Shakespeare took his Thersites directly from Chapman's *Iliad*. Instead he must have been chiefly influenced by Heywood's play, or by an older play which they both used. Perhaps he knew John Heywood's (?) interlude of *Thersites*, which was printed by Tyndale, 1552-1563; and certainly the scenes in which this Thersites abuses his old mother are as disgusting from the modern point of view and as amusing from the Elizabethan point of view as anything said by Shakespeare's Thersites. Shakespeare also knew Thersites from Arthur Golding's translation of the *Metamorphoses* (1567). The epigram on Thersites in Bastard's *Chrestoleros* (Spenser Society reprint, p. 28), which was published in April, 1598, some time before Chapman's *Iliad* first appeared, probably was suggested by the popularity of the Thersites in Heywood's *Iron Age*. Shakespeare's Thersites, like his Pandar, was intended to be purely a comic figure. See Heywood's comments on Thersites in his *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas*, 1637 (no pagination or signatures).

Antenor is reporting his ill success at securing "Aunt Hesione" from the Greeks. Paris then secures permission to sail for Greece and steal Helen. The remainder of the act deals with his reception in Greece, the rape of Helen, and the arming of the Greeks for pursuit. Thersites appears in the first Grecian scene, "rayling" bitterly, calling Helen an "asse," predicting that Menelaus will soon wear horns, and otherwise disporting himself for the delectation of the groundlings. In Act II Troilus and Cressida are seen mutually pledging eternal faithfulness. Meanwhile Helen has been joyfully received into Troy, and the Greek hosts have encamped before the walls. Calchas then flees, Hector vows vengeance on him, but not a word is said of Cressid. After a skirmish or two, Hector steps between the ranks, offering to stake the outcome of the war on single combat. Ulysses suggests that the Greek champion be determined by lot. In the combat that follows, Hector refuses to fight to the bitter end because Ajax is his cousin. Priam then invites the Greek kings to a banquet.

Act III opens with the banquet. Hector graciously welcomes his cousin, calmly listens to Achilles's predictions of how and where he will be killed, and seems unaware that Calchas is present whispering to Cressid. Presently the father and daughter have this ridiculous conversation:

Cal. In one word this *Troy* shall be sackt and spoil'd,
For so the gods haue told mee, *Greece* shall conquer,
And they be ruin'd, leaue then imminent perill,
And flye to safety.

Cres. From *Troilus*?

Cal. From destruction, take *Diomed* and liue,
Or *Troilus* and thy death.

Cres. Then *Troilus* and my ruine.

Cal. Is *Cresid* mad?

Wilt thou forsake thy father, who for thee
And for thy safety hath forsooke his Countrey?

Cres. Must then this City perish?

Cal. *Troy* must fall.

Cres. Alas for *Troy* and *Troilus*.

Cal. Loue King *Diomed*

A Prince and valiant, which made Emphasis

To his Imperiall stile, liue *Diomedes* Queene,

Be briefe, say quickly wilt thou? is it done?

Cres. *Diomed* and you i'lle follow, *Troilus* shun.

She has hardly ceased speaking when a quarrel begins between *Diomed* and *Troilus*, from which we learn that *Diomed* has already captured *Troilus's* horse and sent it as a gift to *Cressid*. The banquet breaks up in confusion. Nothing is told of *Cressid's* departure or of the grief of *Troilus*, but soon after, in a brief scene, *Troilus* fights *Diomedes*, knocks off his helmet, and when the Greek has fled, apostrophizes his sweetheart as "false *Cresida*," and irrationally closes the scene by exclaiming:

My Steede hee got by sleight, I this [the helmet] by force.

I'lle send her this to whom hee sent my horse.

In Act IV *Diomedes* and *Troilus* enter "after an alarum" for a four-line scene, in which the Trojan declares, "I'lle live to loue [*Cressid*] when thy life is past." *Achilles* now treacherously surrounds *Hector* with his *Myrmidons*, kills him, and drags the corpse at the tail of his horse, thus upsetting all mediæval legend and no doubt preparing for the similar incident in Shakespeare's play. *Troilus* is likewise surrounded and killed by *Achilles*; but the villainous Greek is shortly afterward enticed to *Troy* and shot by *Paris*. Act V ends with the suicide of *Ajax* and an epilogue by *Thersites*.

In Part II *Cressid* fares badly, probably not so much because Heywood had any bitterness for her as because the thousand and one details he crowded into his play prevented his giving close attention to making her consistent and realistic. Heywood is notably poor in motivating

women characters: the ease with which Mrs. Frankford, in his masterpiece, yields to Wendoll, is sufficient proof of this defect; but his presentation of Cressid is nothing short of ridiculous.

In the first act (among a dozen other scenes) Diomedes remarks to Sinon: "Goe with me to my Tent, this night we'll reuell With beauteous *Cressida*." Sinon reproaches Diomed for loving her, and when Diomed says, "Shee is both constant, wise, and beautifull," replies in a speech that is decidedly reminiscent of Henryson:

She's neither constant, wise, nor beautifull,
 He prooue it *Diomed*: foure Elements
 Meete in the structure of that *Cressida*,
 Of which there's not one pure: she's compact
 Meerely of blood, of bones and rotten flesh,
 Which makes her Leaproua.

When Diomedes protests, Sinon offers to prove his statement. Cressida approaches, Diomedes steps aside, and Sinon accosts her. I am going to meet Diomedes, she tells him, and lead him with kisses to his tent; he is a fair and comely personage, whom I love as my life. "Personage?" says Sinon, "ha, ha. I prithee looke on me, and view me well, And thou wilt find some difference." She scorns him, but listens when he begs her to leave her lover and come with him. He tells her that Diomedes has a queen in Etolia who will kill her. For a moment she wavers. "Love me, Cressid," says Sinon; "come kiss me," and this amazing creature replies:

Well, you may vse your pleasure;
 But good *Synon* keep this from *Diomed*.

The whole change takes place in fifty lines. Diomed then appears, justly banishes her from his sight, and leaves her lamenting her betrayal. Penthesilea enters, hears her grievance against Sinon, and promises to avenge her (a

promise, however, that is not fulfilled), while Cressid presumably goes straight to Troy. A last glimpse of her comes when, the wooden horse having brought the Greeks into the city, she and Helen are running wildly to escape. Says Helen:

Death, in what shape soeuer hee appeares
To me is welcome, I'll no longer shun him;
But here with *Cressida* abide him: here,
Oh, why was *Hellen* at the first so faire,
To become subiect to so foule an end?
Or how hath *Cressids* beauty sinn'd 'gainst Heauen,
That it is branded thus with leprosie?

Cressid answers:

I in conceit thought that I might contend
Against Heauens splendor, I did once suppose,
There was no beauty but in *Cressids* lookes.

She does not mention Troilus or her own double falsity, and with this speech she passes from the play. Heywood seems to have brought her in here only because she was always written of and thought of as a leper: having thus satisfied the Elizabethan mania for "historical accuracy," he was content to let her pass, sure that his audience could finish out her story. And so he carries his lumbering play through two more acts until he has brought all the Greek kings, Helen, Thersites, and Sinon to their violent deaths.

The resemblances between the *Iron Age* and *Troilus and Cressida* are striking, and one must decide that Shakespeare was influenced by the earlier play or that both he and Heywood used a common source.

There is really no problem in regard to Shakespeare's attitude towards the three major characters of the love story. In the third act of *Troilus*⁸⁵ he makes Pandar say: "If ever you prove false to one another, since I have taken

⁸⁵ III, ii, 205 ff.

such pains to bring you together, let all pitiful goers-between be called to the world's end after my name; call them all Panders; let all constant men be Troiluses, all false women Cressids, and all brokers—between Pandars! say, Amen." All say "Amen" in a scene that must have been irresistibly comic, for Pandarus had simply stated a fact. At that very moment Troilus was the name for a constant lover, "Cressid's kind" was the ordinary euphemism for "harlot," "pander" had become a common noun. Shakespeare, then, had little choice in the matter; he was obliged to portray these three characters as time and tradition had fixed them.

Dr. Small was wrong in saying that Shakespeare "adopts the character of Pandarus from Chaucer without change,"⁸⁶ and Miss Porter equally wrong in maintaining that "Chaucer turned [Pandarus] into a trusty, true-hearted old uncle, and Shakespeare re-created [him] in a gay, gross, shrewd, and worldly courtier-type peculiarly his own, despite the nucleus of the older suggestion";⁸⁷ for there is nothing whatever of the courtier-type, no individuality whatever, about Shakespeare's Pandarus. He is merely a type of the pimp that Elizabethans were accustomed to see prowling about the streets or in Paul's. Shakespeare saw in him a good part for a low comedian; he made Pandar a buffoon, the butt of the play, but did not try to raise him from common "noundom." That would have been a hopeless task; and Shakespeare adjusted his characterization to the noun, just as the writers of the Moralities had tried to present characters that would fit such names as Simplicity, Perseverance, or Fraud. "Pander" had become a generic name early in the century, and by Shakespeare's

(⁸⁶ *The Stage-Quarrel*, p. 155.

⁸⁷ *Troilus and Cressida*, First Folio ed., p. 138.

day it was necessary to use some qualifying word or phrase when the individual Pandarus was meant. Thomas Lodge, for instance, wrote in the preface to his *Wits Miserie* (1596): "Earthly Deuils in humane habits, . . . wait on your tasters when you drinke . . . and become Panders if you hire them," and later: "Behold another more hainous spirit . . . who . . . must to Poules presently to meet with his *Pandare*." ⁸⁸ But when he wished to make a distinct allusion to the legendary character Pandarus he wrote: "[Cousenage] is the excellent of her age at a ring & a basket: & for a baudie bargain, I dare turne her loose to CHAUCERS *Pādare*." ⁸⁹ The noun "pander" is used five times in *Eastward Ho* (1603), a play in which Tamberlaine, Hieronimo, and Hamlet are burlesqued; and it seems very probable that if Shakespeare's contemporaries had seen any individuality in his characterization of the go-between, Jonson and his collaborators would have burlesqued Shakespeare's Pandar instead of using his name only as a class designation.

Even before he wrote *Troilus and Cressida* Shakespeare had followed the fashion in regard to the three figures of the love story. "Marry, sir," Ford tells Falstaff, "we'll bring you to Windsor, to one Master Brook, that you have cozen'd of money, to whom you should have been a pandar." ⁹⁰ "Troilus," says Benedick, was "the first employer of panders"; ⁹¹ while Bourbon cries: "And he

⁸⁸ Lodge's *Works*, Hunterian Club ed., vol. iv, pp. 5-6, 57.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44. So in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Woman Hater*, 1607, one of the characters is called Pandar (the common noun), and has quite as much individuality as Shakespeare's Pandarus. "Sir Pandarus, be my speed!" they make him exclaim when the proper noun is meant. Cf. the poetical description of "A Pander" in Rowlands's *Knave of Clubs*, 1609, sign. A4 (Hunterian Club ed., vol. II, p. 7).

⁹⁰ *Merry Wives*, v, v, 176.

⁹¹ *Much Ado*, v, ii, 31.

that will not follow Bourbon now, Let him go hence, and with his cap in hand, Like a base pandar, hold the chamber door." ⁹² But when Chaucer's Pandarus is meant, a specific reference is necessary. Says Pistol, "Shall I Sir Pandarus of Troy become, And by my side wear steel?" ⁹³ "I am Cressid's uncle," Lafeu remarks as he presents Helena to the King, "That dare leave two together; fare you well." ⁹⁴

Rosalind names Troilus as "one of the patterns of love," ⁹⁵ Petruchio calls his puppy Troilus, ⁹⁶ and Lorenzo, reminiscent of Chaucer, tells Jessica,

In such a night as this . . .
Troilus methinks mounted the Trojan walls,
And sigh'd his soul toward the Grecian tents,
Where Cressid lay that night."

But poor Cressida fared worse. "Would not a pair of these have bred, sir?" asks the Clown when Viola has given him a piece of money. "I would play Lord Pandarus of Phrygia, sir, to bring a Cressida to this Troilus." Viola answers, "I understand you, sir. 'Tis well begg'd"; and in his reply the Clown goes straight back to Henryson: "The matter, I hope, is not great, sir, begging but a beggar. Cressida was a beggar." ⁹⁸ These words must have had much point, for the audiences that were seeing *Twelfth Night* had only a short time before seen the *Iron Age*, in which Cressida is smitten with leprosy, and the Dekker-Chettle *Troilus*, in which she comes on the stage with a swarm of beggars. It would have been nothing short of marvelous if Shakespeare had had any other conception of

⁹² *Henry V*, IV, v, 14.

⁹³ *Merry Wives*, I, iii, 83.

⁹⁴ *All's Well*, II, i, 100.

⁹⁵ *As You Like It*, IV, i, 97.

⁹⁶ *Taming of the Shrew*, IV, i, 153.

⁹⁷ *Merchant of Venice*, v, i, 6.

⁹⁸ *Twelfth Night*, III, i, 55 ff.

her. And it is Pistol who degrades the poor woman to the depths where Whetstone, Howell, and Willobie had already shoved her. Jealous of the attentions Nym is paying to Mrs. Pistol, the irate husband cries out:

O hound of Crete, think'st thou my spouse to get?
No! to the spittal go,
And from the powdering-tub of infamy,
Fetch forth the lazar kite of Cressid's kind,
Doll Tearsheet she by name.*

No such conception of Cressid appears in *Troilus and Cressida*. Did Shakespeare intentionally avoid it?

It is almost certain that Shakespeare thought the *Testament* to be Chaucer's own work. In the play, no doubt through the medium of Speght's 1598 edition, he borrows liberally from Chaucer's poem, and I think it highly probable that Alexander's remark about Ajax (I, ii, 15)—"He is a very man *per se*, And stands alone"—was suggested by a phrase Shakespeare found in the "sixth book" of the *Troilus*—"O fayre Cresside the flour and A *per se* of Troy and Grece"—and that originally he wrote, "He is a very A *per se*."¹⁰⁰ Cressida's petulant remark to Dio-

* *Henry V*, II, i, 76.

¹⁰⁰ In 1748 John Upton, in his *Observations on Shakespeare* (Miss Spurgeon, vol. I, p. 397), wrote: "Plausible as this reading ['he is a very man *per se*'] appears, it seems to me originally to come from the corrector of the press. For our poet I imagine made use of Chaucer's expression [*i. e.*, Henryson's "A *per se*"], from whom he borrowed so many circumstances in the play." Upton was right, I think; and if he confused Chaucer and Henryson in 1748, surely it was not surprising for Shakespeare to do this in 1600 and to borrow, perhaps unconsciously, the phrase which he had read in Chaucer's works.

According to the *New English Dictionary*, Henryson first used the phrase. It came early to be a commonplace among the Scotch poets—see, for example, Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. III, pp. 169, 187, 361, 363, 495; *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, ed. A. F. Mitchell, p. 147—but was not especially common in England before 1600. In

medes (V, ii, 89 f.), "'Twas one's that lov'd me better than you will," is unquestionably a reference to Henryson's story; and when she finally surrendered to Diomedes, crying, "Ay, come—O Jove!—do come. I shall be *plagu'd*" (V, ii, 105), her hearers must surely have thought of the *Testament*. But one can only marvel—as Dryden, who knew almost nothing of the history of the story, did for other reasons—at the ending of the play which leaves both Troilus and Cressida alive.

Dr. Georg Brandes found in Shakespeare's attitude towards Cressida "passionate heat and hatred," "boundless bitterness." "His mood is the more remarkable in that he in no wise paints her as unlovable or corrupt; she is merely a shallow, frivolous, sensual, pleasure-loving coquette . . . Shakespeare has aggravated and pointed every circumstance until Cressida becomes odious, and rouses only aversion. One is astounded by the bitterness of the hatred he discloses."¹⁰¹ In the light of the history of the love story, the remarkable thing really is that Shakespeare dealt with her so mildly, for the subject of the play must have been extremely distasteful to him. Certainly he has no apparent bitterness towards Cressida: he does not punish her as did Henryson; he does not make her a common harlot as did Henryson, Whetstone, Howell, and the rest; nor does he make her the wholly contemptible creature of

Turbervile's *Tragical Tales*, 1587 (Edinburgh reprint, 1837, p. 297), occur the lines:

That famous Dame, fayre Helen, lost her hewe
When withred age with wrinkles chaungd her cheeks,
Her louely lookes did loathsomnesse ensewe,
That was the A per se of all the Greekes.

The fact that Turbervile was so fond of referring to the Henryson story, as well as the context of the above lines, makes it practically certain that *he* borrowed the phrase from Henryson.

¹⁰¹ *William Shakespeare* (English translation), London, 1898, pp. 193-194.

✓ Heywood's or the miserable leprosy-stricken beggar of the Dekker-Chettle play.

When one considers also the other arguments that have been advanced by critics, it seems probable that in 1599 Shakespeare's play was ordered by the Chamberlain's company to compete with the two Troy plays of the Admiral's men, that for some reason it was not finished and "clapper-clawed with the palms of the vulgar" but was put aside for a year or two, and that the last few scenes, the work of another hand with slight revisions by Shakespeare, were added for the performance about 1602. For it is almost incredible that, with his knowledge of Henryson, his preconceived ideas of the character of Cressid and the reward of her treachery, and his respect for what the public wanted, Shakespeare should have ended his play without at least punishing Cressid. How can the present ending ✓ have pleased his audiences? Even the groundlings, however much delighted with Thersites and Pandar, surely were dissatisfied when the play abruptly dropped the leading characters instead of carrying them on to the logical and traditional *dénouement*. What American audience would care to see *Uncle Tom's Cabin* if no Little Eva appeared in the cast or if Eliza failed to cross the ice? Shakespeare, if he wrote all the play, wrenched the familiar story as violently in one direction as Dryden later did in another; neither version could have been satisfactory in 1602.

Apart from the absurd mercenary puff in the preface to the quarto of 1609, this "Commedie" received no contemporary praise. When Mr. John Munroe published the *Shakspere Allusion-Book* in 1909, he could point out only three references to *Troilus and Cressida* before 1650; two of these—Dekker's mention in *The Wonderful Year* (1604) of "false Cressida," which is purely conventional

but as much an allusion to his own play as to Shakespeare's, and a line in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* (1605), "Sometimes a fall out proves a falling in," which is said to be an imitation of Pandar's "Falling in after falling out may make them three"—do not seem to me to be allusions to Shakespeare. Of the sixteen allusions given for the years 1650-1700, one is a remark in Collier's *Short View* that "Shakespear makes Hector quote Aristotle's philosophy," another Dryden's discussion of the play in the preface to his revision of it, six are quotations inserted in Cotgrave's *English Treasury* (1655), and the other eight are matter-of-fact statements in Langbaine's work on the dramatic poets. Shakespeare had no influence whatever on the Troilus-Cressida story. He himself never again referred to Troilus or Cressida or Pandar; and although their story was not so popular in the seventeenth as in the sixteenth century, yet there are bountiful allusions up to 1640 to the constancy of Troilus, the falsity and leprosy of Cressid.

When in 1679 Dryden resurrected the play, refurbished it, and invented Cressida's constancy, he found himself chiefly pleased by the characters Pandar and Thersites. Furthermore, although he declared that "the original story was written by one Lollius, a Lombard, in Latin verse, [and was] intended, I suppose, a satire on the inconstancy of women," he saw no bitterness or satire, no jealousy, no debasement of the classical heroes, but only early experimentation, in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. As that play stands, indeed, Cressida has been decidedly pulled out of the mire in which Henryson's followers had placed her. Yet we could feel surer that Shakespeare was responsible for all of the play if he had punished Cressida,—if in portraying her he had unmistakably shown bitterness and hatred.

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

XVII.—ÜBER DEN ZWECK DES DRAMAS IN
DEUTSCHLAND IM 16. UND 17.
JAHRHUNDERT

Als Vorbedürfnis für das Studium der deutschen Dramaturgie in ihrer historischen Entwicklung erscheint ein Überblick der wichtigsten ästhetischen Anschauungen zuvörderst unentbehrlich. Statt jedoch dazu die Hilfe der historischen Ästhetik einzurufen, wird in dieser Arbeit der Versuch gewagt, den ästhetischen Hintergrund aus den Äusserungen zeitgenössischer Dramatiker herauszuforschen und neu zu beleben. Der Hilferuf an die Ästhetik wäre hier übrigens unbeachtet verklungen, denn die Geschichte der Ästhetik hat bis jetzt fast ausschliesslich das an sich Wertvolle und Interessante, oder das Historisch-bedeutende berücksichtigt. Andererseits zieht die angewandte Ästhetik der litterarischen Kunstform, nämlich die Kritik, meistens nur die Berufskritiker und kaum je das Massenpublikum in ihre Betrachtung hinein. Eine kulturgeschichtliche Ästhetik, ebenso sehr bemüht, die pathetisch-nüchternen Ideale des Bürger- oder Volksdramas darzustellen, gibt es bis heute noch nicht. Und doch hätten solche Studien für die Ästhetik, wie für die Litteraturgeschichte, ohne Zweifel ihren Nutz. Deshalb, und mehr noch, weil das Material bei den Vorarbeiten zu einer Geschichte der deutschen Dramaturgie leicht erreichbar war, ist folgender Versuch entstanden.

Selbst in Zeitaltern regen intellektuellen Lebens fällt es dem Kritiker schwer, den ästhetischen Hintergrund mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen. Umso schwerer gestaltet sich die Aufgabe für Perioden, in denen, wie im Deutschland des 16. Jahrhunderts, die Theologie das Leben be-

herrschte, oder wie im 17. Jahrhundert, das Land, dem Krieg anheimgefallen, oder aber an den Folgen der Verheerung siechend, litterarisch erschöpft darniederlag. Aber selbst aus dem trüben ästhetischen Hintergrund des 16. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland lösen sich, unbestimmt jedoch wahrnehmbar, folgende Fragen heraus: Was ist ein Drama? Wozu soll es dienen? Mit welchen Mitteln erreicht es das ihm gesteckte Ziel?—also Fragen über Wesen, Zweck und Wirkungsmittel des Dramas. Diese Fragen in ihrer Sämtlichkeit zu behandeln war der erste Schritt.¹ Zunächst, bei erspriesslich wachsendem Materialvorrat, wurde es möglich die einzelnen Punkte abzuondern und genauer zu bestimmen, bis endlich ein jeder, in seiner historischen Entwicklung, verfolgt werden konnte.

Die Frage vom Wesen des Dramas samt dem eng damit verflochtenen Problem von den Wirkungsmitteln desselben werden in kurzem an anderm Orte behandelt.² Die vorliegende Arbeit beabsichtigt die Frage vom Zweck des Dramas zu untersuchen, mit dem Verstande, dass von den speziellen Zwecken des Schuldramas nicht die Rede sein wird.³ Der *terminus ad quem* ist die Erscheinung von Gottscheds *Critische Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen*, im Jahre 1730.

Die Grundfarbe des unbestimmten Bildes, aus dem wir verständlich-zusammenhängende Züge herauszulesen versuchen werden, ist einförmig und Farbenschema sowie Formenperspektiv der einzelnen Züge werden zum Teil

¹ Cf. *Das Ziel des Dramas in Deutschland vor Gottsched*. Vortrag gehalten in der *Gesellschaft für Deutsche Litteratur*, in Berlin, am 18. Juni 1913. Abgedruckt in *Modern Philology*, Bd. XII, S. 481 ff.

² *Modern Philology*.

³ Eine absonderliche Arbeit über den Zweck des Schuldramas wird später erscheinen.

durch sie bedingt. Es ist die Didaktik, tausendfältig, alles-umfassend, alles-durchdringend.

Das Mittelalter lebt sich aus im 16. Jahrhundert. Die Vorherrschaft des Didaktischen lag in der Natur einer Zeit, wo ein Dichter wie Fischart sämtliche Errungenschaften der Kunst, keineswegs mit Hinsicht auf ihre ästhetische Wirkung, sondern lediglich wegen des ethischen Nutzens ihres Inhaltes, zu würdigen und anzuweisen wusste. Schwer drückte die Didaktik auf einem Zeitalter, das einer *Andria*-Übersetzung dreizehn Seiten über die Pflichten der Hebammen als Erklärung einer einzigen Stelle beizugeben vermochte.⁴ Im 16. Jahrhundert ist die Bühne durchaus ernst. Im Vordergrund steht die Lehre, wie schon aus den Titeln der Drucke hervorgeht: "Darinn angezeigt wird . . ."; "In welchem erlernt wird . . ."; "Dienlichen wie man . . ."; usw. Greff betont wiederholt, "das mans [nicht] für narrenspiel halten solle," oder dass man nicht glauben solle, "Das wir woltn toll und thöricht sein" und dass "es sey kein narren weis."⁵ Vielmehr ist die Mission eines Dramatikers eine würdige, erhabene. Auch Culman protestiert, man möge die Schauspieler in seinem Drama *Von der widtfraw* nicht für "spielleut" halten, "die narrenteidung bringen für." Denn er behauptet, sein Tun sei "göttlich und recht."⁶ Dem Publikum wird oft aufs Herz gedrückt, man solle

nit ein spott vnd ein schimpff druss machen.⁷

⁴ Zu III, 3 in Steph. Riccius' Übersetzung, 1582 verfasst, 1613 gedruckt. Cf. Mangold, *Studien zu den ältesten Bühnenverdeutlichungen des Terenz*, Halle, 1912.

⁵ *Aulularia*, 1535; *Andria*, 1536; *Judith*, 1536.

⁶ 1544, ap. Zellweger, *Prolog und Epilog im deutschen Drama*, Wien u. Leipzig, 1906, S. 69.

⁷ Zach. Bletz (?), *Antichristspiel*, Luzern, 1549 aufgef. Reuschels Abdruck, Vs. 34. Dieser Vers wurde u. a. an Stelle des ursprüng-

Wohl im Gegenteil:

Dann die tragedj ist nit ein
fasznachspiel oder sonst ein schertz
bereg't [sic] ein yegklicher sein hertz
zu sondrem auffmercken.*

Selbst Fastnachtsspiele gingen voll unumwundenen Ernstes auf Belehrung aus. Selbst die komischen Parteen in Lud. Hollonius' *Somnium vitae humanae* (1605) sollen lehrhaft wirken:

Sonst wird etwas doch auch zu lehr
Und Zier des Spiels eingeführt beyher.

Aber das Volk war offenbar nicht immer einverstanden mit dem Schulfuchs, für den die "Lehr" zugleich die "Zier" des Dramas war, und muss dies auch oft unzweideutig gezeigt haben. Mit milder Sehnsucht spricht ja der alte Notarius Ayrer:

Wer euch nun wollt von dem Anfang
Noch lang bis her zu dem Ausgang
Aus der Geschicht was nützliche lehren,
So thät ihr im doch nicht zuhören,
Denn ihr hört kurze Predigt gern,
Wann die Bratwürst desto länger wärn.*

Bei dem protestantischen Dramatiker wird die Dramaturgie fast zu einer Weihe. Als man deshalb dem Naogeorg vorwarf, Tragoedienschreiben sei eines Theologen unwürdig, entgegnete er: "Cur autem dedeceat professionem meam? Si Theologiae officium est docere pietatem

lichen Textes gesetzt. S. auch Josias Murers *Belaegerung der Statt Babylon*, 1560; Lucas Mai, *Von der wunderbarlichen Vereinigung göttlicher Gerechtigkeit und Barmherzigkeit*, Wittenb., 1562.

* Seb. Wild, *Passionsspiel*, 1566.

* *Opus theatricum*, 1618, S. 322. Auch Dam. Lindtner, der Bearbeiter von Naogeorgs *Esther* (1607), beklagt sich bitter, dass man jetzt mehr Geschmack an weltlichen als an geistlichen Sachen finde.

uerumque Dei cultum, & uitam Deo placentem bonaque opera tradere, atque e religione reprehendere impietatem, falsumque cultus uitamque prauam, haec omnia quoque nostris insunt Tragoediis, & efficacius quodammodo docentur.”¹⁰

Leider war diese hohe Auffassung nur allzu oft mit einem grenzenlosen Vertrauen in der Überzeugungskraft der direkten, unumwundenen Moralisierung verbunden. Wie dieses schon im Drama des Mittelalters allgemeine Sitte war, ist bekannt. Auch wie selbst Hans Sachs, der doch einsieht, dass Fastnachtspiele hauptsächlich belustigen sollen, die seinigen mit der Bemerkung herausgibt, dass sie auch “mit allein kurtzweilig, Sondern auch nützlich zelesen [sind], weyl vast yedes stück mit einer angehenkten lehr beschlossen ist.”¹¹ In Thomas Bircks *Comedia von den Doppelspielern*¹² findet sich ein ausführliches Register, in Indexform, der im Stück enthaltenen guten Lehren! Es muss einem jeden auffallen, wie unverschämt didaktisch im 16. Jahrhundert für die verschiedensten Zwecke geeifert wird: für die Reinheit der Ehe, für Kinderzucht, selbst für Kriegskunst. Ambrosius Papes *David victus et victor* (1602) beabsichtigt nämlich den jungen Bürgern und Gesellen “Vorbereitungen zum Kriege, Ausfälle der Feinde und Niederlagen auf beiden Seiten” vorzuführen.¹³ Christ. Bachmann aus Leipzig sucht die Komoedie dadurch zu rechtfertigen, dass sie alles lehren kann. Frischlin habe Theologie gelehrt in seinem *Phasma*, Ayser, Jurisprudenz in seinem *Processum juris*. Man könnte auch wohl Heilkunde

¹⁰ *Iudas Iscariotes*, 1552.

¹¹ *Gedichte*, Nürnberg, 1558, Bd. I, Vorrede.

¹² Tübingen, 1590.

¹³ Cf. Holstein, *Die Reformation im Spiegelbilde der dramatischen Dichtung*, Halle, 1886, S. 93.

lehren: "In medicina herbas loquentes aliquis in scenam introducere posset." Unterdessen begnügt dieser Theoretiker sich damit, eine *Comoedia nova* zu verfassen, *Melancholicus* geheissen, "exhibens ingenium, proprietates, mores, virtutes, vitia ac quaecunque ad illos homines pertinere videntur, qui temperamenti sunt Melancholici" (1611). Seine Sünde sei ihm leicht!

Nun mag letzteres ein Schuldrama sein, und auf den Schulbrettern werden wir wennmöglich noch Schlimmerem begegnen. Aber selbst in Pastoralen im 17. Jahrhundert wurde Didaktik offen angepriesen. Die Gelehrsamkeit der Hirten, wie man weiss, ist nicht selten erstaunlich. Die lehrhafte Allegorie beherrschte die Bühne. Schuldramen extremer Art wären hier nur zu leicht anzuführen, aber selbst "der Spate" (Caspar von Stieler) meinte in der Vorrede seines Lustspieles *Willmut* (1680), wo nur Begriffe auftreten: "Es könnte auch iede Person ein Gewisses Merk haben/ wann es nicht zu schulfüchsisch heraus käme. Auf dergleichen Art könnten nun alle andere Lehrschriften/ gleich der *Ethica* alhier/ in Schauspielen vorgestellet werden/ Herr Harsdörfer hat in seinen Gesprächspielen unter anderm den Versuch mit der Grammatica und Oratoria getan/ es wäre auch wol möglich die *theoreticas disciplinas*/ ja sogar die vier facultäten auf den Schauplatz zu bringen/ und durch den Ausgang iedes Spiels den rechten Zweck einer ieden *Disciplin* vorstellen." Wie Stieler sagt, hatte Harsdörfer in seinen *Gesprächspielen* versucht, dem vorherrschenden didaktischen Hange eine eigene dramatische Ausdrucksform zu schaffen. Man weiss, mit welchen unglaublichen antiquarisch-gelehrten Einleitungen die Lohenstein und Hoffmannswaldau ihren Dramen Gewicht beizusetzen versuchten, eine Sitte, welche Opernlibrettisten, Feind, Praetorius, König und andere.

wohl zur Veredlung ihrer leichten Ware, mit oft erstaunlichem Fleisse nachahmten.¹⁴

* * *

Der Einfluss der Didaktik sei also nicht unterschätzt. Wenn im Bewusstsein eines jeden Lesers der Gedanke festliegt, dass besondere Zwecke in jeder Hinsicht dem Hauptzweck dienstbar sind, dann erst wird es sich lohnen, jene weiter zu untersuchen. Die besonderen Zwecke lassen sich in folgende Abschnitte einteilen: (i) Sittenlehre, (ii) Lebensweisheit, (iii) Selbstkenntnis, (iv) Glauben, (v) Erziehung des gemeinen Mannes, (vi) Erhaltung des Standesbewusstseins, (vii) Politik.

I. SITTENLEHRE

Noch ganz allgemein gehalten erscheint die Absicht, durch das Drama die sittliche Hebung der Zuschauer zu bewirken. Im *Donaueschinger Passionsspiel* hat man "das register des lidens Jhesu Christi unsers behalters, zu sprüchen gesetzt, in mass das man das der welt zu gut und andacht spielen mag."¹⁵ In der *Egerer Passion* wird der Zuschauer angemahnt:

secht die figur mit Fleisze an,
das da von gepessert werdt frau und man.¹⁶

Die Mahnung erscheint berechtigt, wenn man annimmt, dass "alle Comedien und Tragedien/ zu nichts anders geschriben seind/ als ein yedlicher gelerter leycht erkendt/ dann zu besserung des lebens/ und zu vermeydung alles ubermuts."¹⁷ Es schimmert hier schon durch, nament-

¹⁴ S. z. B. Feinds *Dido*, 1707, oder sein *Desiderius, König der Longobarden*, 1709.

¹⁵ Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, D. N. L., S. 277.

¹⁶ Hrag. v. Milchsack, Stuttg. Litt. Ver., Nr. 106.

¹⁷ Joh. Kolros, *Spyl von Fünfferlay betrachtnüssen*, 1535.

lich in den letzten Worten, dass der Zweck des Dramas nichts weniger sein könnte als das Begründen einer Weltanschauung. Wenn auch die Erfassung eines solchen Zieles die geistigen Kräfte der meisten Dramatiker übertrifft, so tritt jedoch der Gedanke, getragen vom reformatorisch-humanistischen Geiste, nicht selten in Hinsicht auf die Tragödie, hervor.

Meistens ist die Mahnung ganz unbestimmt:

Das man der Dugent hangte an
Die laster wölte faren lan.¹⁸

Oder dass

. . . das menschliche Geschlecht
Allzeit geleittet würde recht/
Durch mancherley Mittel und Weg/
Auff den Einigen Rechten Steg
Der Tugend und Vorsichtigkeit.¹⁹

Fast immer wird als Inbegriff aller Weisheit die christliche Glaubenslehre dargestellt. Wir sollen:

pie ad divini verbi regulam
vitam moresque nostros formare.²⁰

“Vitam moresque”; hin und wieder wird hervorgehoben, dass der Zweck des Dramas nicht bloss sei, “das man sich darinne spiegle,” sondern auch “das man sein leben darnach stell.”²¹ Die Zuschauer sollen “gebessert und erbauet” werden,²² aber auch

¹⁸ G. Binder, *Acolastus*, 1535.

¹⁹ Wolfh. Spangenberg, *Teutsche Argumenta Oder Inhalt der Tragoedien/ des Griechischen Poeten Euripidis: genandt Heouba*. Strassb., 1605.

²⁰ Aeg. Hunnius, *Joseph*, Tl. I, 1584, 1586, 1614. Später citiert von J. C. Merck, *Vom erbärmlichen Untergang unnd Verderben Sodomas* (aus dem Lateinischen des Andreas Saurius), Ulm, 1617.

²¹ Cl. Stephani, *Historia von einer Königin aus Lamparden*, 1551. Cf. auch J. Funckelins *Spyl von Lasaro*, 1552.

²² J. Rist, *Aller-Edelste Belustigung*, 1665, S. 131.

Ein jeder wird gelehrt durch das Comödispielen
Worauf in seinem thun er weislich solle zielen.²²

Oder mit den Worten J. C. Männlings: eine Komödie wird "zu einer Nach-Folge wegen eines Tugendhaften Lebens und Thuns vorgestellt."²⁴ Gottsched gibt der vorherrschenden Ansicht dreier Jahrhunderte Ausdruck, wo er sagt: "Die gantze Fabel hat nur eine Haupt-Ab-sicht: nemlich einen moralischen Satz."²⁵

Hans Sachs und überhaupt die Verfasser von Fastnacht-spielen stehen der Wirklichkeit näher. Ihre Annah-men haben einen unmittelbaren, greifbaren Zweck:

Ir lieben christen all gemein
last euch das spiel ein warnung sein,
Nit solch grossz sündt und unrecht thut.²⁶

"Wie Hans Sachs selbst seinen Umgang mit den Musen als ein kräftiges Wehrmittel gegen die Laster der Welt betrachtet, so sollen auch seine Werke für den Hörer und Leser eine ähnliche Wirkung haben." Seine "Moral ist nüchtern, hausbacken, auf das nächste gerichtet und zieht alles in seine etwas tagtägliche, aber tüchtige Sphäre."²⁷ Im Verband mit dieser Neigung steht die Absicht in ge-wissen Dramen, die Zuschauer und Leser gegen spezifische Sünden zu warnen. "Stichus Plautinus pudicitiam ac maritalem fidem etiam in sinistra fortuna servandam esse docens" ist der Titel einer Werlerschen Ausgabe.²⁸ Als Gengenbach seine *Gouchmatt* (1516) schrieb, hatte er eine bestimmte Absicht. Denn man hatte

²² G. F. Seufferheld, *Der Nährende Joseph*, 1687.

²⁴ *Der Europaeische Helicon*, Alten Stettin, 1704, S. 175.

²⁵ *Critische Dichtkunst*, 1730, S. 573.

²⁶ Keller-Götze, Nr. 70.

²⁷ Lier, *Studien z. Gesch. d. Nürnberger Fastnachtspiels*, I, Nürn-berg, 1889, S. 38.

²⁸ 1512. Ap. Buchwald, *Greff*, Leipzig, 1907, S. 38.

kürtzlich lassen vszgan
 ein gedicht vnd das auch trucken lan
 wie das vnkeuschheit sy kein sündt.

Gegen solche Lehren will er nachdrücklichen Protest einlegen und sein Stück verfolgt deshalb einen ganz speziellen Zweck: den Kampf gegen sexuelle Ausschreitungen, "wider den Ebruch vnd die sünd der vnküschheit." Vor "unmässiger Lieb" warnten nicht nur die vielen Ehestandsdramen, sondern auch, wie z. B. Stephani behauptet, etwa der *Eunuchus*!²⁹ Als Chph. Stümmel, der Geselle von Willichius' Söhnen sein ausserordentlich beliebtes Stück *Studentes* (1549) schrieb, dann geschah dies nicht bloss mit dem Zweck, das Studentenleben dem Philister vorzuführen, sondern mit den praktisch-ethischen Ansichten, denen sein Freund und Gönner schon früher Ausdruck gegeben hatte: "Quoniam adolescentuli amasii ab amore vilissimo scortorum ad legitimum matrimonium fere pelliciuntur, & reuocantur, ut honestam vitam vivant, resque familiares curent, genusque vitae certum instituent."³⁰ Das war aber nicht der Hauptzweck. Die Reformation, mit Luther an der Spitze, war überschwenglich gewesen in ihrem Lob des heiligen Ehestandes. Die Ehestandsdramen, namentlich die *Tobiasdramen*, gingen sehr häufig über die Bühne, wodurch in den protestantischen Universitätsstädten, namentlich unter den Studenten, eine Unzahl übereilter Eheschliessungen veranlasst wurde.³¹ Eben dagegen richtete sich Stümmel, als er betonte, dass, mit Bezug auf die Ehe: "hoc volo, ut aperte & honeste cum consensu Parentum utriusque partis hoc contrahatur."³²

²⁹ HS. Übers. von *Andria* und *Eunuchus*, 1554, ap. Creizenach, *Gesch. d. n. Dramas*, Halle a. S., Bd. III (1903), S. 411.

³⁰ Willichius, *Commentaria ad Artem Poeticam Horatii*, 1545, S. 14 f.

³¹ Cf. Creizenach, l. c., Bd. II, S. 171.

³² *Studentes*.

Die Absicht anderer Komödien vom Studentenleben war überhaupt der Sittenverwilderung bei den Studenten ein Ende zu machen.³³

Noch tiefer wurde ins alltägliche Leben eingegriffen, als Greff die Meinung aussprach: "Und ist kein spiel so klein noch so geringe/ man kan und sol was daraus lernen/ wie man sich hüten sol/ itzt für hurerey und unzuchtiger lieb/ itzt für fressen/ sauffen/ spielen/ und dergleichen" und dabei die Sitte rühmt, "wie in dem Nidderlandt/ fast alle Sontage" Spiele aufgeführt werden, "damit manch Gottes lesterung/ mancher todtschlag/ sauffen/ fressen und viel ubels verbleiben köndte."³⁴ Es befeisigten sich dann auch die Dramaturgen absichtlich für die Fastnacht Schauspiele zu verfertigen, um damit ihre Mitbürger vor dem Anlass zur Sünde zu schützen, z. B. Birck in Basel,³⁵ Peter Jordann in Köln,³⁶ Ackermann in Zwickau³⁷ und andere. Leseberg meint, durch die Aufführung seines Stückes sollen namentlich "die Spectanten aus der Gemein/ von dem unmässigen Fressen und Sauffen abgehalten werden."³⁸ Und nicht nur die *Spectanten*, könnte man hinzufügen, sondern auch bisweilen die Akteure. Es war auch, wie es scheint, ein nicht ungewöhnliches Argument zu Gunsten des Dramas, dass durch Mitwirken bei dramatischen Aufführungen vor Völlerei und anderen Ausschweifungen bewahrt wurde. Aber schon Lucas Mai beschwert sich darüber, dass die Mitspieler nur Gelegenheit suchen, "Was zubekomen/ das zum schlemmen thet."³⁹ Und ein geistliches Gut-

³³ Cf. E. Schmidt, *Komödien vom Studentenleben*, Leipzig, 1880. (Stümmel, Wichgref, Schoch, Picander.)

³⁴ *Aulularia*-Üb., 1535. Cf. auch Greffs *Spiel von den ertzvötern*.

³⁵ *Judith*; *Beel*, 1535.

³⁶ *Tobias*.

³⁷ *Joseph*, 1540.

³⁸ *Jesus Duodecennis*, 1610.

³⁹ *Von der wunderbarlichen Vereinigung* usw., 1562.

achten vom Jahre 1582 weigert das herkömmliche Argument gelten zu lassen, denn die Akteure hätten sich das vorige Mal "wie die Bestien betrunken."⁴⁰ Hans Rudolf Manuel liess sein Weinspiel aufführen:

Nit. . . .

Das man drin leer spilen und suffen,
Sunder wie ich tuch vor gseyt hab,
Das man dardurch soll sehen an,
Wie es eim so übel anstadt,
Der mit solchem läben umbgadt.⁴¹

Und auch R. Gualtherus' *Nabal* wurde auf die Bühne gebracht, um vor der Trunksucht zu warnen.⁴² Ähnliche praktische, konkrete Zwecke verfolgten auch eine Menge biblischer Dramen, deren Hauptpersonen als Vertreter irgend einer spezifischen Tugend oder eines spezifischen Lasters erscheinen: Isaak als Muster des kindischen Gehorsams, Susanna als Vorbild der ehelichen Treue, Joseph als Beispiel der männlichen Keuschheit, Absolon als Verkörperung der "Hoffahrt" und dgl. mehr.

Mit dem 16. Jahrhundert scheint die Auffassung vom Drama als Kampfmittel gegen grosse soziale Schäden verschwunden zu sein. Zwar behauptet Rotth am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts, dass man auf der Bühne gegen "Fressen/ Sauffen/ Wuchern/ Courte Sire [sic]" usw. warnen könne. Doch erklärt er selber, dieses "gehöret alleine vor eine Satyram" d. h. nicht in eine Komödie oder Tra-

⁴⁰ Besprochen von M. Koch, *Zsch. f. vergl. Litgesch. u. Renaiss. Lit.*, Bd. XIII (1899), S. 202 ff. Schon bei Alt, *Theater und Kirche*, 1846, S. 491.

⁴¹ 1548. Odingas Ausg., S. 64.

⁴² Üb. v. Seb. Grübel, 1559 aufgef. Cf. auch das gegen die "Sauffbrüder" gerichtete Zwischenspiel in W. Spangenberg's Verdeutschung von Hirtzwegs *Balsasar*, 1609 und Hammes, *Das Zwischenspiel im deutschen Drama*, Berlin, 1911, S. 109.

gödie.⁴³ Übrigens waren die Sitten zu *galant* geworden, dass man auf der Bühne die demokratischen Laster des Pöbels hätte bestreiten wollen.

II. LEBENSWEISHEIT

Wie soll nun die Verbesserung der Sitten erreicht werden? Mittelbar durch bessere Kenntniss des Lebens, der Tugenden, welche als Exempel dargestellt werden, der Laster, die als Abschreckung dienen sollen. Hierauf beruhte die grosse Beliebtheit des Terenz. Schon in mittelalterlichen Terenz-Handschriften wird hervorgehoben, dass man in seinen Komödien lernen könne, was man im Leben zu tun und zu vermeiden habe, eine Ansicht, welche das 16. Jahrhundert völlig theilte. Die Nördlinger Schüler sollten aus dem Terenz nämlich "nit allein die Worte, sondern auch den Sinn und die Sitten der Menschen" kennen lernen.⁴⁴ Aus einer Komödie lerne man, sagt Hans Nythart "was gut ist zegebrauchen, und das Bösz zemeiden,"⁴⁵ oder "zu pflantz in tugend und vermeydung laster." Joh. Murelius fasst den Gedanken in ein Hexastichon:

Hinc licet amplecti rectos pravosque cavere,
Cum videt eventus mens utriusque viae"

Und Friedrich Naue citierte den Grammatiker Donatus: "quid in vita sit utile, quid contra vitandum disci-

⁴³ *Vollständige deutsche Poesie*, Leipzig, 1688, S. 71. Er meint hier natürlich ein satirisches Drama.

⁴⁴ Nördlinger Schulordnung, 1521; cf. J. Müller, *Vor- und früh-reformatorische Schulordnungen*, Zschoppau, 1885-1886, S. 218.

⁴⁵ *Eunuch*-Übers., 1486.

⁴⁶ Vor Ant. Tunnicius' Ausg. von Reuchlins *Scaenica progymnasmata*, Daventriae, 1513, cit. in Holstein's Ausgabe von Reuchlins *Komödien*, Halle, 1888, S. 57.

tur.”⁴⁷ Joachim Greff beteuert, dass “jdermenniglich aus solchen Comedijs und Spektakeln lernen solt und köndt/ was jderman wol odder übel anstündt/ was gut odder böß/ was löblich und ehrlich/ widderumb was schendlich und unehrlich were.”⁴⁸ Was ihm Clemens Stephani nachredet. Er beabsichtigt:

. . . . das das Volck darinn solt sehen
Was einen nit wol an wolt stehen:
Denn man sich drin wie in spiegel
Was einem wolsteht oder ubel
Was wol ansteht/ sol man annemen
Desz aber sol man sich schemen.“

Joh. Crüginger verspricht Belehrung hierüber, wie man das “leben nach gutem beyspiel richten/ vor bösem aber sich hüten” sollte.⁵⁰ Birck erklärte sich zufrieden, wenn seine Dramen seinen Zöglingen eine richtige Auffassung der Gerechtigkeit beigebracht hätten: “operae pretium aliquod facere mihi visus sum, si de perplexis causis per lusum disceret decernere, et tum demum iustitiae pulchre consultum esse, si aequitas iuris rigorem emendaret.”⁵¹ Umfassend dargestellt, sei der Zweck der Komödie, nach Agricola: “ut ex propositis communium morum & euentuum immanorum paradigmatis commonefacti rectius iudicaremus de negotijs hominum omnium.”⁵² Hans Sachs hat den dritten, ausschliesslich dramatischen Band

⁴⁷ *Primordia*, 1521, 17ro. Cf. *Aeli Donati . . . Commentum Terenti*, ed. P. Wessner, Leipzig, 1902, Bd. I, S. 22.

⁴⁸ *Aulularia*-Üb., 1535.

⁴⁹ *Von einer Mülnerin und jren Pfarherr*, 1568. Cf. auch L. Culmans *Spiel von der auffrur der Erbarn weiber zu Rom*, 154 (?), “aus dem ein jeder lernen kund/ Was im wol oder ubel anstund . . .” und Joh. Sanders’ *Johannes der Täufer*, 1588, aus dem man lerne “was wol oder ubel eim jeglichen in sein stande und beruff anstehet.”

⁵⁰ *Lazarus*, 1543.

⁵¹ *Susanna*, 1537.

⁵² *Andria*-Übers., 1544; Witeb., 1602.

seiner Werke (1561) in drei Teile zerlegt. Und zwar enthält "Der ander theil weltlich, alt Histori, ausz den Poetn vnd Geschichtschreibern, die zu anreizung der guten Tugendt, vnnd zu abschneidung der schendlichen laster dienstlich sind." Es mag nötig gewesen sein, letzteres nachdrücklich zu wiederholen, denn es geht jetzt schlimm zu in der Welt, meint Andreas Gaszmann:

Eines sucht Reichtumb mit Betrug/
Der Ander buhlt/ was nicht hat fug/
Das Dritt vergiszet der Wohltat bald/
Das Vierde leugt/ treugt mannigfalt.⁵³

Obwohl man sich viel mit dem Drama beschäftigt, den moralischen Zweck scheint man nur zu gern zu übersehen. Diesbezüglich drückt Joseph Goezium seine Entrüstung aus: Es wird mehr auf das Äusserliche gesehen "als auff den Nutz der Comödien/ in welchen . . . angedeutet seyn/ beydes unsers Lebens Tugenden/ der wir uns höchlich befeissen/ und die Gebrechen/ die wir als Schandmal ablegen/ vermeiden und fliehen sollen."⁵⁴ Nicht nur der Ermunterung soll die Komödie dienen, sondern durch sie sollen uns gezeigt werden: "virtutum cultores & vitiorum asseclae, eorundumque proemia ac poenae illustratae."⁵⁵ Der Herausgeber der Englischen Comoedien und Tragödien vom Jahre 1630 beteuert, dass sein "intent darmit gewesen, gleich lebendige Exempel der Lust fürzustellen, damit wir lernen, sehen und erkennen, welcher maszen wir unser Leben Bürgerlich, züchtig und erlich, zu erhaltung allerhand Tugenden, und meidung den Lüsten anrichten sollen."⁵⁶ Rist verfasst seine Dramen "nicht

⁵³ *Josephus Tragicomicus*, 1603.

⁵⁴ *Joseph*, 1612.

⁵⁵ C. Brulovius, *Nebucadnezar*, 1615.

⁵⁶ *Liebeskampf*, 1630. Wie W. Richter (*Liebeskampf 1630 und Schaubühne* 1670, Berlin, 1910) nachgewiesen hat, findet sich eine sehr ähnliche Stelle in der Einleitung zum deutschen *Amadis*, der zu Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts erschien.

nur etwan zur Lust, sondern die böse Weltart und die gegenwärtigen Zeiten fürzustellen, auch die ruchlosen Menschen von den verfluchten Sündenwegen abzuführen.“

Wenn hier das praktische Fördern der Lebenskenntnis auf einer Stufe erscheint mit der künstlerischen, selbst-lohnenden Aufgabe, die “gegenwärtigen Zeiten fürzustellen,” so deutet dies auf ein für jene Zeit ausserordentlich scharfes Bewusstsein. In dieser Hinsicht bildet Rist natürlich eine Ausnahme. Am Ende des 17., wie am Ende die 15. Jahrhunderts, ging die landläufige Auffassung in Bestimmtheit nicht über Rotths Formel hinaus: Der Zweck des Schauspiels ist, “daz entweder die Zuschauer die Fehler und Tugenden des gemeinen menschlichen Lebens gleichsam spielweise erkennen und sich bessern lernen oder doch sonst zu einer Tugend aufgemuntert werden.”⁵⁷

III. SELBSTKENNTNIS

Mehrere Kritiker fassen mit dem Individualismus des Protestanten den mittelbaren Zweck ins Auge, Selbstkenntnis, als deren naturgemässe Folge die Besserung der Sitten im allgemeinen betrachtet wird. So meint der Zürcher Jörg Binder, die Komödie sei ein “Spiegelglas,” in welchem “alle Glydmasz” ersehen würden, auch “was hübsch als [d. h. oder] wüst am menschen sy.”⁵⁸ Johann Crüginger gibt dieser Gesinnung schlagenden Ausdruck, indem er hervorhebt, wie sie als eine christliche, oder vielmehr protestantische, Reaktion gegen die vermeintliche Haltung der Alten dem Theater gegenüber, erscheint. Während “der alten Comicornum geticht doch nur den menschen eusserlich im leben vnd sitten informieren,” ist das Drama der neuen Zeit ein Kunstwerk, in dem “sich

⁵⁷ L. c., 1688, Bd. III, S. 130.

⁵⁸ *Acolastus*-Übers., 1535.

der mensch wie in einem klarem hellen lautern Spiegel innerlich besichtigt.“⁵⁹ Eine ähnliche Haltung, jedoch ohne die evangelische Tendenz, mag Wolfgang Schmeltz gewesen sein, der von den antiken Spielen sagte, dass

daraus gesehen gelernt vil
was hübsch, hässlich am menschen sey.“

Am schönsten wird das Ziel von Clemens Stephani dargelegt: Es sollen “dem Volk Comediae vorgehalten [werden], auf das si sich ires lebens erinnern mügen.”⁶¹ Vertiefung des Bewusstseins wird also bezweckt, eine Art Andacht des gewöhnlichen Lebens, ein biederer Parallel zum *γυνῶσι σεαυτὸν* der höheren Philosophie. Lebensweisheit, meint Jörg Wickram, ist bedingt durch Menschenkenntnis:

welcher der welt lauff well erkennen,
desz schimpfes mag er wol warnemen
von einer person zu der andern,
wie sich das elter thut verwandern.“

Der Englische Komödiant Robertus Browne bemerkte in seinem Gesuch vom 26. Mai 1606 an den Frankfurter Rat, dass “bis dahin noch kein Mensch durch sein und seiner Gesellen Spiel geärgert, vielmehr zum Bespiegeln seiner Schwachheit und zum Ausüben aller Tugenden angereizt sei.”⁶³ Sogar der Opernverteidiger Barthold Feind behauptet von den Schauspielen, dass in denselben “einem fremde Personen einen Spiegel der Selbst-Erkenntnis vorhalten.”⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *Tragödia von Herode und Johanne dem Tauffer*, Zwickau, 1545.

⁶⁰ *Comedia des verlornen Sons*, Wien, 1545.

⁶¹ *Eunuchus*-Übers., 1554.

⁶² *Die Zehen alter der Welt*, Stuttg. Lit. Ver., S. 232.

⁶³ Ap. E. Mentzel, *Gesch. d. Schauspielkunst in Fr. a. M.*, 1882, S. 53.

⁶⁴ *Die Römische Unruhe. Oder: Die Edelmüthige Octavia*, Hamb., 1705.

IV. DER GLAUBEN

Dem Mittelalter galt als Hauptzweck des Dramas, das heidnische Volk zum Glauben zu bekehren, den Neophyten zu belehren, den Gläubigen im Glauben zu stärken, die Kirche und ihre Lehre gegen die Angriffe der Feinde zu schützen. Im Winter 1204 wurde in Riga ein *Ludus prophetarum ornatissimum* vorgeführt "um den Heiden die Grundbegriffe des Christentums zur Anschauung zu bringen. Der Stoff sei zuerst den anwesenden Neophyten und Heiden durch einen Dolmetscher auseinandergesetzt worden."⁶⁵ Wie es der Engländer St. Aethelwold ausdrückte, wird man es auch in Deutschland wohl aufgefasst haben: die Grablegung des Herrn wäre also dramatisch vorgestellt worden "ad fidem indocti vulgi ac neofitorum corroborandam."⁶⁶ "Got gebe," sagte der Proklamator im *Alsfelder Passionsspiel*,⁶⁷

Got gebe, dasz mer das spiel szo triben,
das mer got domidde eren
und alle sunder und sunderyn sich bekeren,
die disze horen und sehen.

Man weiss, wie sich der Judenhass in zahlreichen Passionsspielen der Mittelalters geäussert hat, in den Disputationen zwischen *Ecclesia* und *Synagoga* oder *Christiana* und *Judaia*, in Vor- und Nachspielen, mit Augustinus als Leiter der Debatte und die Propheten als Protagonisten der "neuen ee."⁶⁸ Welchen ausgiebigen Gebrauch die Reformation später vom Drama als Waffen des Glau-

⁶⁵ Creizenach, l. c., Bd. I, S. 64.

⁶⁶ *Regularis Concordia*, vor 979. Cf. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, Bd. II, S. 308.

⁶⁷ 1501-1507 in dieser Fassung aufgeführt, Froning, l. c., II, S. 569.

⁶⁸ Später selbst in Fastnachtspielen, Keller Nr. 106 u. a. Cf. L. Wirth, *Oster- und Passionsspiele*, Halle, 1889, S. 34 f.

bens, zur Abwehr und zum Angriff gemacht hat, ist auch zur Genüge bekannt. Auf diese Streitdramen, deren Zweck deutlich ist, wollen wir also nicht eingehen.⁶⁹ Der Praxis war Luther mit der Theorie vorgegangen: "Und mag sein," schrieb er, "daz si [die Juden] solche Gedichte gespielet haben, wie man bei uns die Passion spielet und anderer Heiligen Geschichte, damit sie ihr Volk und die Jugend lehren, als in einem gemeinen Bilde oder Spiel, Gott vertrauen, fromm sein und alle Hilfe und Trost von Gott hoffen in allen Nöten wider alle Feinde."⁷⁰ Gewisse Dramen sollen beitragen zur Stärkung im Glauben. L. Culmans Spiel *Von der Witfrau* (1544) hätte sogar den spezifischen Zweck, dass Witwen und Waisen

irs ellends ein fürbild heten,
damit sie ihren glauben sterken.

Greffs *Lazarus* bezweckt die "sterckung des höchsten und nötigsten Artickels vnsers heiligen Christlichen glaubens von der letzten Auferstehung."⁷¹ Ambrosius Pape betont, dass in seinem Krippenspiel das Wort Gottes den Ungelehrten bekannt gemacht wird und den andern durch das Beispiel eingeprägt.⁷² *Der Dudesche Schlömer* "strafet, warnet und trostet sehr,"⁷³ was, nach Georg Mauricius zu urteilen, zur Zeit sehr notwendig war:

Beegnt nicht heutigs Tags zu hand
Der Christlichn Kirchen der Zustand?

⁶⁹ Man braucht hier nur auf Holsteins Buch hinzuweisen.

⁷⁰ Vorrede zu Buch *Judith* in der Bibelübersetzung von 1534. Erste Gesamtausgabe seiner deutschen Bibel im selben Jahre. Walch, Bd. XIV, S. 83; häufig von Dramatikern citiert, noch im 17. Jahrhundert von J. S. Mitternacht, *Der Unglückselige Soldat* usw., Leipzig, 1662.

⁷¹ Wittenb., 1545.

⁷² *Nativitas Christi*, Magdeb., 1582, Puer II.

⁷³ Frankfurter Nachdruck C, 1590. Boltes Ausgabe.

Welch der Teufel mit Macht zusetzt/
 Tyrannen wider sie verhetzt.
 Da kömpt der Türck/ der Antichrist/
 Der Teuff mit seiner Muttr da ist
 Da regn sich Ketzr und Rottengeist/
 Des Judas Kuss man sich auch bfeisst.⁷⁴

Von katholischer Seite wurde später auch geeifert, besonders von den Jesuiten. Der am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts in Tyrol tätige Arzt Guarinoni dachte wohl an die Jesuitendramen, als er bezeugte, dass "In den gewaltigen und auszerbaulichen Schau- und Hörspielen . . . eine solche Kraft und Nachdruck [ist], dasz sie nicht allein die Rechtgläubigen, sondern auch die Widersacher und allerlei Sectische von weitem herzuführen." ⁷⁵ Den Nutzen der dramatischen Aufführung mit Hinsicht auf die "propaganda fides," meinte der Braunschweiger Superintendent Polycarp Leyser "verstehen unsere Widersacher/ die Jesuiten gar wol/ welche nicht allein mit lernen/ lesen/ schreiben und predigen/ die arme jugend/ und andere jre Zuhörer schendlich verführen/ sondern auch viel und oft *Comoedias*, und dieselbige mit grosser pomp und pracht halten/ in welchem sie jren Unglauben und Abgötterey dem gemeinen Mann also fürgetragen für Augen stellen/ und ins hertz einbilden/ das es jnen hernacher nimmermehr/ oder ja mit grosser mühe heraus genommen werden kan. Warumb thun denn wir/ so das reine unverfelschte Wort Gottes haben/ dasselbige nicht auch/ damit wir ja auf alle mittel und wege dem Herrn Christo die Leute zuführen mächten." ⁷⁶ Loisers Entrü-

⁷⁴ *Haman*, 1607.

⁷⁵ 1610. Ap. Jannsen-Pastor, *Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes*, Bd. VII, S. 124.

⁷⁶ *An den Leser*, in Fr. Dedekinds *Der Christliche Ritter*, neue Ausg., 1590.

stung hatte seinen Wilderhall bei Martin Rinckart,⁷⁷ der bemerkt, "daz uns die Kinder der Finsternisz/ die Jesuiten/ mit jhrem auch in diesem Stück besonderem Fleisz unnd Eyfer allein *excitiren* köndten/ sonderlich den lieben *Lutherum* in dem Fall inn gebührende Acht zu nehmen und zu retten/ alldieweil derselbe bey jhnen fast alle Jahr ein mal oder etliche in jhren *Satyris* unnd Teufelszgeichten allermeist muss herhalten unnd überbücken." Natürlich war die Opposition am heftigsten bei den protestantischen Schulmännern. Als der Rektor der Andreaschule zu Hildesheim, M. Hch. Gödeken, um Erlaubnis bat, eine "Comoedia publica" aufzuführen, gab er als Grund, u. a. dass "man sich auff solchen Schlag den vermeinend Kunstreichen und Scharfsinnigen Jesuiten beqwemlich zuwider setzen könnte, oder jo ihn etwas nachkommen, wo nicht zuvor."⁷⁸ Das 17. Jahrhundert sah keine Änderung in der Haltung des protestantischen Schultums; es wurde stetig geeifert gegen die strotzende Jesuitenbühne, die als "nimis obscena" dargestellt wurde.⁷⁹ "Wer hält mehr von *Comedien*, als die Herrn Jesuiten?" war die Frage noch im Jahre 1675.⁸⁰

Diese Vorliebe für das Drama lässt sich leicht erklären. Schon Johannes Major sagte, dass die Spiele bisweilen mehr bewegten als die öffentliche Predigt.⁸¹ Eine verkappte Predigt also, aber mit weit grösserem Eindringungsvermögen. Wo die Predigt Hunderte erreichte, zog das

⁷⁷ *Der Eislebische Christliche Ritter*, 1613. Cf. auch F. H. Fladerus, *Ludovicus Bigamus*, 1625.

⁷⁸ Gaedertz, *Archivalische Nachrichten über die Theaterzustände von Hildesheim*, 1888, S. 7 ff.

⁷⁹ Um 1667. Cf. Nessler, *Dramaturgie der Jesuiten Pontanus, Donatus und Masenius*. Progr., Brixen, 1905, S. 21.

⁸⁰ *Alamodisches Interim*, S. 564.

⁸¹ Cf. Holstein, *Die Reformation* usw., S. 24.

Drama seine Tausende heran. Wo dem Durchschnittsprediger immer ein gewisser Unwillen begegnete, fand das Drama ein aufgewecktes, gespanntes Publikum, dem die Moral samt den schlagenden Darstellungen bis tief in die Seele drang. Man weiss, welche auffallende Ähnlichkeiten zwischen gewissen Passionsspielen⁸² und den gleichzeitigen Predigten besteht.⁸³ Wer aber der Predigt nicht zuhören will, muss anderswie erreicht werden. Sagt doch Birck:

Man sieht dich in der kirchen nitt,
Verachten das ist nur dein sitt.
Der Pfarrer schreit sich haiser gar,
Der leer nimbstu gar wenig war;
Du sprichst: ich kan es nit verston,
Was soll ich in der kirchen thon?
Dieweil du dann bist also toll,
Das du den Handel nit fast wol
Verfassen kanst, was doch disz sey,
Das man nennet Abgötterey,
So wend wir dir das zaigen an
Das dusz must freylich wol verstan,
Mit deinen augen mustus sehen,
Ja greyffen, mercken, gantz erspehen.⁸⁴

In Hinsicht auf eben solche Zustände suchte Leonhard Culman seine Mitbürger anzuregen, "Gottes wort vnd leere, guote sitten, der tolln welt vnd vngezogenen jugent, für [zu] tragen mit predigen, gesengen, reymen, liedern, sprüchen, spilen der Comedien, Tragedien etc. Ob villeycht die das predigen nicht hören, noch sonst zucht leyden wöllen, durch Spiel oder gesenge möchten erworben

⁸² Z. B. das *Alsfelder*.

⁸³ Cf. Froning, l. c. (Bd. II), S. 555. Direkte Benutzung von Predigten in Dramen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts ist auch keine Seltenheit. S. z. B. die Sündenfalldramen von Lucas Mai (1561) und G. Mauricius d. Ä. (1609). Cf. Holstein, l. c., S. 80.

⁸⁴ *Beel*, ap. Creizenach, Bd. III, S. 320.

werden.”⁸⁵ Obwohl mitunter behauptet wurde, dass der religiöse Zweck des Dramas durch Gottesdienst und Predigt besser erreicht werde als durch Schauspiele,⁸⁶ so blieb doch die “augenscheinliche Predigt und Conterfeht . . . der Predigten”⁸⁷ ein beliebtes Substitut für die Kanzel und Johann Riemer konnte noch am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts bezeugen, und Gottsched wiederholen: “die köstlichsten Prediger kämen vom Theatro.”

Ein bedeutender Vorzug des Dramas bestand darin, dass auf der Kanzel nicht alle Arten des Tadels zulässig oder möglich waren. Auch dort gäbe es eine Art Decorum. Hans von Rute erklärt den Reiz der Bühne teilweise hieraus:

. . . . das man durch disen fund
In schimpff wysz zeyg die laster an
Das man sunst nicht dörrft understan.”

In der Handschrift des Lucerner Weltgerichtsspiels⁸⁸ steht geschrieben:

Die frommen allten hendts vil brucht,
So d menschen etwan gfält vnnd gstrucht
endwäris von den rechtten wägen,
das inen doch kein mendsch torfft sägen

⁸⁵ Brief von Dr. Wenceslaus Link an den Pfarrer Petrus Pithonius, 13. Martij 1539. Gedruckt am Schluss von Culmans Spiel *Wie ein Sünder zuor Buosz bekärt wurde*, Nürnberg, 1539, ap. Goedeke, *Everyman, Homulus und Hekastus*, Hanover, 1865, S. 220.

⁸⁶ So von Placotomus, 1564. Cf. Creizenach, Bd. III, S. 370.

⁸⁷ Hans Pfister, vor Zyrils *Joseph*, in der Ausg. von Joh. Schlaysz, Tüb., 1593.

⁸⁸ *Wie Noe vom win überwunden durch sin jüngsten Sun Cham geschmächt* usw., Bern, 1546.

⁸⁹ Um 1549. Ms. 169 IIIa Bl. a, an einer Stelle, die später durch ein darübergeklebtes Papier mit neuem Text verdeckt wurde; cf. Reuschel, *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele des Mittelalters*, usw., Leipzig, 1906, S. 66 ff.

noch zu vnderwyssen vnderstan,
 wöllten dan mit bluttiger lougen zwan:
 hannd des die wysten gnommen acht,
 deshalb die laster in spills wys gmacht. . . .

Nikodemus Frischlin wusste wohl, man könne "mores malos in Comoedia sic taxare ut nemo esset, qui in illis se perstrictum esse iure possit dicere."⁹⁰ Es konnten also die Dramatiker "moderare suis affectibus ipsi, Et tamen hoc habitu, quae voluere loqui."⁹¹ Dem Dramatiker wurde ja "ein freier Spruch und Sinn" gewährt.⁹² Auch wäre es dem Schauspiel möglich, besonders in der "galanten Zeit," ein Publikum zu erreichen, das überhaupt von Pritschmeistern nichts wissen wollte, das sich aber der Moral einer "politischen Cantzel," wie sie die Schaubühne darstellte, nicht unzugänglich zeigen möchte.⁹³ Und schliesslich, es gab gewisse Gegenstände, die nun einmal in der Kirche nicht behandelt werden konnten. "Würde das wohl einen Prediger kleiden, wenn er sagte: Es ist nicht fein/ dasz die Studenten ihre Bücher versetzen; Es ist abgeschmackt, dasz das Frauenzimmer Schminck-Pflästergen auf ihre Brüste leget; Es ist nicht gesund/ dasz man 5. 6. Loth Caffee zu einer Kanne nimmt und dergleichen."⁹⁴ Wenn sich auch ein Abraham à Santa Clara oder ein Schupp um solche Decoramgesetze wenig gekümmert hätte, für viele "vornehmen" Prediger der "galanten Zeit" mögen sie unüberkömmliche Schranken gewesen sein.

⁹⁰ *Hildegardis Magna*, Tübingen, 1583 (1597).

⁹¹ Epigramm von Joh. Major zu J. Sanders' *Johannes*, 1588.

⁹² Schottel, *Friedens-Sieg*, 1648.

⁹³ *Ursprung der Römischen Monarchie*, in einem Singespiele, 1684.

⁹⁴ Picander, i. e. Henrici, *Teutsche Schau-Spiele*, 1726.

V. ERZIEHUNG DES GEMEINEN MANNES

Es war die Absicht der Reformatoren, dass ihr Werk vor allem dem niederen Volke zu Gute kommen sollte. Die Pflege des Schuldramas befriedigte den Bedarf an anschaulichem moralischen Unterricht für die Schuljugend. Für die Hebung der von der Wissenschaft abgeschnittenen Volksschichten, wo nur die wenigsten durch das gedruckte Buch erreicht wurden, bestrebten sich namentlich eine Anzahl Dramatiker, die, nicht völlig dem Bann der aristokratischen Humanisten-Idealen erliegend, mehr im Geiste Luthers an die Arbeit zogen. Ihnen war die Hebung des gemeinen Mannes ein bis jetzt in der Literaturgeschichte nur wenig betonter, jedoch mit grösster Hingabe verfolgter Zweck. Zwar nicht ausschliesslich ⁹⁵ aber doch vorwiegend durch das Drama.

Joachim Greff, obwohl er sich als gelehrter Humanist fühlt, bedauert, dass "der gemeine man/ . . . fast wenig/ solche Comedias und Spektakel dieser meinung lesen und anhören/ als seien solche Comedien vns zu gut geschrieben und angericht." Er erklärt aber nachdrücklich, er schreibe seine Stücke damit sie "jnn sonderheit aber vom gemeinen man/ verstanden/ gelesen und angehört möchten werden." ⁹⁶ So wurde es auch bei den Alten gemacht "Von klugen/ weisen leuten/ von den hochberhümpten Poeten" aber auch "von unsern lieben vorfharen" "dem gemeinen volck zu nutz und zu gut." Was das Altertum betrifft, kann dies Lienhart Culman bestätigen:

Zu Fasznacht zeit jr wist ja wol
Da pflegt man teutsch spill zu halten

⁹⁵ Wackernagel-Martin, *Gesch. d. d. Litt.*, Basel, 1879-1894, 2te Aufl., Bd. II, S. 77, erwähnt z. B. Rätselsammlungen "zum Nutzen des gemeinen Mannes" herausgegeben.

⁹⁶ *Aulularia*-Übers., 1535.

Das geschach auch etwan bei den alten
 Man thets z gefallen dem gmeynen man
 Der sunst nit gar vil mores kan.⁹⁷

Paulus Rebhun schreibt mit ähnlicher Absicht. Nur, so meint er, sollen die Stücke auch auf die Bühne gebracht werden. Seine Pflicht habe er vollbracht, indem er das Drama aus Licht gab, jetzt aber will er auch "wie zuvor nachmals ermahnet haben, alle die, so solcherley nutze Spiel anzurichten tüglich vnd forderlich mögen sein, sie wöllen es nu auch an ihrem fleis vnd arbeit nicht erwinden lassen, vnnd dises geticht mit öffentlichem Schawspil auch für den gemeinen man bringen."⁹⁸ Solche Spiele, meint Crüginger,⁹⁹ seien für die einfachen Menschen dasselbe, wie Puppen für die Kinder. Thiebold Gart schrieb seinen *Joseph* im vollen Bewusstsein seiner Absicht:

Zu gefallen vnser Oberkeyt,
 Und dir zu frummen gneyner mann.

Er weiss, die Gelehrten werden eben deshalb für sein Drama kein Interesse zeigen, aber:

Wir handt den nutz der spectatorn
 Fürs lob gesucht der hoch doctorn.¹⁰⁰

Bis ins 17. Jahrhundert sind dergleichen demokratische Absichten zu verzeichnen.¹⁰¹

Unter der Bezeichnung "gemeiner Mann" sind natürlich nicht ausschliesslich die niederen Volksschichten, son-

⁹⁷ Von der auffrur der Erbarñ weiber zu Rom. 154(?).

⁹⁸ Vor Hans Tyrolfs Übers. des *Pammachius*, Bolte und Schmidts *Pammachius*-Ausg.

⁹⁹ *Lazarus*, 1543.

¹⁰⁰ *Joseph*, Strassburg, 1559. Hrg. v. E. Schmidt, *Elässische Literaturdenkmäler*, II, Strassb., 1880.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Rebhun, *Susanna*, 1535; L. Stöckel, *Susanna*, 1559; H. Sachs, *Werke*, Vorrede zum II. Bde., 1560; G. Mauricius, *Comoedia von dem Schulwesen*, Leipz., 1560; A. Gassmann, *Josephus Tragicomicus*, 1610.

dern auch die Ungelehrten und überhaupt des Lateins Unkundigen zu verstehen. Ihre Zahl war nicht gering, denn Arnold Glaser meint, dass man "viel frommer Leute findet/ bey dem Adel/ Kauffleuten und Bürgern/ welche der Lateinischen Sprache unerfahren sind."¹⁰² Ihnen zu Gut wurden vielfach die lateinischen Schulkomödien, welche ihre Söhne vielleicht auf die Bühne bringen halfen, übersetzt. Hierin lag ein wichtiger Berührungspunkt des gelehrten mit dem volkstümlichen Element im Drama. Greff bearbeitet den *Lazarus* des Sapidus Deutsch für die "simpeln, einfältigen Leute" und Hans Sachsens reizendes *Spiel von Adams Kindern* (1553) ist:

Ein comedi und lieblich gedicht,
Das ursprünglich hat zugericht
Im Latein Philippus Melanchthon,
Und nun zu gut dem gemeinen man
Auch in teutsche sprach ist gewendt.

So wird dann Heinrich Mollers *Nabal*¹⁰³ übersetzt, "das auch die gemeine bürgerschaft, im latein wol, vbel oder nicht erfaren, darzu auch frawens personen . . . sich sampt jrem thun gleich als in einem spiegel besehen mochten." Und so wurde eine ganze Reihe von Dramen mit jener ausgesprochenen Absicht aus dem Lateinischen "einfältig in deutsche Reime verfasst."¹⁰⁴ Fanden sich in einem deutschen Stücke schwierige Ausdrücke, die von

¹⁰² Übers. von Nik. Frischlins *Phasma*, 1593.

¹⁰³ 1564, ap. Bolte, *Das Danziger Theater im. 16. u. 17. Jh.*, Hamb., Leipz., 1895, S. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. H. Zieglers *Vom opffer der Heiligen drey Khünig*, Ingolstadt, 1555, tb. v. Wolf. Herman, Salzburg, 1557; Mart. Hayneccius verdeutschte nicht nur seinen *Almansor* (deutsch 1582) sondern auch seinen *Hans Pfriem*, 1582. (Lat. *Momoscopus sive Hansoframea*. 1581.) Nik. Frischlins *Phasma* wurde von Arnold Glaser übersetzt, Greifswald, 1593. S. auch A. Gassmanns *Josephus Tragicomicus*, 1610.

Ungebildeten schwerlich verstanden würden, so wurden diese bisweilen erläutert. So erklärt Martin Rinckart ¹⁰⁵ die symbolischen Lateinischen Namen:

dasz . . . auch der gmeine mann
von handel moege was verstan.

Ähnliche Rücksicht, noch weiter getrieben, zeigte später Joh. Rist, der dem ungebildeten Publikum zu Gut, wie er selber sagt, Zwischenspiele in seinen *Perseus* hineinschob, obwohl er wusste, dass er damit den "legibus Tragœdiarum" zuwider handelte. Er habe aber "dem gemeinen Manne (als der mit solchen und dergleichen possirlichen Auffzügen am allermeisten sich belustiget) vornemlich . . . gratificiren und dienen wollen." ¹⁰⁶

Auch die Schulbehörden zeigten dem grossen Publikum gegenüber eine zuvorkommende Haltung, jedoch teilweise aus eigennützigen Gründen. Harsdörfer gab wohl einer selbst zu seiner Zeit noch gangbaren Meinung Ausdruck, wo er mit Bezug auf das Schuldrama schrieb: "Es ist verantwortlich/ dasz man sich des Nechsten Neigung nach bequemen/ und denen/ welche theils nicht lesen wollen/ theils nicht lesen können/ die Liebe zur Tugend/ durch ein lebendiges Gemählde aufstellet/ vor- und einbildet. . . . Der Nutz ist zu betrachten sowol/ bey den Zusehern und Zuhörern/ als bey den spielenden Knaben." ¹⁰⁷

VI. ERHALTUNG DES STANDESBEWUSSTSEINS

Die Standesverhältnisse des Mittelalters spiegeln sich nur unbedeutend in der dramatischen Poesie. Im 16. Jahrhundert werden gelegentlich die einzelnen Stände von

¹⁰⁵ *Der Eislebische Christliche Ritter*, 1613.

¹⁰⁶ Hamb., 1634.

¹⁰⁷ *Trichter*, 1650, Bd. II, S. 72 f.

Narren gezeisselt; ¹⁰⁸ dann wieder verfolgt ein ganzes Drama diesen Zweck. Gengenbachs *Nollhart* (1517) handelt

von etlichen stenden dyser waelt,
der sich doch keiner me recht helt
Geiztlich waeltlich, ritter, knecht,
Vnd dar zuo auch als froetisch geschlecht.

Hiermit verwandt, jedoch ohne die Breite der Anlage und ohne die beissende Wucht der Satire, vielmehr oft nach kleinbürgerlichem Ideal zugeschnitten, fast reaktionnär, und dennoch konstruktiv, erscheint die Auffassung Luthers und seiner Geistesverwandten.

Besonders aus der Komödie soll gelernt werden, meint Greff, wie ein jeder sich nach seinem Stand verhalten soll: „ . . . Bistu ein knecht/ odder hast einen andern standt an dir/ der mit dienst verbunden ist/ so solstu vleissig auffmercken/ wie dieser oder jener fromer knecht/ inn dieser oder einer andern Comedien/ seinem herrn vleissig dienet/ wie er seinem herrn seinen schaden mit allem vleis verhütet. Also weiter mit allen stenden und personen.“ ¹⁰⁹ Man sol „lernen und erkennen/ aller stende in der gantzen welt ampt und eigenschafft“ und das „leben darnach richten und anstellen.“ Aus dergleichen Äusserungen mehr als den herkömmlichen didaktischen Zweck herauslesen wollen, könnte hyperkritisch erscheinen. Man höre jedoch Melanchthon und Luther. Der „preceptor Germaniae“ redet von der Tragoedie: „Saepe . . . Graecorum consilium valde admiror, qui initio Tragoe-dias populo proposuerunt, nequaquam vt vulgo existimatur, tantum oblectationis causa, sed multo magis, vt rudos ac feres animos, consideratione atrocium exemplorum & ca-

¹⁰⁸ Z. B. in G. Rollenhagens Bearbeitung von Lonemanns *Lazarus*, 1590, III.

¹⁰⁹ *Aulularia*-Übers., 1535.

suum flecterent ad moderationem & frenandas cupiditates." ¹¹⁰ Weniger als Abwehr oder repressives Mittel, mehr als positives, bildendes Element fasste Luther den gewünschten Zweck des Dramas auf. "Comedien zu spielen soll man umb der Knaben in der Schule willen nicht wehren" entgegnete er auf eine Frage des Joh. Cellarius, u. a. weil "dort fůrgestellt werden solche Personen, dadurch die Leute unterrichtet, und ein Igliches seines Ampts und Standes erinnert und vermahnet werde, was einem Knecht, Herrn, jungen Gesellen und Alten gebůhre, wohl anstehe und was er thun soll, ja, es wird darinnen fůrgehalten und fůr die Augen gestellt aller Dignitten Grad, Aempter und Gebůhre, wie sich ein Igliches in seinem Stande halten soll im usserlichen Wandel." Nun knnte man hieraus bloss schliessen, das Drama sei in Luthers Ansicht eine Art Anschauungsunterricht der Etiquette, etwas wie ein verherrlichtes "Bũchlein vom Zutrinken," ein Grobianus ohne die Satire. Es liegt aber doch etwas Tieferes darin, das nicht ۆbersehen werden darf. Horchen wir Luther weiter zu: "Zudem werden darinnen beschrieben und angezeigt die listigen Anschlge und Betrug der bsen Blge; desgleichen, was der Aeltern und jungen Knaben Ampt sei, wie sie ihre Kinder und junge Leute zum Ehestande ziehen und halten, wenn es Zeit mit ihnen ist, und, wie die Kinder den Aeltern gehorsam sein, und freien sollen. . ." Ob hierin ein sozial-wichtiger Punkt berührt wird? Zweifellos, wenn man sich erinnert, das nach Luthers Ansicht "Polizeien und Weltliche Regiment . . . nicht bestehen [knnen] ohn den Ehestand. Eheloser Stand, der Clibat und Hurerei sind der Regiment und Welt Pestilenz und Gift." ¹¹¹ Aber, so wie

¹¹⁰ 1545. Cf. auch schon G. Simlers Ausg. von Reuchlins *Sergius*, 1513.

¹¹¹ *Tischreden*, Werke, Erlangen, Bd. LII, S. 336 f.

der letzte Abschnitt über die Ehe, so sind auch die andern Stellen Luthers von sozialer Bedeutung durchdrungen.

Dass Luthers Ansichten auch von seinen Zeitgenossen so verstanden wurden, zeigt das Beispiel Greffs, eines nahen Geistesverwandten. Die oben angeführte Stelle aus Greff ist konkreter als diejenige Luthers und lässt keinen Zweifel übrig, dass im Drama nicht nur der "äusserliche Wandel," sondern auch die geistige Haltung der verschiedenen Stände ihren respektiven Verhältnissen gegenüber bestimmt werden sollte. Greff denkt in grossen sozialen Abschnitten. In seinem *Zacheus* (1546) betont er, dass unter dem Namen "Zöllner" im Personenverzeichnis auch begriffen seien "Gleittleute/ Rendtmeister/ Schösser/ Voigte/ alle Amtuerweser/ Verleger/ Factor/ Schaffner/ Vorsteher/ Kauffleute/ alle hantirer und handler/ ia alle handtwerkger." So konnte das Drama in sozialer Hinsicht einen erstarrenden Einfluss ausüben, wo es Ergebung predigte in die bestehenden Verhältnisse. Hier tritt also, wenn auch nicht sehr deutlich ausgesprochen, der Gedanke des Dramas als beruhigender, besänftigender Faktor im Staate hervor, verschiedentlich nach den Persönlichkeiten gefärbt, peinlich konkret bei Greff, humanistisch bei Melanchthon, real-politisch bei Luther.

Zur besseren Begründung dieser Ansichten seien einige weitere Beispiele hervorgehoben. In den Dramen von den ungleichen Kindern Evas wird die Ungleichheit der Stände immer als eine göttliche Einrichtung dargestellt. Bei alledem wurde die reizende Legende natürlich von verschiedenen Dramatikern verschieden behandelt, von Sachs z. B. mit all der Arglosigkeit und Überzeugung seiner Natur, von Weise aber schon mit tieferem Bewusstsein und mit sozialen Anklängen. Und Knaust verflocht die Geschichte ja in seine *Tragedia von Verordnung der*

*Stände oder Regiment.*¹¹² Joh. Aal wendet sich an alle Stände: Priester, Fürsten und Herren, Väter und Mütter, Frauen und Jungfrauen, alle können aus seinem *Johannes-Drama* (1549) ihren Nutzen ziehen:

In summa, es ist kein stand noch stat
Der nit mag nemmen wysen rat
Und gute leer uss disem spil.

Joh. Schuward teilt seinen *Hausteuffel*¹¹³ aktenmässig "nach den fürnembsten stenden der menschen" ein.¹¹⁴ Joh. Sanders unternahm es "aller Stende Verrückung, Verkerungen und Unordnungen, so in dieser letzten Zeit der Satan gewaltiglich anrichtet ab[zu]mahlen und für augen [zu] stellen." Es werden dort "die ruchlosen Weltkinder fur Sünden und Untugend und Miszbrauch ihres Standes und Amtes gewarnet und zu wahrer Busz, christlichen Tugenden und rechtmässiger Führung ihres Berufes und Amtes vermahnet und gereizet." Auch sind seine Personen Vertreter grösserer Gruppen in der Gesellschaft. "Herr Fastus ist das Bild eines unbeständigen Wendheikens [Manteldrehers], Herodes repräsentiert einen heuchlischen Tyrannen, Herodias ein unzüchtig gottlos Weib, Johann von Gaza und Jost von Emahus einen gottseligen frommen Adel, Golret von Vitremund und Simon von Thatwalde einen gottlosen epikurischen Adel, Centurio einen fürstlichen Hofrat und so fortan."¹¹⁵ In seiner Komödie gegen das Würfel- und Kartenspiel

¹¹² 1539. Über Behandlungen dieser von Melanchthon an den Grafen von Wied mitgeteilten Legende s. Michel, *Knaust*, Berlin, 1903, S. 26 ff. und Bolte, *Stuttg. Lit. Ver.*, Bd. cccc, S. 403 ff.

¹¹³ Eisleben, 1565, ap. Bolte, *Wickram-Ausg.*, Bd. vi, S. lxxix.

¹¹⁴ So handelt Akt I. von *Lehrern und Zuhörern*, II. von *Obrigkeit und Untertanen*, III. von *Mann und Weib*, IV. von *Eltern und Kindern*, V. von *Strafe und Belohnung*. (!)

¹¹⁵ Magd., 1588.

wollte Thomas Birck auch "der Welt Lauff in allen dreyen Ständen" darstellen.¹¹⁶ Joh. Yetzeler gab Wickrams *Tobias* neu heraus, "darin zu lehrnen haben alte und junge Leuth, wie sich ein jeder in seinem Beruf und Stand verhalten" soll. Und den 123 Actores sind "mit jren Ständen auch jren eygenen Namen" vorgedruckt.¹¹⁷ Samuel Israel zeigt uns, wie durch das Drama "alle Stend in der Welt/ sampt jrem Vorhaben . . . uffgeführt und gewiesen werden."¹¹⁸ Noch im Jahre 1610 erschien ein *Kurtzweiligs Fassnacht Spiel, vom faulen, eigensinnigen Dienstgesinde*,¹¹⁹ ein Beweis dafür, dass die Vorschrift, der Knecht solle vom Drama lernen, wie er sich gegen den Meister zu betragen habe, noch immer buchstäblich beherzigt wurde. Wolfhart Spangenberg schrieb ein Drama vom *Glückswechsel*, "ein kurzweilig Spiel, von dryen jhres Standes Überdrüssigen Personen, eim Bawren, Landsknecht vnd Pfaffen: Vnd wie es jedem nach seim Anschlag ergangen."¹²⁰ Die typische Vertretung der verschiedenen Stände, wie etwa im Luzerner *Antichristspiel* von 1549¹²¹ heranzuziehen, wäre über unsere Aufgabe hinausgreifen. Aber es muss auch schon aus den oben angeführten Stellen vollkommen deutlich sein, dass die Bühne auf das Standesbewusstsein tief einzuwirken im Stande war, und zwar in doppelter Fassung: gewissermassen vertiefend, erweiternd, namentlich in den essentiell-mittelalterlichen Massendramen; aber verengend, erstarrend in den bürgerlich-angehauchten Berufs- und Ständedramen. Meistens war jedoch die Tendenz konservativ

¹¹⁶ 1590. Ob hier auch Georg Mauricius' Komödie *Von allerlei Ständen* zu nennen wäre, weiss ich nicht.

¹¹⁷ 1609. Zuerst 1605.

¹¹⁸ *Susanna*, Basel, 1607, Widmung, 1606.

¹¹⁹ Von Joh. Steurlein, Schleusingen.

¹²⁰ Nürnberg, 1613.

¹²¹ In der grossen Gerichtsscene.

und wurde die Instandhaltung der bestehenden Verhältnisse, die Erhaltung des Standesbewusstseins erstrebt.

Bemerkenswert ist die Tatsache, dass oft die Komödie als besonders für solche zugleich sozial-wichtige und doch fast häusliche Zwecke geeignet dargestellt wurde. Wie letzteres aus der Definition der Komödie hervorgeht, und wie z. B. Luthers Tendenzen eigentlich nur die tiefere Auffassung althergebrachter Ansichten über den Stoff der Komödie bilden, würde sich herausstellen bei einer Untersuchung des Begriffs Komödie, für die hier jedoch nicht die Stelle ist.

VII. POLITIK

Schon im Mittelalter gab es politische Dramen. Die politische Bedeutung des Tegernseer Antichristspiels *Vom römischen Reiche deutscher Nation* braucht nicht betont zu werden. Später wird häufig gegen die Türkengefahr geüfert, sogar in Fastnachtsspielen.¹²² Jakob Lochner schrieb zwei Türkenstücke (1496, 1502), letzteres das *Spectaculum . . . in quo Christianissimi reges aduersum truculentissimos Turchos consilium ineunt*. Ausserdem gibt es von ihm ein Spiel über die politische Lage nach der Schlacht bei Guinegate (1513). Wimpfeling schrieb einen Dialog *De bello Thurcico* (1498). Bircks *Judith* (um 1540) soll ein Beispiel sein "rei publicae recte institutae, Unde discitur, quomodo arma contra Turcam sint capienda." Zieglers *Samson* (1547) wurde dargestellt "ad exemplum quomodo speranda sit divina ultio et victoria contra Turcas," und Hier. Linck schrieb ein *Drama de praeparatione ad Bellum Turcicum*.¹²³ All diesen

¹²² *Der Türken Fastnachtspiel*, Keller, Bd. I, S. 288 ff.; Rosenplüt, Keller, Nr. 39.

¹²³ 1557. HS. in Wien. Cf. Gerstenberg, *Zur Geschichte des Türkenschauspiels*, I, Meppen, 1902. Über ein Türkenstück Georg Bömiches s. Goedeke, *Grundriss*, Bd. II, S. 393.

Dramen lag hauptsächlich Glaubenseifer zu Grunde, aber ihre Erscheinung war zugleich nicht ohne Belang für die internationale Politik.

In der Schweiz kam rege Teilnahme der Bürger an der mit den Verhältnissen Europas oft eng verwebten Politik der Eidgenossenschaft auf der volksbeliebten Bühne oft eindrucksvoll zur Geltung. Die verschiedenen *Tellenspiele*, an denen sich die Schweizer seit Ruffs *Etter Heini* (1514) ergötzt haben, brauchen wir nicht noch einmal aufzuzählen.¹²⁴ Es wird in der Schweiz nicht nur geehrt für die Läuterung der Sitten, die Instandhaltung der alten Römertugend (Bullingers *Lucretia*), sondern auch gegen die Annahme fremdländischer Pensionen, den Eintritt schweizerischer Burschen in fremde Heere.¹²⁵

Auch die inneren Verhältnisse werden berührt. Nicht selten beschäftigt sich das Drama mit den grossen nationalen Zeitereignissen oder mit den politischen Verhältnissen grosser Gruppierungen innerhalb des Deutschen Reiches. Den Bauernkrieg, den Herman Schottenius schon 1526 darzustellen versucht hatte (*Ludus martius*) wurde ein Jahrhundert später von Martin Rinckart wieder auf die Bühne gebracht "nicht allein Comoedienweise, sondern auch als ein richtiges und lustiges Compendium Historieum ordentlich verfasset vnd zugerichtet: Vnd der jetzigen sicheren Welt, zum nothwendigen Lehr- und Warnungsspiegel Beym instehenden seculo vor Augen gestellet."¹²⁶ Auffallend ist dabei, dass auch in diesen Dramen fast ausnahmslos eine konservative, wenn nicht reaktionäre Gesinnung zu Tage tritt. Wenn es auch unverneinbar

¹²⁴ Cf. R. J. Hodel, *Vaterländisches Volkstheater und Festspiele in der Schweiz*. Diss., Bern, 1907.

¹²⁵ Über die Aufführung einer *Judith* in Süs, 1554, and ihre Wirkung s. Creizenach, Bd. III, S. 344, Anm. 1.

¹²⁶ *Monetarius seditiosus*, 1625.

ist, dass in Deutschland die Bühne nicht etwa wie in Frankreich ¹²⁷ als Werkzeug zur Beherrschung der Massen verwendet wurde, ¹²⁸ so lässt sich doch eine Tendenz in diesem Sinne beobachten. Im Verband mit der unverkennbar konservativen Richtung, die sich in der Betonung der Standesunterschiede äussert, wird die Lage noch deutlicher. Es sei hierbei nochmals auf Melanchthons Äusserung hingewiesen und es sei nochmals betont, wie aus ihr viel weniger der Sittenlehrer spricht, als der Staatsmann.

Gengenbachs *Nollhart* ¹²⁹ führt die politischen Mächte der Zeit und darunter auch die Juden auf. Ein Hildesheimer Fastnachtsspiel ¹³⁰ "verspottet die Adeligen des Bistums, die sich im vorhergehenden Jahre gegen gewisse Finanzmassregeln aufgelehnt hatten." Heinrich Knaust benutzte die Geschichte von Kain und Abel als Grundlage seiner *Tragoedi von Verordnung der Stände oder Regiment*, ¹³¹ wo Kain das Bild geben soll "der wüsten und greulichen Leute die im Papsttum und neulich bei den Bauern und Wiedertäufern gesehen worden." Wolfgang Schmeltzls *Samuel und Saul* soll zeigen, "dass alle hohe gewaltige Monarchien von Gott eingesetzt und geordnet, die grossen mächtigen Potentaten und Herren zu strafen, Recht wider Gewalt aufzurichten, auch wider dieselbigen sich niemand setzen, verachten noch empören solle." ¹³² Öfters empfiehlt bei Hans Sachs der Herold Gehorsam gegen die Behörden. Im *Mucius Scaevola* bindet er

¹²⁷ Cf. Picot, *Les moralités politiques*. Bull. de la soc. du prot. fr., Bd. xxxvi.

¹²⁸ Man weiss wie Ludwig XII Gringores *Jeu du Prince des Sots* benutzte um den Volksgeist gegen den Pabst Julius II aufzuregen. Cf. Petit de Juleville, *Le théâtre en France*, Paris, 1901, S. 64 f.

¹²⁹ 1545 aufgeführt.

¹³⁰ *Der Scheveoloth*, 1520 aufgef., ap. Creizenach, l. c., Bd. III, S. 243.

¹³¹ Wittenberg, 1539.

¹³² Wien, 1551; cf. Holstein, l. c., SS. 81, 91.

seinen Mitbürgern aufs Herz, ihre Steuer willig zu bezahlen. Der Nürnberger Rat konnte denn auch nicht umhin, die Aufführung des Dramas zu gestatten "weil vyl gute argument vnd ursachen wider die beschwerden dergleichen auflagen darjnn auf die pan gebracht werden, die allen Oberkeiten zu guten gedeutet werden mügen."¹³³ Dramen, in denen die Obrigkeit angegriffen wurde, sind nur selten zur Aufführung oder sogar ans Licht gekommen, was bei der Wachsamkeit der Behörden mit Betracht auf Stücke, die sich etwa auf bestehende Zustände beziehen könnten,¹³⁴ leicht zu erklären ist. Revolutionnäre Dramen sind also kaum zu erwarten. Ausnahmsweise erscheint eine *Tragoedia Von einem Unge-rechten Richter/ Wie derselbe . . . ewig verdampt worden*,¹³⁵ aber meistens wird bloss in verdeckter Weise, etwa in einem *Esther*-drama auf die Pflicht hingewiesen, "dass niemand sin gwalt oder wolstand missbruche/ sün-der demütig sye."¹³⁶ Oder in ein *Susanna*-spiel eine Scene eingeschoben "ad depingendum iudicium iniquitatem," jedoch "extra argumentum," wie Rebhun beschwichtigend hinzufügt.¹³⁷

SCHLUSSBETRACHTUNG

Beim Überblick obiger Zeilen lässt sich folgendes bemerken: Die zahlreichen Belege zeigen eine auffallende innere Ähnlichkeit, in einzelnen Fällen sogar wörtliche Übereinstimmung. Diesem Sachverhalt liegt einerseits eine noch fast mittelalterliche Einheitlichkeit des Den-

¹³³ 1553, ap. Creizenach, Bd. III, S. 435.

¹³⁴ Cf. Hampe, ap. Creizenach, Bd. III, S. 439.

¹³⁵ Madgeburg o. J.

¹³⁶ Josias Murer, *Hester*, 1567.

¹³⁷ *Susanna*, II, i. Deutsch 1535 aufgeführt.

kens, anderseits aber auch wohl die erstarrende Wirkung der Tradition zu Grunde. In zwei Worten lässt sich die ganze Lage zusammenfassen: Moral und Didaktik. Diese bezieht sich auf Methode und Absicht; jene, entweder abstrakt oder konkret angehaucht, verteilt ihre Mahnungen zwischen Individuum, Familie und Staat.

Die meisten unserer Belege entstammen dem 16. und dem Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts und nur verhältnismässig wenige gehören dem ausgehenden 17. oder dem 18. Jahrhundert an. Tatsächlich ist die Herrschaft von Moral und Didaktik überhaupt auf das 16. Jahrhundert beschränkt. Im folgenden Jahrhundert, vielleicht schon unter Einfluss der Englischen Komödianten und später durch die Einwirkung Italiens und Frankreichs beginnt nämlich der Zerstörungsprozess der Didaktik, indem die Wirkungsmittel des Dramas eine völlige Umwandlung untergehen. Dem Nutzen wird die Belustigung zur Seite gestellt, zuerst als blosse Zugabe, dann aber, etwa seit Opitz, als gleichberechtigt, bis endlich, am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts, die Belustigung an die Herrscherstelle tritt. Damit war auch der Didaktik ihr Ende bereitet, denn Didaktik als Methode und Belustigung als Ziel sind unvereinbar. Unsere Belege werden deshalb seit Opitz immer spärlicher. Trotzdem wäre ihre Bedeutung noch leicht zu überschätzen, wenn hier nicht ausdrücklich darauf hingewiesen würde, dass in den späteren Äusserungen der Nachzügler oder der vereinzelte Reaktionär zur Rede kommt.

Jos. E. GILLET.

XVIII.—HUE DE ROTELANDE'S *IPOMÉDON* AND CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES

Kölbing in his work on the *Ipomédon* of Hue de Rotelande finds in this charming romance of the latter half of the twelfth century the "tendenz, charakterzeichnung und handlung,"¹ that class it unmistakably with the romances of the Round Table, and recognizes most particularly upon it the influence of the *Charette* and the *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troyes.²

On account of the close relations between France and England at this time, one is easily led to believe that an English poet, writing in French, must have known Chrétien, who was then charming the courts of France, and, knowing him, must have followed in his tracks. Resemblances may indeed be pointed out between the works of Chrétien and *Ipomédon*, just as resemblances have been noted³ between the former and the romances of antiquity. All these works followed each other so closely in the period between 1150 and 1190 that they are to a degree the product of the same civilization, and resemblances are inevitable. But that Hue de Rotelande, before he wrote his *Ipomédon*, ever read the *Charette* or *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troyes, seems to me inconceivable.

Born perhaps in Rhuddlan in the north of Wales, having at any rate a house near Hereford⁴ and acquainted

¹ *Ipomédon, in drei englischen bearbeitungen*, Eugen Kölbing, Breslau, 1889, p. xxviii (A).

² Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomédon, ein französischer abenteuerroman*, herausgegeben von E. Kölbing und E. Koschwitz, p. vi (B).

³ Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, July, 1902; Edmond Faral, *Ovide et quelques sources du Roman d'Enéas*, Romania, 1911, pp. 233 f.

⁴ *Ip.*, ll. 5346, 8940, 10569.

with the country round about that border town, Hue would seem to have needed but an example to inspire in him a desire to embody in his own work some of the legends of his home land, so successfully exploited by Chrétien de Troyes. In *Ipomédon*, however, there are none of the paraphernalia peculiar to the romances of the Round Table, no terrestrial paradises, no land from which none who enters ever returns, no fairy mistresses, no love philters, no love madness, no sword bridges or phantom beasts, no perilous beds with flaming swords descending, no storm-producing fountains, none of the other-world phenomena,⁵ of which *Yvain* and the *Charette*, of all the works of Chrétien, are particularly full.

That the *Ipomédon* is of about the same length as *Thèbes*, and that twenty of the names of the personages are drawn from it, proves necessarily nothing. But it is difficult for us to see in the court of Meleager in *Ipomédon* "ein seitenstück zu der des königs Artus in Carlion oder Quarradigant."⁶ There is no reference in *Ipomédon* to Arthur or any of his famous knights. Arthur, as he is depicted by Chrétien, is very much a figure-head, acting occasionally as umpire, but doing no fighting himself. Meleager, on the contrary, not only takes part in

⁵ If, as Ward among others thinks, (*Cat. of Rom.* v. 1, pp. 735 ff.) Hue were acquainted with a *Lancelot* by his friend Walter Map (cf. *Ip.*, ll. 7173 ff.), it would seem strange that none of this other-world material crept into his *Ipomédon*. Some of it seems inseparable from a Lancelot story. The nearest approach to it in *Ipomédon* is the virtue attributed to the sapphire on the cover of the cup *Ipomédon* gave to Capaneus, and the stone in the ring given to *Ipomédon* by his mother. Of the former it is said that it cured people of felons (*Ip.*, l. 2933; cf. Mussafia, *Sulla critica del testo del Ipomédon*, p. 46), and of the latter that it staunches the blood from a wound (*Ip.*, ll. 9781 ff.). It was common thruout the middle ages to attribute peculiar virtues to precious stones.

⁶ Kölbinger (A), pp. xxviii ff.

the tourney in person, but is worsted by the hero.⁷ Besides, it is to the court of the duchess of Calabria, and not to Meleager's that Ipomédon goes to learn *affeitement*,⁸ and he is knighted⁹ by his father in his own home in Apulia.

Nor does Capaneus remind us of Chrétien's Gauvain, that incomparable hero with whom the battle is at best indecisive.¹⁰ Capaneus suffers defeat on each of the three days of tourney. On the third day he would have been killed by Ipomédon if the king had not rescued him. Ipomédon, after he had unhorsed him runs him down:

Cil remeint a pie en la place.
Ipomédon ben le requert,
Od le piz del destrer le fert,
Ke les paumes ferri al terre (ll. 6258 ff.).

The king, seeing this, comes up.¹¹

D'ire esteit pale e teint e pers;
Ipomédon fert en travers, etc. (ll. 6267 f.).

Ipomédon turns from Capaneus to strike the king, and the king is so frightened that,

De l'autre part la redne vire,
Tant cum post tendre le cheval,
Unk[e] puis ne lui donna estal (ll. 6280 ff.).

And our poet facetiously adds:

Je ne di pas li reis fuist
Mes d'aler s'en grant semblant fist (ll. 6283 ff.).

⁷ *Ip.*, ll. 5096 ff.

⁸ *Ip.*, ll. 211-220; ll. 245-284.

⁹ *Ip.*, ll. 1737 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. *Erec*, ll. 2289 ff.; *Oligés*, ll. 4951 ff.; *Yvain*, ll. 6237 ff.; *Char.* l. 5973; *Perc.* l. 5548; Kölbing, A, p. xxix.

¹¹ Cf. *Oligés*, ll. 4860 ff.; "N'i fierent pas ne dui ne troi; Qu'adone n'estoit us ne costume."

The seneschal Caeminus is indeed like Key in being *enjurius* and *custumers de mesdire*.¹²

But in the romantic literature of the day antedating Chrétien, the seneschal bore this character.¹³ Besides, Caeminus is not the official railler of Chrétien and is not mentioned as leading the gibes at Ipomédon when he plays the coward. Mocking at Ipomédon was a family affair in which even the king takes part.¹⁴

The seneschal in the *Ipomédon* plays a less prominent rôle than the chamberlain,¹⁵ Thoas, for whom there is no counterpart in Chrétien, the word *chamberlenc*¹⁶ itself being seldom used by him. This word with the office for which it stands seems to have flourished particularly on English soil.

It is Thoas¹⁷ that Hue says could talk as well as a certain man of his acquaintance at Hereford boasting of his valiant deeds at the siege of Rouen.¹⁸

Ipomédon's *mestre* and constant companion, Tholomeus, and the messenger, Egéon, the *curleu*,¹⁹ a word unfamiliar

¹² *Ip.*, ll. 5022 and 5027.

¹³ Cf. Annette B. Hopkins, *The influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romances of Orestien de Troies*, pp. 93 ff., and *La folie de Tristan d'Oxford*, S. des A. T., v. LVI, ll. 715 ff.

¹⁴ *Ip.*, ll. 3121 ff; l. 4465.

¹⁵ Seneschals and chamberlains appear in *Thèbes*: ll. 782, 2918, 3256, etc.

¹⁶ In *Perc.*, l. 4500, there is a passing reference to a chamberlain.

¹⁷ The name Thoas is the only one common to Chrétien's works and to *Ipomédon*. In the *Charette*, Thoas is pointed out in the tourney as the knight carrying a shield made in London (l. 5842). As Chrétien uses the word but this once, it is probable that Hue recalled it from *Troie*, where a Thoas plays a prominent rôle (l. 358, etc.).

¹⁸ *Ip.*, l. 5349. *Ipomédon* was written therefore after 1174, date of the siege. Hue's protector of whom he speaks as living at the close of his later romance, *Protésilaus*, died in 1191.

¹⁹ *Ip.*, ll. 2272, 2309, etc., cf. *Enéas*, l. 3899.

to Chrétien, play rôles conspicuously strange to Arthurian romance.

The whole setting of the story owes nothing to Chrétien. The atmosphere of the poem according to his standard is uncourtly, not to say plebeian. The *launde*²⁰ with its woods and river, the *cit  *²¹ where the heroine is *ostilee*, the hunting scenes²² no less enthusiastically drawn than the tourney under the dungeon,²³ moors,²⁴ herdmen²⁵ and husting,²⁶ the lover walking in the Spring forest and singing²⁷ for the mere joy of living, above all the humor pervading the whole is distinctively English in spite of the French dress and foreign setting.

In particular, K  lbing would have Hue's making Ipom  don *dru la reine* due to "den inneren Einfluss von Crestien's *Chevalier de la Charette*."²⁸ If the story were indeed as it is represented by M. Bardoux²⁹ in his work on Walter Map, this might possibly be claimed. M. Bardoux, attempting evidently to follow Ward,³⁰ after translating into Latin Ward's citation from *Ipom  don* in which Hue says that Walter Map³¹ knew the art

²⁰ Ll. 574 ff.

²¹ L. 322.

²² Speaking of Henry II, Salzmann (*English Nation under Henry II*, p. 215) says in his recent volume (1914): "When he went out of England, whether for peaceful cause or war, his hawks and hounds and huntsmen followed him."

²³ L. 2518.

²⁴ L. 8942.

²⁵ L. 2721.

²⁶ L. 2684.

²⁷ L. 5335.

²⁸ B, p. 6; cf. A, p. 29.

²⁹ J. Bardoux, *De Walterio Mappio*, Paris, 1900, p. 167.

³⁰ Ward, *Cat. of Rom.*, I, p. 734.

³¹ Sommer's arguments that Hue may not refer to the Walter Map, archdeacon of Oxford, seem quite unconvincing (cf. *Vulgate Version of Arthurian Romances*, v. I, p. 11 n.). It is natural to suppose that a man who said of himself: *marchio sum Walensibus* (*De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. II, ch. 23) and who was a public character before our poem was written (*Ib.*, ed. Wright, p. 6), should have been known to Hue. This has nothing to do with the question of Map's authorship of a *Lancelot*. All that Hue says here, is in

of lying as well as he, continues: "Haec porro singularem inter Ipomedonta et Lancelotum similitudinem declarant. Etenim Ipomedon, Ducissae Calabrienis amore captus, ab illius sponso impetrant ut Dominae pocula ministret, cui brevi est in deliciis. Indictis, quorum Meleager, Ducissae conjux, particeps fieret, ludicris certaminibus, Ipomedon tanta virtute depugnat ut tribus diebus e praelio victor recedat, prima die alba arma gestans, albo equo insidens; secunda, fulvis armis instructus, fulvo vectus equo; tertia, nigra arma ferens, nigro usus equo. Tum Ducissae, ut illi se detegat triplicem armaturam et tres equos mittit." It would scarcely seem that M. Bar-doux had read *Ipomédon*, for the duchess of Calabria, with whom the hero is in love, has no husband until at the close of the story she marries Ipomédon. The whole poem is written to show the vicissitudes of the courtship in the good English fashion of the novel, and when they are finally married, the poet distinctly states that she was a virgin:

Je quit k'ele out sun vu tenu,
Kar desk'adunc pucele fu;

.

effect: "You think I am telling an improbable tale. I mean always to tell the truth, but if I fail to do so sometimes, there are others who do, too. Take, for example, Walter Map. You, dear listener, you tell the truth always, of course ('Ne quit pas que nul de vus mente,' l. 7186)." Whether Map wrote a *Lancelot* or not, the part of the *Ipomédon* just preceding these words might naturally have reminded Hue that Map also had told a tale of a young man who, in spite of all the blandishments and even taunts of a queen, had not yielded to her love and had finally vindicated his prowess. Disguised in another's armor, he had vanquished a giant (*De Nugis*, Dist. III, ch. 2). As internal evidence shows that parts of the *De Nugis* were written as early as 1181, it is quite possible that Hue knew this story of *Sadius and Galo*. (Cf. Hinton, *Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*, Pub. M. L. A., Mch., 1917, pp. 106 and 131.)

Chescun de cez ad bien garde
A autre sa virginite (ll. 10500 ff.).

Meleager is not the husband of the duchess of Calabria, but king of Sicily and her uncle.³² It is to this uncle's court³³ that Ipomédon goes incognito when he hears of the proposed tourney in which he, who shows himself the bravest, is to marry his beloved. Knowing that her uncle would certainly go, he plans to accompany him. For better concealment of his identity, he proposes to play the rôle of *dru la reine*.³⁴ Immediately on arriving, he asks Meleager's permission to do this and the permission is granted. He is to serve her at table, escort her to and from her room morning and evening and give her the kiss of salutation.³⁵ Pretending he cared nothing for the tourney but only for the hunt and his duties to the queen, but going to the tourney each day while his *mestre* leads the hunt, he does fight first in white armor, then in red and then in black, but contrary to the statement of M. Bardoux, he sends the white horse he rode the first day to Meleager:

Cest blanc, ke j'oi le premer jur,
Dunez al rei, vostre seignur (l. 6663 f.).

The red one he sends to the queen:

A la reine redunez
De meie part cest destrer sor (l. 6639 f.).

The black horse he sends to Capaneus, nephew and heir presumptive of Meleager.³⁶

Cest neir dunez Capaneus (l. 6671).

It is the horse of Meleager, won in the tourney,

³² Ll. 49-103.

³³ L. 3071.

³⁴ Ll. 73-80.

³⁵ Ll. 2618 ff.

³⁶ Ll. 3005 ff.

Sis destrers fut un veirs liarz (l. 5096).

that he last sends to his "Fière," the duchess.

Un en i ad, ke fut le rei.
Celui redunez de part mei
A la fiere k'il est mut bon (l. 6675 ff.).

Nothing is said of what became of the armor he wore. There is no pretense of love on the part of Ipomédon for the queen during the two months he spent as her *dru*.

Ne li vint pas a volente
K'il ja mes d'autre seit ame
Ne quert autre amer en sa vie (ll. 3087 ff.).

The queen might have loved him and made him her *dru* in reality, it is said, if he had shown knightly prowess. In fact, in spite of this fault, the next to the last night he was to escort her to her room, giving her the nightly kiss as per agreement with the king, the poet writes:

Sis druz en la chambre la meine
Si la besa de bon' estraine;
Cument k'il fust a la reine
Fust le beser bone medecine
Mes il le prist trestut a gas" (ll. 5509 ff.).

Here we have then in the *Ipomédon* the hero in the course of his love story covering seven years, playing for two months the rôle of *dru la reine* without any love for her, and simply to win another woman, while at the opening of the *Charette*, Lancelot is the accepted lover of Queen Guinivere.

It is curious to note that the word *dru* is not found in the *Charette*. Lancelot is never called the *dru la reine*. After *Erec*, in which it is said that the hero made Enide

" Cf. ll. 10369 f.: A vostre uncle pus a Palerme Vendi veissie pur lanterne.

s'amie et sa drue,³⁸ the word apparently lost caste with him. It is highly improbable therefore that the rôle of *dru la reine* was suggested to Hue by the *Charette*. If, as Marie de France says, any beautiful lady was looked upon as peculiarly unfortunate if she did not have a *dru*,³⁹ the creation of the rôle of *dru la reine* would require little inventive genius.

The greatest novelty in the *Charette* was exactly the depiction of a love that made the lover insensible to shame⁴⁰ and disgrace⁴¹ and even to physical pain,⁴² that held life itself not too dear a price to pay for a frown of displeasure⁴³ of the loved one, that set the beloved on a pedestal and worshipped before her as before an altar.⁴⁴ It is this that would certainly have caught the fancy of a fellow poet. But there is no hint of such a love in *Ipomédon*. Even after the tourney, when the hero has every right to claim the *Fière* and is assured that she will die if he leaves her again,⁴⁵ he goes off without speaking to her and remains away a year longer.⁴⁶ Chrétien's *cortoisie* of love⁷⁴ as shown in the *Charette*, he had not learned:

³⁸ *Brec*, l. 2439. We find the word once again in *Perc.*, l. 8978: Gauvain tells his sister that Grinomalanz claims her as his *dru*.

³⁹ Si bele dame tant mar fust
s'ele n'amast u dru n'eüst!
Que devendreit sa curteisie,
s'ele n'amast de druërie? (*Equitan*, ll. 83 ff.)

⁴⁰ *Charette*, ll. 4387 ff.

⁴¹ *Ib.*, ll. 4670 f.; ll. 4734 ff.

⁴² *Ib.*, ll. 5686 ff.

⁴³ *Ip.*, l. 6313.

⁴⁴ *Ib.*, ll. 4657 ff.

⁴⁵ *L.* 7224.

⁴⁶ *Charette*, ll. 4355 ff.

⁷⁴ M. Bardoux says after a brief résumé of the prose *Lancelot*, still comparing it with *Ipomédon*: "Sic in utramque fabulam inducuntur duae mulieres, et ambae famosi bellatoris amorem sibi consiliare conantur" (*De Walterio Mappio*, p. 167). Any novice in Arthurian literature knows that it is Lancelot who tries to win and keep the love of Guinivere and not *vice versa*.

Mout est qui aime obeissanz (*Char.*, l. 3816).

It is no tale of courtly love that we have in *Ipomédon*, but the tale of a man in love with a maid whom he intends to marry when he is ready. To his host, who, after the tourney, urges him to stay and marry the Fièrre, he replies in effect that when a young man marries, he "settles down" as a rule and nothing more is heard of him:

Jomblez hom sui e bacheler,
De femme aveir ne dei haster;
Li jomble, ki trop ço desirent,
S'un en amende, mil empirent (ll. 6647 ff.).

Hue's *mestre* had indeed told him on learning of his love for the Fièrre:

J'en ai joie ke vus amez,
Kar a tuz jurz meulz en valdrez,
Kar cil, ki aime par amur,
De plus conquest pris et valor,
K'il se peine d'estre tut dis
Plus francs, plus pruz, de meulz apris (ll. 1593 ff.).

But this is in *Ipomédon* simple embroidery and not the very woof of the story as in Chrétien. This conception that a knight improved when he had a lady-love *a amie ou a fame* to fight for is so thoroly exploited by Chrétien that one is apt to jump to the conclusion that in this at any rate there is evidence that Hue de Rotelande was acquainted with him. In essence, the idea is, of course, as old as thought, but we find the same development of it elaborated by Chrétien a common-place in the literature of his day.

It has perhaps not been sufficiently noted that not only women with their inspiring love, but the three days' tourney and the knights wearing armor of a single color, are already in Geoffrey of Monmouth: "Quicumque ergo famosus probitate miles in eadem erat, unius coloris vesti-

bus atque armis utebatur. Facete etiam mulieres consimilia indumenta habentur, nullius amorem habere dignabantur nisi tertio in militia approbatus esset. Efficiebatur ergo castae mulieres, et milites armore illarum meliores" (lib. ix, p. 13). "Refecti tandem epulis, diversi diversos ludos composituri campos extra civitatem adeunt. Mox milites simulacrum praelii ciendo, equestrem ludum componunt: mulieres in edito murorum aspicientes, in furiales amoris flammas amore joci irritant. . . . Consumptis ergo primis in hunc modum tribus diebus" (lib. ix, p. 14).⁴⁸

In *Thèbes*, on the walls of the tent of Poliniccès, are painted among other things:

Li cembel et les envaies
Que danzel font por lor amies (ll. 2941 ff.).

Ismeine recognizes Aton,

A la manche del ciclaton
Que il aveit por conoissance,

and points him out to her sister:

Ço est Atos que jo la vei
Veez com broche a cel tornei!
Sor tote rien amer le dei,
Car tot iço fait il por mei (ll. 4461 ff.).*

In *Enéas*, the doctrine is distinctly stated: Lavinia, speaking of her love for the hero, says:

* Much importance has been placed (cf. Vulg. Version of *Art. Rom.* v. 1, p. 11, n.) on the fact that in the prose *Lancelot* and in *Ipomédon*, the knights on the three successive days fight in armor of the same different colors. But after Geoffrey, given a motive for disguise, the amount of invention required of a poet to make his hero fight in different colored armor each day, is reduced to a minimum, and, had Hue had our *Lancelot* before him, we may credit him with wit enough to have at least changed the colors.

* Cf. also *Thèbes*, ll. 6000 f.; 9081 ff.; 3847 ff.; 4147 ff., etc.

Car ainz que la bataille seit,
 Li voil primes faire saveir;
 S'en iert plus fiers al mien espoir.
 Se de m'amor est a seur,
 Molt l'en trovera cil plus dur;
 Molt en prendra grant hardement,
 S'il sot onkes d'amor neient (ll. 8756 ff.).

Kölbing seems to think that even generosity as one of the chief characteristics of the knight, must be looked for in the romances of the Round Table: "Wenn eine der ersten eigenschaften, die den Artusritter zieren sollen, die freigebigkeit ist, so wird gerade diese vom dichter dem Ipomédon nachgerühmt," etc.⁵⁰ But generosity was after prowess the crowning virtue of even the heroes of the *Chansons de geste*. In *Thèbes* also, Ipomédon is *larges mesurément*,⁵¹ and in the lament⁵² of the people over the death of Aton, *largesse* is the first of his virtues extolled: three quarters of the lament is devoted to it.

That *Ipomédon* in Hue's poem gives a mantle⁵³ to the butler, and that he *Mult out done et despendu* has no distinctive bearing on the subject. The significant point is that the mantle is given by Ipomédon to a servant of the house that he enters, and no mention is made of any mantle's being given to him by his hosts. In Kölbing's reference, Ipomédon is, to be sure, but a youth, but later on in the story, after he has been knighted and goes to Meleager's court, no mantle is given him on his arrival.⁵⁴ On the contrary, it is he who gives to Capaneus, assigned by the king to take him to a hotel, a wonderful cup, and keeps him to the dinner for which he himself provides.⁵⁵ In Chrétien, not only is a knight royally enter-

⁵⁰ Kölbing, A, p. 28.

⁵¹ Ll. 7275 ff.

⁵² Ll. 6313-6356.

⁵³ Kölbing, A, p. 28.

⁵⁴ Ll. 2887 ff.

⁵⁵ Ll. 2901 ff.

tained on his arrival at a castle, but a fresh mantle⁵⁶ is given him, often of *escarlate*, the most expensive cloth of the day.⁵⁷

It is the same with *courtoisie* and with *prouesse*.⁵⁸ *Proz et corteis* is a common qualification of the heroes of *Thèbes*.⁵⁹ Nor were the Theban heroes lacking in social courtesy:

Polinices que corteis fist,
Qui sa mère par la main prist,
La la mena ou li reis sist:
Li reis se lieve, si l'assist,
Pues la baisa, et les puceles
Demande lor de lor noveles (ll. 4099 ff.).

When the daughter of Daires begs for mercy for her father, the king is so smitten with her beauty that for love of her he grants what he had refused his barons, and one of these in indignation says to the others:

. . . . Issi vait d'amie
D'amors et de chevalerie.
Se vos le tenez a folie
Il le tient a grant corteisie (ll. 8545 ff.).

Even the giving of a horse won in the tourney⁶⁰ by a knight to his lady is not peculiar to Arthurian romance. In *Thèbes* we read that Parthonopeus gave the horse he won from Itier to a youth and said:

⁵⁶ Cf. Quicherat, *Hist. du Costume en France*, p. 180.

⁵⁷ *Char.*, ll. 1022, 1671, 4600; *Yvain*, ll. 232, 1884, 5429.

⁵⁸ Kölbinger, A, pp. 28 ff.

⁵⁹ Ll. 271, 359, 994, etc.; cf. *Troie*, ll. 5353 ff., etc.

⁶⁰ It should be noted that while the word *tornei* is commonly used in *Thèbes* as a synonym of battle, combat, reference is made to the *tornei* of pleasure: cf. ll. 5167 f.

Et o la joie que il ont
A la cite torneier vont.

"Amis," fait il, "alez m'en tost
 As puceles que sont en l'ost,
 Et o le frein et o la sele,
 Le presentez a la pucele
 Que a la porpre inde vestue
 Tot senglement a sa char nue:
 Par ceste enseigne mant m'amie
 Por lés ai fait chevalerie" (ll. 4365 ff.).

Courtoisie in its broader sense, also as including all the graces with which a knight should be endowed, is notably different in *Ipomédon* and in Chrétien's works. There is no knight errantry, properly speaking, in *Ipomédon*. The only approach to it is when, disguised as a fool, the hero accompanies Ismeine back to Calabria and defends her on the journey from various assaults.⁶¹ He wins his spurs mainly in war.⁶² The help he gave *cum soldeer* to Atreus, king of France, against the duke of Lorraine is described⁶³ at some length.

Half the poem is concerned with the tourney and the hunt, whereas the tourney in Chrétien is but an episode.⁶⁴ It is quite a different affair also from the elegant social event described by the Champagne poet. No mention is made of pretty *loges de fust*⁶⁵ for the women. Meleager's queen did not even attend⁶⁶ the tournament. The only woman mentioned as watching the fray was the heroine, who did so from the *estres*⁶⁷ of her *dongun*. The royal tent is adorned with the eagle and carbuncle as in *Thèbes*.⁶⁸ The word *glaive* is used for lance. Chrétien does not use

⁶¹ Ll. 8211 ff.

⁶² Ll. 1771 ff; ll. 7236 ff.

⁶³ Ll. 7284-7636.

⁶⁴ *Erec*, ll. 2135-2265; *Oligès*, ll. 4629-4985; *Char.*, ll. 5595-6078; *Perc.*, ll. 4980-5550.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Oligès*, l. 3265; *Char.*, ll. 5600 ff.

⁶⁶ *Ip.*, ll. 3151 f.

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, 3602.

⁶⁸ *Thèbes*, ll. 2953, 4055, etc.; cf. *Ip.*, ll. 3291 ff; *Perc.*, l. 625.

the word after *Erec*.⁶⁹ *Freseaux*, a word not in Chrétien's vocabulary, were used not only to lace sleeves and helmets, but to fasten the banner to the lance.⁷⁰ The knights are rallied by the blowing of horns as in a battle.⁷¹ In the *Charette*, the herald runs crying: "Or est venuz qui aunera."⁷²

After unhorsing his opponent, Ipomédon runs him down with the *piz del destrer*,⁷³ as when fighting in earnest. Lancelot, when he has unhorsed his enemy, alights himself to fight with the sword.⁷⁴ On each of the three days the tourney in *Ipomédon* degenerates into a veritable battle:

Ore comence mut dur estur,
 Trebuchent e murent plusur,

 E meint la boielle i traine
 E meint la ceruele i espant,

 Li vif i regrettent les morz,
 Grans dols i ad e descumforz, etc., (ll. 3885 ff.).

In the tourneys in Chrétien, no mention is made of any one's being killed. When the contest between Gauvain and Cligés lasts longer than king Arthur deems fitting, he puts an end to the tournament entirely:

Que sanz querele et sanz haïne
 N'aïert bataille n'anhatine
 A nul prodome a maintenir " (*Cligés*, ll. 4969 ff.).

⁶⁹ *Ip.*, ll. 3635, 3654, 3948, 4631, 4662-4668; cf. Förster in *Glos.* to *Erec*, l. 2874, and *Thèbes*, l. 9056.

⁷⁰ *Ip.*, ll. 422, 2258, 2732, 3170, etc., 10203; cf. *Thèbes*, l. 6322.

⁷¹ *Ip.*, l. 5832; *Thèbes*, l. 9499.

⁷² *L.* 6260; cf. l. 9652.

⁷³ *Char.*, ll. 5983, 5582, 5591.

⁷⁴ *Char.*, ll. 860 ff.

⁷⁵ Cf. ll. 4820 ff. and ll. 6163 ff.

⁷⁶ The impression one receives in reading the account of the tourney in *Ipomédon*, is exactly the same as that which M. Jusserand says that he received from reading the *Histoire de Guillaume le*

Ipomédon furnishes indeed an interesting commentary to the decree promulgated about the time of its composition by Henry II, forbidding⁷⁷ tournaments on the ground of their mortality.

Hue, contrary to Chrétien, insists upon the learning and intellectual acumen of his hero:

Li vadlet oncor sot assez,
E si fut il mult bien lettrez
De plus agu engin serra
Une reison, melz entendra (ll. 203 ff.).

Even a song, sung by *Ipomédon*, was of his own making: "Un chaunt, k'il out fet, vet chantant" (l. 2721). Hue's hero therefore fulfilled to the letter the requirements for *cortiesie* of his compatriot, Robert of Ho:

Fiz, j'entent ce a cortiesie
Ke hom sache chevalerie,
E qu'il sache bien chevauchier
E bien eslessier sun destrier,
E sache si verserier
Ke rien ne mette sanz mestier,
E de chiens sache la mestrie,
Des oiseaus e de venerie,
E bel parout e seit mesurable
A respundre, e puis bien estable (ll. 1105 ff.).

Maréchal, "celle d'une vaillance, d'un entrain, d'un mépris de la mort et des coups, d'une férocité inconsciente, d'une joie débordante qui nous rapprochent fort près des races primitives héroïques et sauvages" (*Les Sports dans l'ancienne France, Revue de Paris*, 15 mai, 1900, p. 307). M. Jusserand judges of the tourney in the twelfth century by Guillaume: "Les dames * * * ne sont mentionnées que bien rarement. On n'eût su qu'en faire à cette date, ni où les mettre" (*Ib.*, p. 309). Yet Chrétien was Guillaume's contemporary. May it not well be that Guillaume and Hue reflect conditions in England, and that the tourney in France should be judged more by Chrétien?

"*Gesta Henrici II.* Benedict of Peterborough, p. 226, A. D. Mar. 19, 1179.

The descriptions of physical beauty and dress, the diagnoses of love-sickness, and the monologues in *Ipomédon*, suggest naturally Chrétien's work. But all this was material that Chrétien had at hand in the works of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries. One of the reasons of his popularity lay undoubtedly in the dexterous manner in which he made use of it. He does not simply say as the authors of *Thèbes*, and *Troie*, that his heroine's hair was "Plus reluisanz que n'est fins ora."⁷⁸ In the *Charette*⁷⁹ he makes Lancelot rhapsodize over the golden hue of the combings in the queen's comb, on the finding of which he almost faints. In *Yvain*, it is when Laudine is tearing her hair in grief for the death of her husband that he finds opportunity, in order to enhance the pity of it, to dwell on the beauty of her hair, "Qui passent or, tant par reluisent."⁸⁰ In *Oligés*, the whole body of Soredamors is the dart of love, her hair being the feathers that sped it," ". . . . si coloré, Con s'il ierent d'or ou doré."⁸¹ Hue de Rotelande has none of these subtleties. The descriptions of physical beauty in *Ipomédon* are similar to those in the romances of antiquity, descriptions made according to models given in the rhetorics of the schools.⁸² There is at least one feature in the description of the *Fièrre*, found in part also in *Thèbes*,⁸³ which follows more closely the Latin sources cited by M. Faral for *Enéas* than the *Enéas* itself. The Latin lines of the *descriptio forme pulcritudinis*:

⁷⁸ *Thèbes*, l. 3822; *Troie*, l. 5450.

⁷⁹ Ll. 1397-1506.

⁸⁰ *Yvain*, l. 1463.

⁸¹ *Oligés*, l. 785.

⁸² Cf. Edouard Faral in *Romania*, 1911, pp. 183 ff.

⁸³ *Thèbes*, ll. 8431 f.: "Levres grossetes par mesure, Por bien baiser les fist nature."

Oris honor rosei suspirat ad oscula, risu
Succincto modica lege labella tument,

and the lines from the elegy of Maximien:

Flammea dilexi modicumque tumentia labra
Quae mihi gestanti basia plena darent,

are so closely rendered by Hue that it seems as if he must have known these originals. His heroine had a

. . . . bouche od simple ris
Les levres un poi espessettes,
Pur ben beser aukes grossettes (ll. 2246 ff.),

and of his hero he says:

la bouche si bien lui sist,
Tuz jors vus fust vis, k'ele offrist
A beiser dame ou dameisele;
Tant par esteit vermeille e bele (ll. 411 ff.).

In the two we have all the points of the Latin models, the rosy, laughing lips, somewhat full, made for kissing. Chrétien has the little, laughing mouth, "la bochette riant,"⁸⁴ but the words *lèvres*,⁸⁵ *grossettes*, and *espessettes* do not appear in any of his descriptions.

As for the symptoms of love-sickness, the author of *Enéas*, following Ovid's inspiration, or Ovid himself,⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *Oligés*, l. 821; cf. *Enéas*, l. 3997.

⁸⁵ In *Perceval*, l. 7129, *lèvre* is used in describing the *roncin* that Gauvain rode.

⁸⁶ The *Art d'Amur* is definitely mentioned: *Ip.*, l. 1565. Were it not also for Hue's frequent allusions to the Scriptures, to the wise man and his "*sens*," and to the fool and his folly, we should be tempted to see an allusion to Ovid (*Ars Amatoris*, I, 505: "Sed tibi nec ferro placeat torquere capillos," etc.) in lines 2972 ff.: ". . . de tresces cure n'aveit. Mut eime plus a turneer, Ke de ses chevous a planier." Cf. William of Malmesbury (A. D. 1128): "But this decency (of men in cutting their hair) was not of long continuance: for scarcely had a year expired, ere all who thought themselves

might have offered Hue sufficient instruction in their diagnosis.⁸⁷ His heroine even turns black⁸⁸ before she faints, a symptom unnoted by Chrétien. As Lavinia, in *Enéas*⁸⁹ and Mélior in *Parténopeus de Blois*,⁹⁰ the Fièrre has difficulty in pronouncing the name of the one she loves. No parallel of these scenes⁹¹ is found in Chrétien. Love strikes the lady with his dart.⁹² Her heart leaves her body and goes away with her lover,⁹³ but the wandering heart is already in *Enéas*.

Few of the many⁹⁴ adages of love in *Ipomédon*, in the turning of which Hue is an expert, are found in Chrétien:

courtly relapsed into their former vice: they vied with women in length of locks and wherever they were defective put on false tresses; forgetful or rather ignorant of the saying of the apostle: 'If a man nurture his hair, it is a shame.' Cf. also, *Romania*, 1915, p. 14, *Sans et Matière* by Wm. A. Nitze.

⁸⁷ Cf. Faral, *Romania*, 1911, pp. 214 ff. In the text of the Kölbing and Koschwitz edition we find all the symptoms, noted by M. Faral, except yawning (cf. *Enéas*, ll. 1231, 7923, 8077; *Cligés*, l. 886). But I believe Hue did say his heroine yawned. Lines 1099-1100 read: "A tel dolour la nuit travaille, Sovent torne, sovent bataille." The variant of *bataille* in ms. B is *baale* after which the editors have put an exclamation point. At the time of the publication of their text, yawning had not perhaps been noted as a symptom of love.

⁸⁸ *Ip.*, l. 1464; *Enéas*, l. 1324.

⁸⁹ *Enéas*, ll. 8551 ff.

⁹⁰ *Parténopeus de Blois*, ll. 7240 ff.

⁹¹ Kölbing calls attention to the parallel in *Parténopeus* but does not mention that in *Enéas*. Yet if either was Hue's model, it was surely the latter. He uses the same two crucial words as the author of *Enéas*. His heroine *sospira* after each syllable and the confidante was obliged to *assembler* the parts of the name (*Enéas*, ll. 8554, 8559; *Ip.*, ll. 1497, 1502). In *Parténopeus*, in attempting to pronounce her lover's name, Mélior "Balbie l'a en sanglotant" (l. 7247).

⁹² *Ip.*, l. 8781.

⁹³ *Ip.*, ll. 1299-1315; *Enéas*, ll. 8350 ff.

⁹⁴ Ll. 764 f., 895 f., 1593 ff., 4306 ff., 6715 ff., 8906 f.

Tost est l'oïl la ou est l'amur,
Le dei la, ou l'en sent dolur (ll. 799 f.).⁸⁶

Dount savrai bien ke saunz dolur
Ne puit l'em pas tenir amur (ll. 1233 f.).

Mout par est douz l'entrer d'amur,
Mes poy et poy crest la doçour
Si doucement, ainz que l'en sache,
Qe tut le quoyer del ventre arache (ll. 1251 ff.).

Tuz jurz ala issi et valt
Ke femme plus sun quer crera
Ke mul autre, u amer vodra (ll. 2386 ff.).

Both the author of *Enéas* and Benoît de St. Maure had embroidered upon the theme:

Tote autre rien puet hom danter
Mes amour n'est james dauntee.⁸⁷

There is no savor of Chrétien's manner in Hue's delightful elaboration which follows the lines of that in *Troie*,⁸⁷ tho poetically so superior.

Mut ad grant valor amur fine,
Ki set danter rei e reine
E prince e duc, cunte e barun;
Vers lui ne valt sens ne resun.
Ke valut Adam sa beauté?
Ke valut David sa bunté?
Ke valut le sens Salemun?
Ke valut la force Sangun?
Adam par femme fut vencu,
David par femme fut desceu.
Salemun refut engigné,
E Sangun a femme boisé:
Quant force ne vaut, ne beauté
Sens ne cointise ne bunté
E qe vaudra dunc cuntre amur?
Certes, ren nule al chef de tur!

(*Ip.*, ll. 9093 ff.).

⁸⁶ Cf. *Enéas*, ll. 9885 f.

⁸⁷ *Ip.*, ll. 764 f; *Enéas*, ll. 8633 ff.

⁸⁸ Ll. 18041 ff.

The language of *Ipomédon* confirms the impression of the content. Whether or not it be held with Mussafia that Hue followed⁹⁸ the usage of the best continental poets, "unico anglonormannismo un esempio di *-un* : *ün*,"⁹⁹ it still remains true that the language of Hue differs too widely from Chrétien's to make it seem plausible that he knew much of the French writer. Numerous rimes in *Ipomédon* such as *malveis* : *curteis* (1757, &c.) by the side of *malveise* : *eise*, 8621, *malveis* : *engres*, 9536; *harneis* : *reis*, 2154, as well as *mes* (*-mais*) : *harneis*, 1433, &c.; *ireez* : *pardunez*, 8869; *bachiler* :¹⁰⁰ *bordeier*, 523 may be explained not as anglo-normanisms, but as simply due to change of suffix,¹⁰¹ but Chrétien does not allow himself such liberties for the sake of rime. Once only¹⁰² Chrétien rimes *vos* : *dos* but similar rimes are numerous and regularly used in *Ipomédon*.¹⁰³ According to Förster, there is

⁹⁸ *Sulla critica del testo del romanzo in francese antico Ipomédon*, p. 21.

⁹⁹ *Ib.*, n. 3; cf. Bédier, *Le Tristan de Thomas*, v. II, p. 22, n. 11; "On sait pourtant que le *Protesilaus* d'Huon de Rotelande n'offre pas une seule rime non française."

¹⁰⁰ Mussafia failed to notice ll. 6647-8 *bachelor* : *haster*.

¹⁰¹ Mussafia, *Sulla critica*, p. 22, n. 1; p. 23 and p. 23, n. 2. Such rimes as *turcheise* : *richeise*, 2924; *richesce* : *pruesce*, 3493, might have been included here. There is at least one rime, which probably escaped the notice of Mussafia, impossible to explain in this way. Speaking of Amphyon, the poet says: "E mut resteit pruz e curteis [E] mut sout des anciens lais," ll. 1964 f. That it is indeed *lais* we have here, is evident by referring to *Thèbes* where we read: "Nous osteron tutes les pierres Que Amphyon, vostre harpierres, Assembla ci par artimaire E par la force de gramaire Et par le chant de sa viele," ll. 9321 ff. (*Rom. de Thèbes*, v. II, *Appendice II*). Mussafia overlooked probably also; *oruel* : *nasel*, 7097 by the side of *tel* : *oruel*, 4083, etc. (*Sulla critica*, p. 21, 10.)

¹⁰² *Ereo*, l. 3437 (Förster's ed., 1909, p. 34).

¹⁰³ *Vus* : *ambedeus*, 6966; *vus* : *delitus*, 7195; *vus* : *orgeillus*, 5978, etc.; cf. 8255, 7674, 8602, 9605, etc.; cf. *prus* : *trestus*, 1592, 1759.

only one word in Chrétien's vocabulary in which it can be shown by the rime that *ui* was a rising diphthong: *luite* : ¹⁰⁴ *comfite* : *ipocrite*. *Ipomédon* offers many such rimes.¹⁰⁵

The rime *femme* : *regne*, found only in *Erec* ¹⁰⁶ of Chrétien's work, is found repeatedly ¹⁰⁷ in *Ipomédon*. Other imperfect rimes, such as Chrétien does not use after *Erec*, are found: *grisolites* : *amatistes*; ¹⁰⁸ *vermeilles* : *esteilles* (-*étoiles*); ¹⁰⁹ *Palerme* : *lanterne*.¹¹⁰

Chrétien uses regularly *va*,¹¹¹ third singular of the present of *aller*, Hue *vait*. Chrétien's imperfect of *estre* is *iere*, Hue's *ere*.¹¹² The Norman imperfect of first conjugation verbs is used by Hue: *portout* : *out*.¹¹³

The style of the *Ipomédon* strengthens the conviction reached by a study of its language and content. Contrary to Chrétien's habit, Hue orients the reader at the outset, not only in regard to the names, but in regard to the antecedents of his principal characters.

etc.; *pruz* : *duls*, 2241, etc.; *parout* (pr. subj. of *parler*) : *desvolt* (= *desveut*), 1957, etc.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Förster's *Oligés*, ed. 1910, note to l. 3363.

¹⁰⁵ *Amis* : *enuys*, 9475; *quit* (*cogito*) : *dit*, 5107, 1997, 2887, etc.; *quit* : *petit*, 2435; *quisse* : *fremisse*, 4882; *cuir* : *saillir*, 9583, etc. The rime *nuyt* : *mut*, 1265, would be an anglo-normanism; cf. *Le Tristan de Thomas*, v, II, p. 15, § 9.

¹⁰⁶ L. 1911; cf. Förster's *Erec*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁷ Ll. 447, 1909, 2353, 3909, etc.; cf. also *Loheregne* : *femme*, l. 7269.

¹⁰⁸ *Ip.*, 2822; *Erec*, 6807.

¹⁰⁹ *Ip.*, 2675, 4485; cf. *Erec*. 4973.

¹¹⁰ L. 10367.

¹¹¹ *Erec.*, *via* : *trova*, 2671; *Ip. vait* : *fait*, 1335, 2157; *trait* : *vait*, 2386, &c.

¹¹² *Erec*, *iere* : *chiere* 3325; *Ip. ere* : *emperere* 346; *frere* : *ere*, 1715, 7271.

¹¹³ L. 1623; cf. ll. 1695, 2653, 3302, &c.

Anaphora,¹¹⁴ seldom practised by Chrétien, is conspicuous in *Ipomédon* as in the romances of antiquity.

There are also various reminders of transposed parallelisms¹¹⁵ of which Mr. Warren finds but three examples¹¹⁶ in Chrétien:

Conge demande si s'en vait
Onques devant nel fet aveit¹¹⁷
Onques mes congé demaunda (ll. 923 ff.).

Kar ren ne valt lunge favele,
Ne favele ne lung sermun (ll. 7192 f.).

Une bere fet si l'en porte
A l'ost en porte sun seignur (ll. 9030 f.).

There is also an effective lyric repetition¹¹⁸ where the rime word alone is different:

E mort trebuche le vassal
E mort trebuche le cheval (ll. 5887 f.).

Mr. Warren sees in the fact, as he claims, that only ten per cent.¹¹⁹ of the couplets in *Ipomédon* are broken, a reaction against the influence of Chrétien, while in my

¹¹⁴ *Ip.*, ll. 4587 ff.; 4823 ff.; 8741 ff.; 9329 ff.; 9576 ff.; 10385 ff. Cf. *Thèbes*, ll. 45, 55 ff. (seven lines beginning with *Tant.*), 2953, 3829 ff., &c. Kölbing seeks a parallel for this feature of Hue's style in *Parténopeus de Blois*.

¹¹⁵ F. M. Warren, *Mod. Phil.*, III, pp. 22 f.

¹¹⁶ One from *Perceval* might have been added:

Si com li fos le devisa
Si com li fos deviné l'ot
Bien fu voirs li devins au sot (l. 4276 ff.).

Ad despendu mult largement
Mult out done et despendu (ll. 553, 555).

¹¹⁷ Cf. Mussafia, *Sulla critica*, p. 23, 50.

¹¹⁸ Warren, *Mod. Phil.*, III, p. 21.

¹¹⁹ *Mod. Phil.*, IV, p. 672.

opinion Hue was but following the example of *Enéas*, or of *Thèbes*¹²⁰ with which he connects his own work.¹²¹

From this study, it would appear that if Hue de Rotelande was acquainted with Chrétien de Troyes before he wrote *Ipomédon*, he could have known him but slightly and in his earlier work.

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¹²⁰ It has perhaps not been sufficiently noted (cf. Warren, *Mod. Phil.*, iv, p. 666; Paul Meyer, *Rom.*, xxxiii, p. 16; Borrmann, *Rom. Forsch.*, xxv, p. 320) that parts of *Thèbes* (cf. ll. 2083-2680) offer abundant examples of the so-called new technique of the octosyllabic couplet, the breaking up of the unity of the line as well as the couplet, and the effective use of dialog.

¹²¹ *Ip.*, l. 10540.

XIX.—THE SOURCES OF CHAUCER'S *PARLEMENT OF FOULES*

Theories offering interpretations of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* based upon the orthodox belief that the central incident of the poem is in some way connected with a royal marriage have at least refused to do loyal service at one prominent point. No theory of historical allegory has yet explained in a wholly satisfactory manner the outstanding fact that the *Parlement of Foules* is artistically a well rounded poem, and yet contains an unfinished story. Why does not the formel eagle choose her mate after our interest has been aroused in the pleadings of her lovers?

Compliments to monarchs are not wont to go half-paid. We may draw upon history to show that Anne of Bohemia actually did make delay in her choice of a husband, but we are constrained to admit that Chaucer could have made a compliment to his king and queen more complete than that supposed to lie in this poem, had he so chosen.

Many of the points against the acceptance of an historical allegory have been adduced by Professor Manly.¹ The sponsors of allegorical interpretation have had troublesome questions to answer, whether they have sought to identify principal bird characters in the *Parlement* with John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster,² with Enguerand de Couci and Isabel Plantagenet,³ with King Richard II of England, Anne of Bohemia, William of Bavaria,

¹ *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach, Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, L (1913), pp. 279 ff.

² Tyrwhitt's *Chaucer*, note ver. 1920; Morley, *English Writers*, v, pp. 154 ff.

³ *Saturday Review*, Apr. 15, 1871.

and Friedrich, Margrave of Misnia,⁴ or with Richard, Anne, King Charles VI of France, and Friedrich of Misnia.⁵ Often trouble has appeared in the matter of a plausible date for the poem which would allow historical interpretation. Even after 1381 had come to be regarded as a probable date of composition, and the historical allegory had been arranged accordingly, Professor Manly offered internal evidence for the date of 1382.⁶

Only too little has been found in literary sources which might obviate some of the difficulties met in the explanation of the *Parlement of Foules*. By some the *De Planctu Naturae* of Alanus de Insulis has been thought a source sufficient to suggest to Chaucer the story of love arguments by the birds. Professor Skeat says, "And the fourth part, ll. 295 to the end, is occupied with the real subject of the poem, the main idea being taken, as Chaucer himself tells us, from Alanus de Insulis."⁷ But as a matter of fact, Chaucer is silent as to the idea of his story. In his only mention of Alanus he merely acknowledges a debt to him for a description and perhaps for a setting:

And right as Aleyn, in the Pleynt of Kinde,
 Devyseth Nature of aray and face,
 In swich aray men mighten hir ther finde. (ll. 316-18)

This is, of course, no more than a casual statement by Chaucer that his figure of Nature has the appearance of Nature as described by Alanus.⁸ But in any case, we

⁴ Koch, *Chaucer Essays* (Chaucer Society), pp. 400 ff

⁵ Emerson, *Modern Philology*, viii, pp. 45 ff.; *Modern Language Notes*, xxvi, pp. 109 ff.; Moore, *Modern Language Notes*, xxvi, pp. 8 ff.

⁶ *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, I, pp. 288 ff.

⁷ Skeat's *Chaucer*, I, p. 67.

⁸ Skeat's error is noticed by Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame* (Chaucer Society), 1907, p. 25.

cannot say that Chaucer extracted the central incident of the *Parlement* from the work of Alanus. The passage in question from the *Planctus*⁹ merely describes the robe of Nature as perpetually changing in hue, and as having on it "as a picture fancied to the sight" a parliament in which there are various birds. There is no hint of a court being held by these birds before Nature, and of a love story such as Chaucer's there is not the slightest trace. The most we can say is that Chaucer takes some inspiration from Alanus for his description of Nature, and for his list of birds, in which he has made many changes; beyond this he does not seem to have used Alanus.

Since no sufficient source has thus far been suggested for the part of the poem dealing with the birds and their loves,¹⁰ we are left with two most likely possibilities: Chaucer is making his story out of whole cloth to fit historical characters, as many allegorists would have us believe, or he is following a source which for some reason we have not been able to identify. Certain peculiarities in the telling of the tale and in its ending would make more or less unlikely another possibility, namely, that Chaucer is merely telling in spirited manner an imaginary dream without allegorical or conventional meaning.

However, there are sources for the central incident of the *Parlement*, which were extant and certainly within Chaucer's reach at the time he wrote, and which throw

⁹ *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, ed. T. Wright, II, p. 437; quoted by Skeat in his *Chaucer*, I, p. 74; translated by Douglas M. Moffat (*Yale Studies in English*, xxxvi, pp. 11 ff.).

¹⁰ An admitted source for certain characteristics of the central incident of the *Parlement* and its general framework is the French love-vision poetry (see Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame*, pp. 1 ff., and pp. 20 ff.). Likewise the Court-of-Love poetry may have furnished hints for birds (see Manly, work cited, p. 285). But here again can be found no suggestion of the story itself.

light on each essential detail of the birds' love story. Many of the puzzling things about the poem, and especially the indecisive ending of its story, may find explanation in the conventional features of a widespread and very ancient folk-tale. The fact that this tale has almost nothing to do with bird characters in its appearances outside Chaucer need not make trouble when comparisons come to be made.

Space will permit here only a brief indication of the characteristics and importance of the many versions of *The Contending Lovers*, as I shall name the folk-tale, versions whose interrelations and probable relation to Chaucer's poem I am now working upon and hope to present in detail at a later time. However, it will be best to summarize at some length a story which is perhaps closest of all to Chaucer, both in date of composition, and in plot.

The first *novella* in *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, a collection of *novelle* and discussions with a novelistic framework, is *Della Origine di Prato*.¹¹ Wesselofsky has assigned *Il Paradiso degli Alberti* to Giovanni da Prato on external and internal evidence,¹² and dates it with some exactitude by means of the numerous references to historical characters and happenings in the work. It was written, he thinks, in the first years of the fifteenth century, but has to do with events which took place in 1389.¹³ Wesselofsky calls the work "una specie di ro-

¹¹ *Il Paradiso degli Alberti . . . di Giovanni da Prato, del codice autografo e anonimo della Riccardiana a cura di Alessandro Wesselofsky*, Bologna, 1867, II, pp. 98-171.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, ii, pp. 81 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, i, pp. 24 ff.; also pp. 220 ff. The "dates between which" Wesselofsky establishes as 1379 and 1415 by references to the death of two well known men.

manzo, ossia meglio un tessuto di novelle e di ragionamenti che ebbero luogo sull' ultimo scorcio del secolo XIV, ai quali l'autore che li ricordò, giovine allora ed imberbe (come si vede dal brano sopracitato del proemio a stampa), confessa egli stesso aver preso parte insieme con molte altre persone, tutte storiche, che in quel tempo illustravano la repubblica e lo studio di Firenze."¹⁴

There can be little question that the first tale, with which we are to deal, came from matter traditional in Italy, as will appear later, and this will have an important bearing on the possibility of Chaucer's having obtained it. If we accept the present place in Chaucer chronology of *The Parlement of Foules*, we cannot suppose that Chaucer could have come into contact with the *Paradiso* itself, since Wesselofsky's arguments that the action of the latter must have taken place in 1389 seem very cogent.¹⁵ But Chaucer would not have had to get hold of the *Paradiso* itself in order to come by the material under consideration.

The tale runs as follows:

Ulysses on his Trojan expedition captures the city of Pidasonta. Among his captives are a beautiful maiden, "una fanciulla d'età e di anni o circa a quattordici, di mirabile istificanza e divina bellezza," and other "donne e donzelle." Ulysses asks the girl who she is, and she says that her father was the valorous Pidasio, her mother Melissea, a nymph of the Wood of Ida, and that her own name is Melissa. She is sad because of the loss of father and mother, and prays the gods to help her to forget former happy times.

Moved by her tears, and perceiving that she is indeed descended from the immortal gods, Ulysses tells her he will make her not a servant, but a "consorte" with his Penelope. He marries her and liberates the prisoners. Melissa bears a beautiful girl child to Ulysses, but her happiness is short-lived, for she dies soon after-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, i, p. 23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, i, pp. 221 ff.

ward. As a last request she asks Ulysses to give the daughter her own name, Melissa.

Melissa, the daughter, becomes a most beautiful maiden while Ulysses is besieging Troy. When Ulysses and his companions reach Circe's island, Circe, jealous of the beautiful Melissa, enchants her by a potion, and turns her into a sparrow-hawk.* In her new shape Melissa rises and flies to Fiesole. Through a mishap she falls into a river, and in her exhausted condition begins a struggle against the water that has every promise of ending in her death.

But the gods are kind to Melissa. Camerio, king of a principality among the Etruscan powers, has chosen four young men named Laerte, Celio, Settimio, and Resio to help him in a certain religious ceremony. Riding by the river at the head of the cavalcade of young men, Laerte suddenly sees the bird and calls out to his companions that she should be rescued. Celio plunges into the stream and saves her. Settimio comments on her beauty and adjures his fellows to take good care of her. At this point Resio apparently does nothing for the little sparrow-hawk.

Celio places Melissa in his breast, and the company proceeds onward to the village of Corno, where Prato now stands. Here at an "allogimento" Celio takes the bird from his breast, and Resio, pitying her condition, asks the host for something to revive her. Meanwhile, however, some "ninfe" come down from the nearby mountain, and from these Resio obtains flowers. One of these is a marigold, and when the sparrow-hawk sees it, she takes it in her beak and is at once disenchanted. She stands before the wondering youths as the divinely beautiful maiden that she was before her unfortunate meeting with Circe.

Melissa modestly thanks the young men for her disenchantment, and does not forget to return pious thanks to the gods. Without delay all four youths fall violently in love with her.

Who shall have her for his own? The problem is much more serious than it might be, because all the lovers are of equal nobility, and none has an advantage over another in this respect. "Et, perchè ciascuno di loro era d'alto legnaggio e somma potenza, tanto fu la cosa più di pericolo e grave." Indeed, the young men are known throughout Italy for their goodness and nobility. The argument grows heated. Laerte lays first claim to Melissa as having seen her first, but his companions are nothing slow at arguing their own claims. Each points out that he has done something

*The Italian has "isparvieri." This seems only a chance resemblance to any bird in the *Parlement of Foules*.

indispensable. Laerte then argues for a settlement by arms, and fiercely says he will prove his right to Melissa with sword in hand. The others readily accept this challenge and prepare to fight.

Meanwhile Melissa laments at length her fate, because she is apparently about to be the cause of strife among four young nobles to whom she wishes no harm. She addresses the immortal gods and reviews her past misfortunes. She concludes, "*Che maggiore dolore a me essere puote, che dinanze alla mia tristissima vista, per mia propria cagione i valorissimi giovani, e me sommamente amando, in tanta confusione veggia morire?*" Then she begs her lovers to kill her, rather than kill themselves for her sake. Her lament and her plea shame the youths, and they put up their arms.

The tension is broken by an old man from among the people of the neighborhood, who addresses the young men respectfully, as one of low degree to his betters, and ventures to suggest that the inhabitants of that particular region had found a means of settling disputes. There is a temple where appeals to Jove accompanied by sacrifices are wont to be successful. Jove will act as a mediator.

All repair to this temple, where each suitor calls on his chosen deity for aid in the controversy. Melissa invokes Jove as the judge. Then to the wonder of all present Jove gathers his court, with Minerva and Venus by his side.

Saturn, a "*frigido e antichissimo vecchio*," appears, and announces that he argues for Settimio.

THE ARGUMENT OF SATURN FOR SETTIMIO.—Settimio's case is clearly defined. Man is formed of two "*nature*," the intellect and the body. One is common to the gods, the other to wild-beasts. Settimio has above all else this greatest of gifts, intellect. His act in counselling his friends to take good care of the sparrow-hawk showed prudence, foresight, intellect. What the others did in rescuing and disenchanting Melissa was largely due to chance. Wherefore, considering his royal stock, his noble intellect, and certain gifts he possesses useful in agriculture (which Saturn says is "*dear to me and to you, o gods*"), Melissa should go to Settimio.

Mars, "*il rubicondo e ferocissimo*," announces that he is to argue for Laerte.

THE ARGUMENT OF MARS FOR LAERTE.—The cause of the "*valorissimo*" Laerte is just and most worthy of consideration, notwithstanding the good argument in favor of Settimio just given. Things are conceived by the intellect, but carried out by the body. Laerte bravely and foresightedly rode in front of his friends to meet all that should happen. He saw the sparrow-hawk first, and as the first to advocate her rescue from the waters, she owes most to him.

Moreover, Melissa is of noble fighting stock, since she is the daughter of Ulysses, and so is Laerte the royal offspring ("prole reale") of men glorious in arms. Laerte has the qualities necessary to make a ruler of the earth. In conclusion: "Adunche, o iddii immortali, giudicate e vedete il mio Laerte come più degno per condizione e discendimento di sangue, e per influenza nostra, per più essercizio nobile e dottissimo in quello."

Apollo, "il grazioso vago e imberbe," with a laurel wreath about his brow and a lyre in his right hand, acts as lawyer for Resio, and like a lawyer he refers to those who have argued before as "nostri avversari."

THE ARGUMENT OF APOLLO FOR RESIO.—Considering Resio's mind and body, who is so insensate that he would ever grant Melissa to another suitor? Of the four young men, Resio is the most fair and pleasing. Moreover, he has the power of seeing into the future,¹⁷ and of touching the divine chords of the lyre. He is a poet. As a matter of fact, it was Resio who actually restored Melissa to her original form when the others were almost ready to abandon her. "If you honor Resio, o gods, he can honor you in song and poetry. Therefore, give Melissa to him."

Mercury, who is characterized as "l'eloquente," with his serpent rod in hand, stands before the court to present Celio's case. Mercury is much more oratorical than the other advocates.

THE ARGUMENT OF MERCURY FOR CELIO.—Who was it if not Celio who took Melissa from the river and cared for her? He loves her with the purest of flames, and demands her as his just right. "Quali possono essere li cagioni che negata li sia? Certo nulle appreso alle leggi umane e divine." Among his accomplishments are eloquence, the art of writing and interpreting, and the knowledge of diverse nations and their languages.

THE JUDGMENT.—After the arguing is over Jove declares that if there were more than one Melissa, surely each of these estimable young men would merit one of her. But since Melissa is after all only one maiden, he will turn her case over to his "figliuole" Venus and Minerva. Supported by Minerva, Venus judges that Melissa shall choose for herself the suitor she deems most pleasing, since love is an important consideration.

¹⁷ This and other strange professions or accomplishments which are attributed to the lovers, and yet seem to play no part in the story, will be better understood when the folk-tale behind the *Paradiso* is examined. Many are apparently petrified features of the old tale.

The gods agree to this judgment, and look to the maid for her decision. Here the story ends strangely. We know that Melissa does make a choice, but we have no hint as to which lover she takes. Not a word does the author venture in explanation, moreover. He says that there is feasting over the happy event, and that the gods are present at the nuptials, but who the bridegroom is he does not choose to say.

Here is a tale into which one cannot go far without finding obvious resemblances to the *Parlement of Foules*. An important point at which the two stories touch is at the holding of love pleadings before a judge. The arguments are extremely well schemed in the Italian tale. How schematic the arguments are in Chaucer's poem appears most plainly perhaps when a short abstract of them is made:

The fowl royal, highest in degree, whose rank itself is an argument in favor of his being granted the formel. (ll. 415-551)

1. He may not live long without the formel.
2. None loves her as he does.
3. Never in future will he cease to serve her.

The second tercel, "of lower kinde." (ll. 449-462)

1. He loves as well as the first tercel.
2. His service has been already shown in the past, and the formel will not have to depend merely upon promises for the future. He has served longer than any.
3. He will never cease to love.

The third tercel. (ll. 463-483)

1. He cannot vaunt long service, but he is convinced that the true lover may do more real serving in a half-year than some lovers in a great while.
2. His love is truest.
3. He will never cease to love.

In both the *Parlement of Foules* and in the *Paradiso* story the arguments are given as carefully and with as much formality as though they were being presented in an actual court of law. The appearance of the gods as pleaders or advocates in the *Paradiso* story makes the similarity here to legal procedure yet more striking.

The pleading is so well done in both tales, in fact, that each of the suitors appears to have undeniable claims to the object of his desire, and the judge despairs of making any decision. Here begins to make itself plain the real point of that type of tale to which both the English and Italian works belong. The judge cannot reach any decision, and the girl or formel eagle, when the matter is given over to her, evidently does make a decision, but what it is the author does not choose to tell us. Such a tale is, of course, a hoax, intended all along to provoke discussion among the readers or hearers, after great interest has been aroused in the claims of the lovers. Professor Manly, without venturing to suggest any source for this particular class of hoax tale, has shown how the *Parlement of Foules* might be compared to a modern tale like Stockton's *The Lady or the Tiger*.¹⁸

I summarize here what seem to be the important points of resemblance between the *Parlement* and the *Paradiso*:

- I. Three or four suitors have one object of affection.
- II. The suitors and the loved one are all very obviously of noble rank.
- III. A court is convened, of which the judge represents the guiding hand of worldly affairs, Nature or Jove.
- IV. The claims of each suitor are presented with formality and completeness.

¹⁸ Work cited, p. 287, note 4.

V. Each argument is apparently of equal weight with the others. In both stories much is said about service, though in the *Parlement of Foules* this is indefinite service suggesting courtly love ideals, and in the *Paradiso* tale it is service of a more material character.

VI. A proposal to settle the dispute by arms occurs.

VII. An audience is present at the pleading and takes some part in the holding of the court.

VIII. The judge is greatly perplexed and asks counsel.

IX. The girl or formel eagle is given the privilege of deciding the dispute according to her own fancy.

X. After all the arguing, we are left with no knowledge of the decision, although we are justified in inferring from both stories that some decision is made.

Such an array of resemblances do not come from mere chance similarities between the tales of Giovanni da Prato¹⁹ and Chaucer, even though at first blush the love story of the *Parlement* appears to be different in character from that in the *Paradiso*. The Italian tale is a more or less conventional "foundation story" into which a folk-tale has been woven, and the essential points of relationship between Chaucer and Giovanni become even clearer when the general folk-tale which lies behind the two tales is examined.

The Contending Lovers, which has been known to scholars by other and often confusing names, has a venerable position in folk-lore, for its ancestry is registered at an early period in India, birthplace of many stories which have been appropriated by Europe. It reaches European countries, Italy apparently among the first, through Persia

¹⁹ I adopt for convenience the assignment of authorship made by Wesselofsky, whose arguments have not been challenged, so far as I know.

and Arabia, following a usual route of migration for folk-tales travelling from Orient to Occident. The story is one of love rivalry and has very marked characteristics which make it easily possible to identify the various versions. Yet there are so many different distinct types and so much intermixture between the types, as well as so much admixture of features from other folk-tales, that investigators who have contributed to our knowledge of the story have usually been content to deal with only one or two types, perhaps for an immediate purpose which did not require a comprehensive treatment of the tale as a whole. In fact, it has never yet been pointed out that all the types constitute divisions of one common and well defined folk-tale theme.

Benfey,²⁰ Wesselofsky,²¹ Clouston,²² D'Ancona,²³ Köhler,²⁴ Chauvin,²⁵ Basset,²⁶ and Cosquin²⁷ have written concerning different types of the tale or have collected citations to versions. Benfey has dealt with the migration from Orient to Occident of what may be called the Rescue type,²⁸ and his *Ausland* essay embodies not only the first

²⁰ *Das Märchen von den "Menschen mit den wunderbaren Eigenschaften," seine Quelle und seine Verbreitung, Ausland*, xli (1858), pp. 989 ff., *Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, pp. 94 ff.

²¹ *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, I, ii, pp. 238 ff.

²² *Popular Tales and Fictions*, 1887, I, pp. 277 ff.

²³ *Studj di Critica e Storia Letteraria*, Bologna, 1912 (Revised and enlarged edition), II, pp. 160 ff.

²⁴ *Kleinere Schriften*, I, pp. 438 ff.

²⁵ *Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes*, 1892-1909, VI, p. 133, note 3; VIII, p. 76.

²⁶ *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, VII (1892), p. 188, note 4.

²⁷ *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XXXI (1916), pp. 98 ff. and 145 ff.

²⁸ See p. 508, below, for a scheme of classification. Perhaps the most familiar version of the Rescue type is Grimm 129, *Die vier kunstreichen Brüder*. For very close analogues to Grimm see Fr.

scholarly treatment of *The Contending Lovers*, but is also, of course, a classic expression of some of his general theories of folk-tale transmission. Wesselofsky's notes are in many ways admirable; as in Benfey many tales are given at some length, and there is also in Wesselofsky material which Benfey had been unable to use. These two are the only studies which aim to organize and compare versions at length, the other scholars mentioned confining themselves to brief presentations of material or to bibliographical notes. When it is considered that the work of both Benfey and Wesselofsky is over a half-century old, that they do not deal with all of the many well-represented types of the story, and that since their time a large number of versions have become accessible to the student, it becomes plain that a new study and organization of the material is most desirable. As has been remarked, it will be impossible to do more in the present paper than indicate all too sketchily the scope of *The Contending Lovers* and its importance in connection with Chaucer.

A summary covering most versions of the story may be made as follows:

Woeste, *Zeit. für D. Myth.*, I, p. 338; Paul Sébillot, *Contes Populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, 1880, No. 8, pp. 53 ff; Georg Widter und Adam Wolf, *Jahrbuch für Rom. und Eng. Lit.*, VII, p. 30; A. H. Wratislaw, *Sixty Folk-Tales*, 1889, No. 9, pp. 55 ff.; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1910, No. 82, II, pp. 33 ff. These all have striking similarities to the German tale. Because Grimm 120 is so familiar, and because Benfey naturally gives it an important place in his essay, the mistake is sometimes made of considering it representative of all versions of *The Contending Lovers*. However, it is well to keep in mind that the tale in Grimm has gone far from the simpler Oriental versions, and shows much probable admixture from general folk-lore. With its highly skilled lovers and rescue accomplished by means of the ship, it is representative only of one class of versions, not of the whole tale.

Three or more youths (sometimes as many as seven) fall so violently in love with the same maiden that no one will give way to another. The young men usually perform an important service for the maid, often by means of highly skilled arts or professions, to the accomplishment of which each lover makes an indispensable contribution. However, the suitors may have claims resting on nobility or on general excellence and worth. The question naturally arises, "Who has earned the maid for his wife?" There is a dispute, and very often a judge in some guise, perhaps the father of the girl, hears each lover state his case in turn. Sometimes the judge in his perplexity allows the maiden to choose for herself. In any case, the normal tale concludes with no lover chosen, and the problem still unsolved. *The Contending Lovers* is thus essentially a problem or hoax tale, and one of its rightful adjuncts is the lack of a definite decision among the lovers.

The earliest recorded versions are four tales in the Sanskrit *Vetālapanchavinsati* (*Twenty-five Tales of a Demon*), of which the Çivadāsa recension was probably made in the sixth century A. D.,²⁹ and these undoubtedly represent old Indian folk-tales which, so far as we know, are the originals of versions in many other collections of Oriental

²⁹ The tales in question are the second, fifth, sixth, and seventh of the collection. A text of the *Vetālapanchavinsati* has been constituted by Uhle, based largely on the Çivadāsa redaction (*Die Vetālapāñcaviṇṣatikā*, Leipzig, 1881). However, the tales are to be found translated directly from the Sanskrit only in scattered places. It is convenient to use the Hindi version of the work known as the *Baitāl Pachisi*, which is translated from the Sanskrit and has in turn been translated into English by W. Burckhardt Barker (Hertford, 1855) and into German by Hermann Oesterley (Leipzig, 1873). See pp. 65 ff., 133 ff., 143 ff., and 157 ff. of Barker's translation.

tales.⁸⁰ The hoax or problem characteristic is almost always emphasized by the frameworks into which the stories are fitted. In the *Vetālapanchavinsati* a *Vetāla* or demon tells the tales to a rajah, and in each case he does not reveal which lover is rewarded with the hand of the maiden. His purpose is to draw the rajah into a discussion and to make him guess the proper decision. The chief types of *The Contending Lovers* are already well-defined in the Orient,⁸¹ though after the tale has travelled westward many more subdivisions appear, owing to extensive adulteration from the folk-lore with which it comes in contact. But although our tale is now popular in most European countries and in other lands besides,⁸²

* See the *Vetāla* tales as they appear incorporated into the twelfth-century Sanskrit compilation *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, tr. C. H. Tawney, 1884, II, pp. 242 ff. and I, pp. 498 ff.; for other Oriental versions, some of them quite different from those of the *Vetālapanchavinsati*, see *Vedāla Cadai*, tr. B. G. Babington, 1831 (*Miscellaneous Translations from Oriental Languages*, Vol. I), tales 2, 4, and 5; B. Jülg, *Kalmückische Märchen*, 1866, No. 1, pp. 5 ff.; B. Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung*, 1868, pp. 238 ff.; Baron Lescailler, *Le Trône Enchanté* (the Persian *Senguehasen-Battissi*, which is related to an old Sanskrit collection known as the *Sinhāsana-dvātrinsati*) 1817, I, pp. 177 ff.); *Tooti Nameh, or Tales of a Parrot* (the Persian *Tūti Nāma*), tr. for J. Debrett, 1801, pp. 49 ff., 113 ff., and 122 ff.; W. A. Clouston, *The Book of Sindibād* (the Persian *Sindibād Nāma*), 1884, pp. 106 ff.; Galland, *Les Mille et Une Nuits*, 1881, x, pp. 1 ff.

† Each of the four tales in the *Vetāla* collection represents a distinct type.

‡ A cursory glance over titles cited will give some idea of how widespread it is. I have been able to gather some more or less out-of-the-way versions which have not hitherto been cited. It is an interesting fact that *The Contending Lovers* is a favorite in Africa. See, for example, George W. Ellis, *Negro Culture in West Africa*, 1914, pp. 211 ff. and 201 ff. See also R. E. Dennet, *Folk-Lore of the Fjort*, 1898, No. 3, pp. 33 ff. and No. 16, pp. 74 ff.; C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suahedi*, 1898, p. 71; Henri A. Junod, *Les Chants et les Contes des Ba-Ronga de la Baie de Delagoa*, 1897, No. 27.

and has taken on many new characteristics, it still remains above all a problem tale with an indecisive ending. When a decisive ending does appear, it is plainly a corruption. Sometimes the problem is left with only an inferred invitation to the audience to solve it, but again the teller may put the question definitely.³³

Curiously enough, no emphasis has ever been laid on the very pronounced and important problem characteristic of *The Contending Lovers*. Neither Benfey nor Wesselofsky stresses this as a distinguishing feature, and *The Contending Lovers* has frequently been confused with other folk-tales which were never problem stories. It is true that among the many outside influences which show effects upon our tale, especially after it has reached Europe, are the tale of *The Skilful Companions* and tales of brothers who go out into the world to seek their fortunes, for in Europe the lovers are often skilled in arts or professions and often brothers. The relationships here are exceedingly complicated, but there is conclusive evidence that *The Skilful Companion* is in origin quite distinct from *The Contending Lovers*, and that it was originally not a problem tale, but existed alone and unconnected with any tale of lovers.³⁴

³³ Straparola in a tale (*I piacevoli Notti*, night VII, fable 5) closely taken from Morlinus (see *Hieronymi Morlini, Parthenopei, Novellae, Fabulae, Comoedia*, 1855, No. LXXX, pp. 155 ff.) has the following conclusion (tr. W. G. Waters, 1894, p. 73):

"But with regard to the lady, seeing it was not possible to divide her into three parts, there arose a sharp dispute between the brothers as to which one of them should retain her, and the wrangling over the point to decide who had the greatest claim to her was very long. Indeed, up to this present day it is still before the court: wherefore we shall each settle the cause as we think right, while the judge keeps us waiting for his decision."

³⁴ Exhaustive proof would be too lengthy, but it may be suggested that from old times tales have existed about artisans or skilful

According to the services performed or to the basis of contention by the lovers for the maiden's hand, the versions of *The Contending Lovers* divide into six clearly marked types. I indicate a scheme for classification.³⁵

*The Caste Type.*³⁶ No services are performed for the princess, but her lovers, who are four, present in turn before her father claims based on unapplied accomplishments, comeliness, and general excellence. The caste of

brothers who go out into the world and contend with one another for fortune, but in which no girl is the reward. (See Benfey, *Pant-schatantra*, 1859, II, pp. 150 ff., *Der kluge Feind*; material mentioned by Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso*, I, II, p. 246; Benfey, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, III, pp. 132 ff., the second part of the *Ausland* essay.) It may be also suggested that in many ancient versions of *The Contending Lovers* and in some more modern versions the love service is dependent slightly or not at all upon skill or professions possessed by the lovers. *Vetālapanchavinsati* 7 has a contention where emphasis is laid upon caste and general excellence, and where no service is performed by means of skilled accomplishments, though there is some mention of these. The second tale of the same collection tells of a girl who was restored to life by the faithful services of her suitors, who neither are artisans nor profess skill. In this connection it is well to note that exceedingly little skill and nothing of artisanship enters into the services performed by the young men in *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*.

³⁵ Of necessity I give here only a very brief description of types together with examples from among versions of the tale. I hope to follow this scheme in making a detailed study of *The Contending Lovers* and in carrying out closer comparisons with other folk-tales and with the *Parlement of Foules* than it is possible to make in this paper.

³⁶ This is represented in the Orient, but so far as I know does not exist as a separate type in Europe, although its influence is sometimes seen in other types. See *Vetālapanchavinsati* 7 (*Baitāl Pachisi*, tr. Barker, pp. 175 ff.), where one lover can make a wonderful cloth, one understands the language of animals, one is acquainted with the Shastras, and one can discharge an arrow which will hit what is heard though not seen; also see *Kathā-Sarīt-Sāgara*, tr. Tawney, II, pp. 275 ff. and I, pp. 498 ff., which are practically the same tale.

the suitors is important when merit comes to be considered. Neither father nor daughter is able to choose the most deserving.

*The Resuscitation Type.*³⁷ This type has three or four well-born lovers, whose claims to the maid may vary. However, each youth must contribute some service toward the resuscitation of the loved one, who is often a princess, and who may be dead or mortally ill. The services may be skilled, or unskilled and fortuitous.

*The Gifts Type.*³⁸ Three youths, usually princes, fall

³⁷ See *Vetälapanchavinsti* 2 (tr. V. Henry, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, I, 1886, pp. 370 ff.) in which one lover renders love service by allowing himself to be burned upon the maid's pyre, one guards her ashes, and one travels and accidentally finds a magic formula which is the means of resuscitation; see also as representatives of the type *Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 3 (tr. Lescailler, *Le Trône Enchanté*, 1817, I, pp. 199 ff.); Rev. E. M. Geldart, *Folk Lore of Modern Greece*, 1884, pp. 106-25 (first tale told by the casket); Charles Swynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertainment*, 1892, I, p. 228; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1910, No. 74, I, pp. 378 ff.; H. Parker, same work, No. 82, II, pp. 39-9 (variant A); H. Parker, same work, No. 82, II, pp. 42-3 (variant C); F. Macler, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XXIII (1908), No. 1, pp. 327 ff.; R. E. Dennett, *Folk-Lore of the Fjort*, 1898, No. 3, pp. 33-4.

³⁸ The Oriental prototype is represented by the first part of the tale of Prince Ahmed and the Fay Pari-Banou in the Arabic *Thousand and One Nights* (Galland, ed. 1881, x, pp. 1 ff.), in which one lover buys a magic flying carpet, one a telescope, and one a magic apple, one smell of which cures a person on the point of death. The youths are thus enabled to see the princess mortally ill, to reach her, and to cure her. The versions are very numerous, but show surprisingly little variation. See Gherardo Nerucci, *Sessanta Novelle Popolari Montalesi*, 1880, No. 40, pp. 335 ff.; Christian Schneller, *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, 1867, No. 14; J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, 1864, No. 47, I, pp. 263 ff.; Rev. W. Henry Jones and Lewis Kropf, *The Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, 1889, pp. 155 ff.; Madam Csedomille Mijatovics, ed. Rev. W. Denton, *Serbian Folk-Lore*, 1874, pp. 230 ff.; John T.

in love with one maid and are sent out into the world to get wonderful gifts in competition for her hand. By means of the gifts they are able to resuscitate the princess, who is discovered to be dead or on the point of death.

*The Rescue Type.*³⁹ The suitors vary in number from three to seven, and also vary greatly in character, though they are most frequently skilled in special arts. Each young man contributes something to the rescue of a maiden from a monster, demon, magician, or powerful king. There are many versions, which, especially in Europe, tend to subdivide as follows:

Versions with the incident of the ship.⁴⁰

Naaké, *Slavonic Fairy Tales*, 1874, pp. 194 ff.; G. Stier, *Ungarische Sagen und Märchen*, 1850, No. 9, pp. 61 ff.; Friedrich S. Krauss, *Tausend Sagen und Maerchen der Südslaven*, 1914, No. 63, I, pp. 196 ff.; F. H. Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, 1899, No. 13, pp. 53 ff.; Fernan Caballero, tr. J. H. Ingram, *Spanish Fairy Tales*, 1881, pp. 22 ff.; Consiglieri Pedroso, tr. Miss Henriqueta Monteiro, *Portuguese Folk-Tales*, 1882, No. 23, pp. 94 ff.; Adeline Rittershaus, *Die Neu-isländischen Volksmärchen*, 1902, No. 43, pp. 183 ff.; Mrs. A. W. Hall, *Icelandic Fairy Tales*, 1897 (?), pp. 19 ff.; Jón Arnason, tr. Powell-Magnússon, *Icelandic Legends*, 1866, pp. 348 ff.; M. Longworth Dames, *Balochi Tales, Folk-Lore*, IV (1893), No. 12, pp. 205 ff.; George W. Ellis, *Negro Culture in West Africa*, 1914, No. 18, pp. 200 ff.; Henri A. Junod, *Les Chants et les Contes des Ba-Ronga de la Baie de Delagoa*, 1897, No. 27; C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, 1898, p. 71 (the tale being here given in dialect; it is summarized by Cosquin, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XXXI, p. 103).

* For Oriental prototypes see *Vetälapanchavinsati* 5 (tr. Benfey, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, pp. 96 ff.), in which the suitors are a man of supreme knowledge, a possessor of a magic chariot, and a wondrously accurate marksman; see also *Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part I (tr. Lescailler, *Le Trône Enchanté*, 1817, I, pp. 188 ff.); *Täti Nāma* 22 (*Tooti Nameh*, tr. for Debrett, 1801, pp. 113 ff.); W. A. Clouston, *The Book of Sindibad*, 1884, pp. 106 ff.

* Here the youths always reach the captive princess by means of a ship, which one of their number is usually skilful enough to build. See tale from *Il Novellino*, text of Giovanni Papanti, *Cata-*

Versions with the incident of the tower.⁴¹Miscellaneous versions.⁴²

logo dei Novellieri Italiani in Prosa, 1871, No. 23, I, pp. 44 ff.; Hieronymus Morlinus No. 79 (*Parthenopei, Novellae, Fabulae, Comœdia*, 1855, pp. 155 ff.); Giovanni Francesco Straparola, *I Piacevoli Notti*, night VII, fable 5; Gian Battista Basile, *Il Pentamerone*, v, 7; Domenico Comparetti, *Novelline Popolari Italiane*, 1875, No. 19, I, pp. 80 ff.; Georg Widter und Adam Wolf, *Volksmärchen aus Venetien, Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, VII, p. 30; A. H. Wratislaw, *Sixty Folk-Tales*, 1889, No. 9, pp. 55 ff.; Joseph Wenzig, *Westslawischer Märchenschatz*, 1857, pp. 140 ff.; Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 129; Friedrich Woeste, *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mythologie*, I, p. 338; Paul Sébillot, *Contes Populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, 1880, No. 8, pp. 53 ff.; F. M. Luzel, *Contes Populaires de Basse-Bretagne*, 1887, No. 9, III, pp. 312 ff.; Svend Grundtvig, *Danske Folkeeventyr*, 1881, No. 17, pp. 210 ff.; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1910, No. 82, II, pp. 33 ff.

* When the demon or monster pursues, the princess is hidden by the suitors in a tower or palace which one of their number can erect at a moment's notice. The number of lovers is large, usually seven. See Laura Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, 1870, No. 45, I, pp. 305 ff.; Giuseppe Pitre, *Novelle Popolari Toscani*, 1885, No. 10, I, pp. 65 ff.; Giuseppe Pitre, same work, I, pp. 71 ff.; Giuseppe Pitre, *Fiabe Novelle e Racconti Popolari Siciliani*, 1875, I, pp. 196 ff.; Giuseppe Pitre, same work, I, p. 197; Auguste Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, 1881, No. 4, pp. 27 ff.; Gustav Meyer, *Albanische Märchen*, 1881, No. 8, pp. 118 ff.; Friedrich S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Sudslaven*, 1883, No. 32, I, pp. 120 ff.; I. Jagić, *Aus dem Südslawischen Märchenschatz, Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, v (1881), No. 46, pp. 36 ff.; Léon Pineau, *Contes Populaires Grecs de L'isle de Lesbos, Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XII (1897), pp. 201 ff.; Rev. E. M. Geldart, *Folk Lore of Modern Greece*, 1884, pp. 106 ff. (third tale told by the casket).

* See Friedrich S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Sudslaven*, 1883, No. 33, pp. 124 ff.; A. M. Tendlau, *Fellmeiers Abende, Märchen und Geschichten aus grauer Vorzeit*, 1856, II, pp. 16 ff.; Reinhold Köhler, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VII (1866), pp. 33 ff.; E. Aymonier, *Teutes Kmers*, première série, 1878, p. 44; J. A. Decourdemanche, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XIV (1899), pp. 411 ff.; M. D. Charnay, *Revue des Cours Littéraires de la France*, 1865, p. 210, *Souvenirs de Madagascar*.

*The Creation Type.*⁴³ Three or four youths, usually artisans and men of skill, together create a woman out of wood and other materials, and then dispute about her possession.

*The Head Type.*⁴⁴ No services are performed and the type is quite different from other types of *The Contending Lovers*. The controversy grows out of a mistake made by a woman, who, after the heads of her husband and his friend have been cut off, mixes the heads in her excitement at being given supernatural power to replace them, and puts them on the wrong bodies. The argument is thus really between two members of the husband's body as to their rights to the wife.

*Anomalous Versions.*⁴⁵

⁴³ See *Tūti Nāma* 5 (*Tooti Nameh*, tr. for Debrett, 1801, pp. 49 ff.), in which the disputants are a goldsmith, a carpenter, a tailor, and a hermit; see also *Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 4 (tr. Lescailler, *Le Trône Enchanté*, 1817, I, pp. 205 ff.); B. Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung*, 1868, pp. 238 ff.; Rev. E. M. Geldart, *Folk Lore of Modern Greece*, 1884, pp. 106 ff. (the second tale told by the casket); Theodor Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, 1859, I, pp. 491 ff.; F. Macler, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, xxiii (1908), pp. 333 ff.; H. Carnoy, *La Tradition*, v (1891), pp. 326 ff.; René Basset, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, xv, p. 114; Albert Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, 1900 (*Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*), Teil II, No. 107, p. 126; Belkassam ben Sedira, *Cours de Langue Kabyle*, 1887, pp. 225 ff.; Ferdinand Hahn, *Blicke in die Geisteswelt der Heidnischen Kols*, 1906, No. 13, pp. 24 ff.; M. Longworth Dames, *Balooki Tales, Folk-Lore*, III (1892), pp. 524 ff., No. 6.

⁴⁴ This type is apparently known in popular literature only in the Orient. See *Vetūlapanchavinsati* 6 (tr. Benfey, *Orient und Occident*, I, 1862, pp. 730 ff.); *Tūti Nāma* 24 (*Tooti Nameh*, tr. for Debrett, 1801, pp. 122 ff.); *Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 2 (tr. Lescailler, *Le Trône Enchanté*, 1817, I, pp. 194 ff.).

⁴⁵ Sometimes in these versions mere feats of skill are performed by the lovers instead of service benefiting the maid. See *Novella del Fortunato nuovamente stampata*, Livorno, 1869 (carefully sum-

It is to be taken for granted that in all these tales a heated dispute between the lovers for the possession of their loved one, and an indecisive conclusion, are usual things. Frequently there is an arbiter before whom the youths carry their cases. He may be simply the father of the girl or he may be a real judge and the court scene may be highly elaborated.⁴⁶ Frequently, too, the maiden is given the right to choose for herself. This feature is not confined to any one type of version,⁴⁷ and is so striking that it helps greatly to mark a tale as a true member of *The Contending Lovers*. It is, of course, highly important for comparison with the right of choice as manifested in the *Parlement of Foules*.

marized by R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, pp. 590 ff.); G. F. Abbot, *Macedonian Folklore*, 1903, p. 264; Friedrich Kreutzwald, tr. F. Lowe, *Ehstnische Märchen*, 1869, No. 3, pp. 32 ff.; E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, No. 59, pp. 184 ff.; R. E. Dennet, *Folk-Lore of the Fjort*, 1898, No. 16, pp. 74 ff.; George W. Ellis, *Negro Culture in West Africa*, 1914, No. 27, pp. 211 ff.

"Even folk-tales much less sophisticated than the *Paradiso* version may have an elaborate court scene. See the highly interesting Breton tale given by F. M. Luzel, *Contes Populaires de Basse-Bretagne*, 1887, No. 9, III, pp. 312 ff.

"The right of choice is definitely given the maiden in the following versions, which are of the Caste, Resuscitation, Rescue, and Gifts types: *Vetälapanchavinsati* 7, H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1910, No. 74, I, pp. 378 ff.; F. M. Luzel, *Contes Populaires de Basse-Bretagne*, 1887, No. 9, III, pp. 312 ff.; Auguste Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, 1881, No. 4, pp. 27 ff.; Gustav Meyer, *Albanische Märchen*, 1881, No. 8, pp. 118 ff.; Svend Grundtvig, *Danske Folkæventyr*, 1881, No. 17, pp. 210 ff.; Joseph Wenzig, *Westslawischer Märchenschatz*, 1857, pp. 140 ff.; Friedrich S. Krauss, *Tausend Sagen und Maerchen der Südslaven*, 1914, No. 63, I, pp. 196 ff.; F. H. Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, 1899, No. 13, pp. 53 ff.; Fernan Caballero, tr. J. H. Ingram, *Spanish Fairy Tales*, 1881, pp. 22 ff.; Consigliieri Pedroso, tr. Miss Henriqueta Monteiro, *Portuguese Folk-Tales*, 1882, No. 23, pp. 94 ff.; C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, 1898, p. 71 (summarized by Cosquin, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XXXI, p. 103). These are, of course, exclusive of versions in the *Paradiso* and the *Parlement of Foules*.

The close similarities between the *Parlement* and the *Paradiso* have already been pointed out. But the *Parlement* shows definite relationship to *The Contending Lovers* as a whole by the nobility of the characters and the importance rank plays in the dispute,⁴⁸ the pleading before a judge, the perplexity of the judge, the granting of the choice, and finally by the all-important indecisive conclusion. Obviously the story in the *Parlement* is greatly changed and sophisticated by Chaucer or some other teller before him. The characters become birds and the tale is told in highly dramatic instead of narrative form. Chaucer pretends to happen upon a group of bird lovers pleading their causes, and is more interested in their pleadings and in the court scene generally than in the previous history of their loves. Chaucer elaborates one part of the folktale which gives him a chance to show his genius at its best, and slights the rest.

What changes Chaucer himself made and where he got his inspirations for them are very complicated questions. We do not know in just what form he found the tale. But it is possible and also consistent with what we know of Chaucer's artistic ability that he himself changed the lovers into birds, using material from a number of possible sources,⁴⁹ and that he made the service of the lovers correspond to ideas of love service expressed in the tenets of Courtly Love, with which Chaucer was, of course, wholly familiar. The latter change, as well as a general tendency to refine and elevate the story, would account

⁴⁸ Cf. the Caste type of our tale especially.

⁴⁹ Hints for bird characters may have come to Chaucer from many sources besides the *De Planctu Naturae* of Alanus de Insulis. Professor Manly has suggested some interesting possible sources (work cited, p. 285). But I am hoping to show that there are many more possible points of contact between the *Parlement* and the bird-lore of folk-tales or more sophisticated literature.

for a suppression of the artisan or professional element, if, indeed, it appeared at all in Chaucer's source.

It is to be kept in mind that a problem such as that advanced in *The Contending Lovers* would be apt to suggest immediately to Chaucer the popular and many-sided *questione d'amore* of the Middle Ages, and that the character of the *questioni* would be apt to influence any presentation of the folk-tale in a courtly or polished form. *The Contending Lovers* is truly an unsophisticated *questione d'amore* evolved by the folk long before the Middle Ages, and Chaucer could not but see the similarity. Professor Manly has indicated the presence in the *Parlement* of all the necessary elements to make a *demande d'amours* or *questione d'amore*, and although the *questione* is frequently of two branches, he finds cases in which three lovers please a lady equally well and she does not know what to do.⁵⁰ But the *questioni* made no secret about putting the direct question, and inviting to discussion. Chaucer apparently follows a version of our folk-tale where no question is openly put because it is thought that the problem is sufficiently plain.

As to where Chaucer found the version of the folk-tale which constitutes the nucleus of the *Parlement*, and as to the exact form it bore, we can do no more than surmise. Fortunately, however, the sophisticated tale from the *Paradiso* forms a highly important if incomplete connecting link between the simplest shape of the folk-tale and Chaucer's redaction, which is the most sophisticated of all, and therefore hardest to recognize in its new dressings. The *Paradiso* also points to Italy as the probable place where Chaucer obtained his version. Giovanni's tale was written in Chaucer's own time, drawn certainly from literary tra-

⁵⁰ Work cited, pp. 283 ff.

ditions or folk-lore fairly well known in Italy. We are not surprised to find that several years before the *Paradiso* was written, a much simpler version of *The Contending Lovers* was recorded in *Il Novellino*.⁵¹ This is of the Rescue type and is not nearly so close to Chaucer in character as the *Paradiso*, but it helps to demonstrate for medieval Italy the popularity of the tale in various forms. Since Chaucer had been to Italy and was already greatly under the spell of its literature at the time he wrote the *Parlement*, we are not going too far in hazarding that he may very possibly have read or obtained an Italian manuscript in which *The Contending Lovers* appeared. It is also possible, of course, that he may have heard the tale related. At any rate, the wide popularity of the story would make possible Chaucer's finding it somewhere.

In the light of *The Contending Lovers*, theories offering historical interpretation for the *Parlement* must inevitably be reconsidered. Almost every important element in the central incident of the poem has been paralleled to elements in the folk-tale. The nobility of the suitors and the emphasis on rank, the judge, the audience and its participation, the giving over of the decision to the formel herself, and the peculiar conclusion without a decision, all these and other things besides are easily explained if we will simply look at them as conventions in a distinct type of tale. We do not have to ransack history to find royalty that will fit the bird characters, unless we choose to do so.

However, to say that Chaucer was not naïf enough to see that his story might be applied by his courtly readers to contemporary happiness at court would be carrying reconsideration of allegorical theories too far. For in spite

⁵¹ Text by Giovanni Papanti, *Catalogo dei Novellieri Italiani in Prosa*, 1871, No. 23, 1, pp. 44 ff. The version is incomplete owing to lacunae in the manuscript.

of its undeniable shortcomings which have been so ably pointed out by Professor Manly,⁵² the allegorical theory in its latest form makes some parts of the *Parlement* fit historical facts with a degree of neatness and plausibility. In fact, interpretation by allegory and interpretation by sources are not mutually exclusive. Chaucer may in every detail of his love story be following sources, and yet have in mind the marriage of Richard and Anne, or, indeed, some other marriage in royalty which is not now known to us. Historical characters have often been changed to fit the *Parlement*, and they may be again.

Yet, according to our present knowledge, the allegorical theory can only be regarded as superimposed upon the non-allegorical theory, and as unnecessary to a plausible and entirely satisfactory interpretation of the poem. The constructing of a tale by an author for the exigencies of an occasion, when the events and characters are shaped especially to fit real happenings and persons, is one thing; but the telling of a conventional tale, even though its conventions are happily adapted at certain places to allegorical interpretation, is quite another thing. Furthermore, both *The Contending Lovers* and the *questioni d'amore* present general love problems to provoke interested discussion, not love problems which necessarily involved actual persons in the society of the day. It is a grave question whether the ordinary medieval reader, knowing the extremely popular *questioni d'amore*, and perhaps acquainted with *The Contending Lovers*, would see in the *Parlement* more than a fanciful story of bird lovers whose indecisive conclusion invited him to a debate upon a neat general love problem.

In conclusion we may summarize the following salient points regarding interpretation:

⁵² Work cited.

I. The allegorical theory, explaining the situation in the *Parlement* wholly by historical events, and taking small account of sources, is untenable.

II. The non-allegorical theory offers a simple and plausible explanation for every detail by appealing to sources. It furnishes a less strained interpretation in some ways than the other theory, and is in any case entitled to first consideration.

III. A composite of the two theories is possible and offers an interpretation consistent with Chaucer's character. But in the combined theory, allegory, according to our present knowledge, must take a secondary place, because Chaucer does not make allegorical intent plain beyond all possibility of doubt, and because at points allegory does not explain certain things which an appeal to sources will explain.

An attempt has been made to demonstrate the relationship of the *Parlement of Foules* to a general cycle of folk-tales. But as so often happens when a search is made for a source in literature so fluid as a folk-tale, it has been impossible to discover the version identical with the one which appears in the author. Perhaps the manuscript, if it was a manuscript, from which Chaucer obtained *The Contending Lovers* is to remain forever unfound. What may and what may not come to our knowledge in the future to throw further light on the *Parlement*, either in the way of more possible sources or in the way of more historical fact fortifying an allegorical interpretation, it is, of course, impossible to foretell.⁵³

WILLARD EDWARD FARNHAM.

⁵³ Since this paper was first written I have carried out on a larger scale a study of the material here presented or indicated and have submitted it as a dissertation to Harvard University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy.



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XX.—BALAUSTION'S ADVENTURE AS AN INTER-
PRETATION OF THE *ALCESTIS* OF EURIPIDES

Balaustion's Adventure was first published in 1871. From that time until the present scholars have differed in opinion as to whether the poem misrepresents the *Alcestis* of Euripides, which it aims to interpret, and, if so, to what extent. The particular criticisms directed against Browning's interpretation have to do almost exclusively with his treatment of the characters of Admetus and Heracles. He makes Admetus selfish and cowardly; Heracles, essentially noble. Did Euripides think of them so? Professor Richard G. Moulton, writing for the *Browning Society Papers* in 1891, took exception to Browning's treatment of Admetus. He called *Balaustion's Adventure* "a beautiful misrepresentation of the original." "Browning," he said, "has entirely misread and misinterpreted Euripides' play of *Alcestis*."¹ . . . "The character he has read into the actions of Admetus is opposed to the view of him taken by all the personages of the

¹ *Browning Society Papers*, Part XIII, p. 148.

story, gods, heroes, men; is opposed to the author's own intimations through the mouth of the Chorus; is countenanced only by the one personage whom all the rest including Alcestis hold guilty of the selfishness Browning has ascribed to Admetus." ² Verrall criticises Browning's interpretation of Heracles. He insists that the Heracles of Euripides is not the godlike helper of mankind which Browning would have us believe him to be, but a mere "drunken athlete adventurer," a burlesque figure. "Since," says he, "the Heracles of Euripides, as the expositors agree, is in fact semi-comic and liable to much just contempt, Browning simply made another, enveloping and dressing, literally as well as figuratively, the original in robes, trappings, and appurtenances, material and moral, of which in the Greek play there is not the slightest suggestion." ³ Sidney Colvin says: "In taking from the most modern-minded of the great Athenian dramatists an example of which the qualities are not specifically or in the highest sense Hellenic, Mr. Browning has still further de-Hellenized it, has made Euripides work from the ethical standpoint of a different age, has rewritten the play as it might coherently and comprehensively have been meant, but as it was not actually meant." ⁴ Professor Lawson adds: "Mr. Browning's keen, alert critical powers have thrown many a brilliant cross-light on this perplexing little drama . . . but it is impossible to accept his version of the Greek play as a finality." ⁵

These are typical examples of the criticisms directed against Browning's version and represent fairly well the prevailing opinion for twenty-five years after the publi-

² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³ Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist*, p. 16.

⁴ *Fortn. Rev.*, XVI, p. 490.

⁵ *Amer. Journ. of Philol.*, XVII, p. 205.

cation of *Balaustion's Adventure*. I wish to show, however, that more modern classical scholarship has, in the main, justified Browning's interpretation of Admetus, and that, in the case of Heracles, the facts are more in favor of Browning's interpretation than certain scholars are yet ready to admit. The minor modifications which the poet has made for artistic purposes do not interfere with the essential truth of his interpretation.

The case of Admetus is now so nearly settled that the details of the argument need not be presented here. It is enough to quote the conclusions of the scholars. It is true that as late as 1894 Way maintained that Admetus was a noble character; that he was in the right in respect to the *motif* and incidents of the play; that he reaped the reward of a just man.⁶ According to Way's view, Admetus was a hospitable man, who embodied for the Greeks "the virtues, not only of a modern philanthropist, but also of the enlightened diplomatist."⁷ He could not decline the boon of the gods. That would have been "not false delicacy merely, but impiety." "The special pathos of the situation," says Way, "lay in this, that the sacrifice of a young and happy woman was forced upon her by the cowardly selfishness, not of her husband, but of a miserable old man; that Admetus should not have found a substitute at all would have been monstrous. . . . All the respectable characters of the play have nothing but sympathy for him."⁸ This, as I have said, had been the prevailing opinion during the twenty-five years since the publication of *Balaustion's Adventure*. Scholars like Paley, who realized that Admetus was far from perfect, felt that his virtue of hospitality redeemed his character and

⁶ Way, *Euripides in English Verse*, I, p. 421.

⁷ Way, I, p. 422.

⁸ Way, I, p. 423.

justified his reward. Indeed, Paley considered the central idea of the play to be that "disinterested hospitality never fails of its reward."⁹ Since 1894, however, the classical scholars have come more and more to interpret Euripides otherwise. In the year after Way's translation appeared, Verrall, who objected to Browning's interpretation of Heracles, defended the poet's view of Admetus. He insisted that Euripides' play makes plain the selfishness and cowardice of Admetus.¹⁰ Among other things he pointed out that the king himself is aware of his own baseness, since he says:

I shall not bear
On those companions of my wife to look.
And, if a foe I have, thus shall he scoff:
'Lo there who basely liveth, dared not die,
But whom he wedded gave, a coward's ransom,
And 'scaped from Hades. Count ye him a man?
He hates his parents, though himself was loth
To die.'¹¹

Verrall goes so far as to insist that Euripides did not mean to allow Admetus the virtue of real hospitality, since he makes the Chorus blame him for deceiving his friend and causes Heracles himself to upbraid him for his unfriendly treatment.¹² Mahaffy, though not so extreme as Verrall, recognizes the weakness in the character. It is, he thinks, with consummate art that Euripides, in this far subtler than any of his imitators, has made the husband a somewhat weak and selfish, though otherwise amiable and hospitable person.¹³ Ebeling points out the significance of the scene between Pheres and Admetus. If Admetus is an idealized character, this scene is totally

⁹ Note on *Alcestis*, v. 1147.

¹¹ Way, vv. 952 ff.

¹⁰ Verrall, pp. 11 ff.

¹² Verrall, pp. 34, 39, 40.

¹³ *Gk. Class. Lit.*, I, Part II, p. 103.

out of place. It could hardly have been introduced just to please a contentious and argument-loving audience, without regard to the unity of the play. The play presents, Ebeling says, "a criticism of the character of the traditional Admetus which revealed how base he had been in allowing his wife, Alcestis, to die for him."¹⁴ "Euripides plainly found fault with Admetus' lack of manliness and subjected him to severe criticism; but he let Admetus learn a great lesson, which reformed him in the end."¹⁵ Earle maintains that the popular character of Admetus among the Athenians appears to have been 'that of a typical coward, citing in evidence lines of the familiar table-song:

Ἀδμήτου λόγον, ὃ ἑταῖρε, μαθὼν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει
τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου, γινούς ὅτι δειλῶν ὀλίγη χάρις.¹⁶

And Augustus T. Murray supports Earle's contention by quoting *Thesmo.*, 193-97, where Aristophanes in ridiculing Euripides puts him in the position of Admetus and quotes Pheres' words against him.¹⁷

Perhaps the most complete summary of the case is that of Augustus T. Murray. He thinks the heroic idealization of Admetus misrepresents Euripides for the following reasons:

1. Such an assumption is unnatural. Euripides offers us in the Tauric *Iphigenia* a situation that is closely parallel, and his treatment shows how far he was from feeling that it was the duty of a noble youth to allow a loving woman to die for him.

2. The character of Admetus was not thus understood

¹⁴ *Amer. Phil. Assoc. Trans.* (1898), pp. 65-6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁶ Earle, *Alcestis*, p. xxviii.

¹⁷ *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve*, p. 333.

by that Greek of the Greeks, Aristophanes; but, on the contrary, his parodies show that he read it as we do (*Thesmo.*, 193-97).

3. The idealized view seems to be absolutely untenable in the face of the scene with Phereas.

4. A sympathetic study of the earlier scenes of the play leads to the same conclusion. Alcestis herself sees through Admetus.

5. Euripides plainly means us to see a change in Admetus' character during the course of the play (vv. 145, 246 f., 335, 897 ff., 929 ff., 940, 955 ff., 1068).¹⁸

The most recent word upon the subject is by Gilbert Murray in the introduction to his poetic translation of *Alcestis* (1915). He agrees exactly with Browning:

Euripides seems to have taken positive pleasure in Admetus . . . True, Admetus is put to obvious shame, publicly and helplessly. The Chorus makes discreet comments upon him. The handmaid is outspoken about him. One feels that Alcestis herself, for all her tender kindness, has seen through him. Finally, to make things quite clear, his old father fights him openly, tells him home-truth upon home-truth, tears away all his protective screens, and leaves him with his self-respect in tatters. It is a fearful ordeal for Admetus, and after his first fury, he takes it well . . . I think that a careful reading of the play will show an almost continuous process of self-discovery and self-judgment in the mind of Admetus. He was a man who blinded himself with words and beautiful sentiments; but he was not thick-skinned or thick-witted. He was not a brute or a cynic. And I think he did learn his lesson—not completely and forever, but as well as most of us learn such lessons.¹⁹

Unquestionably modern scholarship supports Browning's interpretation of Admetus as essentially correct. That does not mean, however, that Browning took no liberties with Euripides' version to suit his own artistic purposes. Euripides makes the Chorus speak in sympathy

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 333 ff.

¹⁹ Gilbert Murray, *Alcestis*, p. xii.

and praise for Admetus throughout the play, and emphasizes the virtue of hospitality, which he embodies. Browning, however, in order to bring out more clearly the baseness of Admetus and his subsequent repentance, condenses and sometimes ignores the expression of sympathy and praise on the part of the Chorus, and, without eliminating the hospitality *motif*, makes it less prominent. A careful comparison of Browning's text with the original makes clear his method. I cite examples.

1. Vv. 142-46:

Θε. καὶ ζῶσαν εἰπεῖν καὶ θανοῦσαν ἔστι σοι.

Χο. καὶ πῶς ἂν αὐτὸς κατθανοῖ τε καὶ βλέποι;

Θε. ἤδη προνοπῆς ἔστι καὶ ψυχορραγεῖ.

Χο. ὦ τλήμων, οἷας οἶος ὦν ἀμαρτάνεις.

Θε. οὐπω τόδ' οἶδε δεσπότης, πρὶν ἂν πάθῃ.

Hand. She liveth, and is dead; both may'st thou say.

Cho. Ay so? how should the same be dead and alive?

Hand. Even now she droopeth, gasping out her life.

Cho. Noble and stricken—how noble she thou lovest.

Hand. His depth of loss he knows not ere it come. (Way)

"Call her dead, call her living, each style serves,"

The matron said, "though grave-ward bowed, she breathed;

Nor knew her husband what the misery meant

Before he felt it: hope of life was none." (Browning)

Browning condenses the dialogue and quietly omits line 145, which is a clear expression of sympathy and respect for Admetus.

2. Vv. 226-30:

Ἦμυχ. παπαῖ φεῦ, παπαῖ φεῦ · ἰὼ ἰὼ.

ὦ παῖ Φέρητος, οἷ' ἔπρα-
ξας δάμαρτος σᾶς στερεῖς.

Ἦμυχ. ἄρ' ἄξια καὶ σφαγᾶς τάδε,
καὶ πλέον ἢ βρόχῳ δέρην
οὐρανίῳ πελάσσαι;

Cho. 6. Woe's me! woe's me!—let the woe-dirge ring!
 Ah, scion of Phœbus, alas for thy lot, for love's long sever-
 ance.

Cho. 7. For such things on his sword might a man not fall,
 Or knit up his throat in the noose 'twixt the heaven and
 the earth that quivereth. (Way)

So the song dwindled to a mere moan,
 How dear the wife, and what her husband's woe. (Browning)

Again the expression of sympathy is in part suppressed.

3. Vv. 369-70:

Xo. και μὴν ἐγὼ σοι πένθος ὡς φίλος φίλω
 λυπρὸν συνοίσω τῇσδε · καὶ γὰρ ἀξία.

Cho. Yea, I withal will mourn, as friend with friend,
 With thee for this thy wife, for she is worthy. (Way)

Browning omits this passage entirely.

4. Vv. 861-935:

These lines of lamentation interspersed with sympathetic
 remarks by the Chorus are reduced about one-half by
 Browning and much of what is left is quoted indirectly.

5. Vv. 601-4:

τὸ γὰρ εὐγενὲς ἐκφέρεται πρὸς αἰδῶ.
 ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι δὲ πάντ' ἔνεστιν σοφία. ἄγαμαι ·
 πρὸς δ' ἐμᾶ ψυχᾷ θάρσος ἦσται
 θεοσεβῇ φῶτα κεδνὰ πράξειν.

For to honour's heights are the high-born lifted,
 And the good are with truest wisdom gifted;
 And there broods on my heart bright trust unwaning
 That the god-reverer shall yet be blest. (Way)

The best men ever prove the wisest too;
 Something instinctive guides them still aright.
 And on each soul this boldness settled now,
 That one, who revered the Gods so much,
 Would prosper yet: (or—I could wish it ran—

Who venerate the Gods i' the main will still
Practice things honest though obscure to judge).
(Browning,

These lines at the end of a passage in praise of the hospitality of Admetus seem to imply that his future good fortune is a recompense for his behavior as a host. Browning suggests a different sentiment and perhaps the Greek will bear Browning's interpretation. At any rate Blake-ney, in his edition of *Alcestis*, affirms that *κεδνὰ πράξειν* involves a double reference in Greek—"to fare well" and "to do well."²⁰ Browning gives the further impression that the new optimism of the Chorus comes not because they think the virtue of Admetus will be rewarded, but because they have caught "contagion from the magnanimity" of Heracles.

Admetos' private grief
Shrank to a somewhat pettier obstacle
I' the way o' the world; they saw good days had been,
And good days, peradventure, still might be.²¹

6. Vv. 840-2:

δεῖ γάρ με σῶσαι τὴν θανούσαν ἀρτίως
γυναῖκα κείς τονδ' αὖθις ἰδρῦσαι δόμον
"Ἀλκηστιν, Ἀδμήτη θ' ὑπουργῆσαι χάριν.

For I must save this woman newly dead,
And set Alcestis in this house again,
And render to Admetus good for good. (Way)

For that son must save now
The just-dead lady: ay, establish here
I' the house again Alkestis, bring about
Comfort and succor to Admetus so! (Browning)

Way's translation implies the idea of compensation:

²⁰ Note to vv. 604-5.

²¹ *Balaustion's Adventure*, vv. 1251-4.

Browning avoids that interpretation. The Greek does not necessarily convey the idea of compensation.

By such slight condensations and changes Browning has, perhaps, made his treatment of Admetus less sympathetic than Euripides intended, especially in the early part; whereas he always emphasizes the weakness and selfishness of the man. The Athenian audience would have more respect for Admetus than modern readers of *Balaustion's Adventure* have, but Browning has not transformed the character nor essentially misrepresented it.

The case of Heracles is not so simple. Scholars have seen in the Heracles of the *Alcestis* everything from the burlesque figure of the satyr-plays to the wonder-working demi-god of epic tradition. And the difference of opinion still exists. Many still think that Browning took unwarranted liberties with the Greek play, transforming the character of Heracles by reading into it much that is not suggested by Euripides. It will not suffice, therefore, as it does in the case of Admetus, to quote the conclusions of the scholars. We must go into the details of the argument.

The best approach to the subject is through the original material upon which Euripides worked. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who has studied elaborately the legends of Alcestis and Heracles, reproduces as follows the old epic traditions that made up the Alcestis story:

In seiner pflege wuchs der sohn der Koronis, Asklepios, auf, lernte die kräfte der wurzeln des waldes, alle die linden säfte der kräuter und manchen heilkräftigen zauberspruch. So wird er erwachsen ein helfender arzt, vielen zum segnen, die siech waren von wunden und krankheit. Aber seine kunst verführte ihn, die schranken der menschheit zu durchbrechen, er erweckte gestorbene. Dafür zerschmetterte ihn Zeus mit dem donnerkeil, und dem tode verfiel, der des todes rechte gekürzt hatte. Wieder brauste der jähre zorn des Apollon auf, der den sohn an seiner eigenen liebungsstätte, in Delphi, erschlagen sah. Ohnmächtig wider den himmlischen vater, traf er

dessen schuldlose diener, die schmiede des donnerkeiles. Aber die ewigen weltgesetze sind nicht nur grausam, sie sind auch gerecht, und blutschuld muss auch ein gott sühnen wie die menschen. Wol wendete Letos fürbitte die verstossung in den Tartaros von Apollons haupt, aber aus dem himmel ward er verstossen und musste ein grosses jahr knechtesdienste bei einem sterblichen tun. So kam er zu Admetos von Pherai und weidete ihm seine herden, am ufer des boebeischen sees, da wo er einst Koronis fand, Koronis begrub. Admetos war ein milder herr, und des göttlichen hirtens gnade liess die herden wunderbar gedeihen. Er spannte auch die wilden tiere des Pelionwaldes unter Admetos' joch, als dieser sich die braut aus dem nahen Iolkos holte, die ihr vater nur dem freier zu geben gelobt hatte, der mit solchem gespanne käme. Wieder ertönten hochzeitslieder über dem boebeischen see, und Phoibos, der den Ischys erschlagen, stand segnend dem Admetos zur seite. Und doch wandelte sich der segnen in fluch. Die grimme herrin von Pherai (βριμύς) welche Koronis tötete, sandte dem Admetos ein grässliches zeichen ihres grolles, weil er ihr zu opfern vergessen hatte. Ein knäuel schlangen fand er im brautgemache. Apollon deutete den willen der schwester: sie forderte des bräutigams leben, und nur zur annahme eines ersatzes vermochten sie die bitten des bruders zu bestimmen. Aber wo diesen ersatz finden? Als der entscheidende tag herankam, da versagten sich vater und mutter, auf der schwelle des grabes; nur Alkestis, die blühende gattin, gab für Admetos ihr junges leben hin. So hatte sich das schlangenzeichen im brautgemache doch erfüllt. Und wieder ward ein blühendes, plötzlich aus dem leben lieber hoffnungen dahingerafftes weib zu grabe getragen, wieder ein opfer der Artemis. Die grausamkeit der gottheit ist nicht ewig. Als zauberkunst den bann des todes brechen wollte, schritt Zeus selbst ein: als die gattenliebe sich selbst dahingibt, demütigen sinnes der gewalt der göttin sich beugend, da schreitet die göttliche gnade ein. Die herrin des totenreiches (auch eine βριμύς oder vielmehr wieder die βριμύς) sandte Alkestis wieder zum lichte empor. Apollon ist gereinigt, Artemis ist versöhnt, gesegnet von allen menschen leben Admetos und Alkestis in glück und frieden, und in dem geschlechte von helden das ihnen entstammt, lebt der göttliche segnen fort bis auf diesen tag.²²

This account contains no comic or burlesque elements and Heracles does not appear at all. Comic elements, however, were introduced before Euripides treated the subject. Aeschylus in *Eumenides*, 723 f., refers to the

²² *Philologische Untersuchungen*, IX, pp. 70 ff.

story that the escape of Admetus from death by the substitution of another victim had been secured by Apollo from the Fates by cajoling them after he had succeeded in making them drunk.²³ There was also a more or less comic, perhaps burlesque play on the story of Alcestis by Phrynichus. The play is lost, but Euripides borrowed from it, among other things, the figure of Thanatus, if we are to believe the note which Servius made on *Aeneid*, iv, 694: "Alii dicunt Euripidem Orcum in scenam inducere, gladium ferentem, quo crinem Alcesti abscindat, Euripidem hoc a Phrynicho antiquo mutuatum."²⁴ Presumably, too, Heracles was there to fight with Thanatus, though we cannot be entirely sure. Wilamowitz so affirms: "Thanatos in euripideischem costüm und sein ringkampf mit Heracles sind für Phrynichus direct bezeugt, die trunkenheit der moiren indirect durch Aisch. *Eum.* 723."²⁵ Unfortunately, however, Wilamowitz does not give the direct evidence, and Bergk affirms that the Heracles episode was the invention of Euripides.²⁶ Ebeling argues at length to the same effect.²⁷ Still, Gilbert Murray, writing in 1915, is of the opinion that Heracles was a character in Phrynichus' play.²⁸ But whether he appeared in Phrynichus or not, he certainly had for the Athenians a burlesque and satyric as well as an heroic aspect. Before Euripides wrote the *Alcestis* the tragic character of Heracles had not been developed. He had found a place in epic and lyric poetry, and occasional ref-

²³ Browning has treated this phase of the subject in the introduction to *Parleyings with Men of Importance in their Day*.

²⁴ Cited by Weil in *Alceste*, p. 5.

²⁵ *Philologische Untersuchungen*, ix, p. 66, note.

²⁶ Bergk, *Griech. Lit.-Gesch.*, iii, p. 498.

²⁷ *Amer. Phil. Assoc. Trans.* (1898), pp. 65 ff. See also Weil, *Alceste*, p. 5.

²⁸ Murray, *Alceste*, p. x.

erences to his heroic deeds occur in early tragedies. In the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus he appears in person to free the hero; but tragedians seem never to have treated him for his own sake. He was, however, a familiar figure in satyr-plays and in comedy. Originally, he was a Dorian hero, who became the reputed ancestor of the royal house of Sparta. He appears only as a stranger in the group of Homeric heroes. He embodied the two ideas of physical strength and the full enjoyment of life. He lacked the intellectual graces so loved by the Athenians. It was, perhaps, natural for the Athenians to consider him at times stupid, gluttonous, a drunken reveller. Indeed, as we shall presently see, they had the clue for such a treatment from the Dorians themselves. At any rate, Heracles became a comic or grotesque figure in prose tales, in satyr-plays, and in comedy. In this matter no one has disputed the conclusions of Wilamowitz: "In Ionien stand man dem ganzen dorischen wesen so fern, dass man die Heraklessage einfach als einen prächtigen erzählungsstoff hinnahm und sich an ihr belustigte. . . . Dass er . . . gleichzeitig in Athen auf der bühne ernsthaft gar nicht darstellbar ist, ist eine eben so merkwürdige wie augenfällige tatsache."²⁹ And again: "Die Heraklessage fällt für das ernsthafte drama aus. Das ist um so bemerkenswerter, als das satyrspiel den dorischen helden zum gegenstande seiner burlesken spässe nimmt."³⁰ "Fanden sie (die Athener) nun den dorischen helden, gerade in der zeit, wo der stammesgegensatz sich verschärfte, bei seinen landsleuten zu einer burlesken figur degradiert."³¹ He further affirms: "Dass wir aber nicht etwa dessen geist- und gemüt- und humorvolles drama auf Hesiods anregung

²⁹ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides' Herakles*, pp. 97-8.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

zurückführen dürfen, lehrt am besten der gegensatz der stimmung. Die betrunkenen Moiren, der betrunkene Herakles, der plumpe Thanatos gehören in eine andere sphaere als Koronis, Asklepios und die fürbitte der Leto; das sind dramatisch, nicht epischstofflich wirksame motive, die Euripides von Phrynichos, aus dem burlesken drama, aufgenommen hat." ⁸² Jebb points out that Aristophanes (*Pax*, 741 ff.) speaks of Heracles as having become a stock character in Attic comedy, and claims credit for having discarded him. ⁸³ "Several comedies on Heracles," says Jebb, "are known by their titles or by fragments. He was also a frequent figure in satyr drama. Sophocles wrote *Heracles ad Taenarum*, a satyr-play on the descent into Hades. Ion of Chios and Achaëus wrote each a satyr-play called *Omphale*, depicting Heracles in servitude to the Lydian task-mistress. In Ion's piece, he performed prodigies with a 'triple row of teeth,' devouring not merely the flesh prepared for a burnt offering but the wood and coals on which it was being roasted." He was commonly represented as a voracious glutton.

For if you were to see him eat, you would
Be frighten'd e'en to death; his jaws do creak,
His throat with long deep-sounding thunder rolls,
His large teeth rattle, and his dog-teeth crash,
His nostrils hiss, his ears with hunger tremble."

There seems to be no doubt that Heracles, considered dramatically, came into the hands of Euripides as a burlesque, satyric figure; and to this must be added the further fact that Euripides' *Alcestis* was performed as the fourth play in a tetralogy, a place usually taken by a

⁸² *Philol. Untersuchungen*, ix, p. 66.

⁸³ Jebb, *The Trachiniae of Sophocles*, Intro., p. xxi.

⁸⁴ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* (tr. by C. D. Young), ii, p. 648, (Book x).

satyr-play. It is natural, therefore, that many scholars should see in the Heracles of Euripides the typical voracious, drunken, burlesque satyr-figure. But caution is necessary here. In the study of sources, we must not forget that to great artists origins furnish a point of departure rather than a point of arrival. Scholars seem to have forgotten this in the case of Euripides. Yet it was never his method to leave characters just as he found them. He often changed them into something very different from the originals. Indeed, he is universally recognized as the great humanizer of stock characters among the Greeks. He did just this with Heracles: he humanized him. And in doing so he lifted him almost entirely out of the burlesque. An unprejudiced reading of the play substantiates this. Moreover, his entire treatment of the Heracles myth in other plays confirms it. To be sure, the Heracles of the *Alcestis* is dull: Ulysses would never have been so imposed upon by Admetus. He may also be lacking at times in delicacy and tact. He is, nevertheless, an essentially noble character. On his first appearance, he is a little abrupt and breezy, but by no means a clown. Gilbert Murray recognizes this when he offers us the following stage direction upon the first appearance of Heracles: "As the song ceases there enters a stranger, walking strongly, but travel-stained, dusty, and tired. The lion-skin and club show him to be Heracles."⁸⁵ When interrogated by the Chorus, he says:

Thou say'st: such toil my fate imposeth still,
Harsh evermore, uphillward straining aye,
If I must still in battle close with sons
Gotten of Ares; with Lykaon first,
And Kyknus then: and lo, I come to grapple—
The third strife this—with yon steeds and their lord.

⁸⁵ Murray, *Alcestis*, p. 27.

But never man shall see Alkmene's child
Quailing before the hand of any foe.*

This is unquestionably the world-weary hero, who toils for the good of humanity, the Heracles of the old heroic tradition. Lawton says of the passage: "Heracles' words sound quite like a sigh of repining over his hard earthly lot and may remind us how thoroughly human a figure he is in this drama."⁷

Presently, when Heracles sees Admetus in mourning, he has enough fine feeling to decide to seek hospitality elsewhere, and remains in the house only on the earnest solicitation of his host, who assures him that no person of consequence in the household is dead. To be sure, he carouses in the guest-chamber. He is not satisfied with what is set before him, but calls for what he desires. He binds his head with myrtle, drinks deeply, and sings discordantly. He advises the servant to get what fun he can out of life and commends him to the worship of the goddess of love. And all this is in sharp contrast to the lamentations going on at the same time over the death of Alcestis. But at the worst this Heracles is very mild compared with the drunken athlete adventurer of the satyr-plays, devouring with triple rows of teeth both the burnt offering and the coals on which it was being roasted, clashing his jaws, gnashing his grinders, snorting through his nostrils, and sending blasts of wind roaring through his gullet. Moreover, his revelling is done in ignorance, and Euripides takes care to have it done off the stage. Even the account of it is put into the mouth of a servant who misunderstands the hero, and whose words will, therefore, not be taken by the audience at full value.

* Way, *Alcestis*, vv. 499 ff.

⁷ *Amer. Jour. of Philol.*, xvii, p. 52.

As soon as Heracles understands the truth, he is at once serious, even mortified at the position in which he has inadvertently been placed and bursts out with the following fine words:

O much enduring heart and soul of mine
 Now show what son the Lady of Tiryns bare,
 Elektryon's child Alkmene, unto Zeus.
 For I must save the woman newly dead,
 And set Alcestis in this house again,
 And render to Admetus good for good.
 I go. The sable-vestured King of Corpses,
 Death, will I watch for, and shall find, I trow,
 Drinking the death-draught hard beside the tomb.
 And if I lie in wait, and dart from ambush,
 And seize, and with my arms' coil compass him,
 None is there shall deliver from mine hands
 His straining sides, or e'er he yield his prey.
 Yea, though I miss the quarry, and he come not
 Unto the blood-clot, to the sunless homes
 Down will I fare to Kore and her King,
 And make demand. I doubt not I shall lead
 Alcestis up, and give to my host's hands,
 Who to his halls received, nor drave me thence,
 Albeit smitten with affliction sore,
 But hid it, like a prince, respecting me.
 Who is more guest-fain of Thessalians?
 Who in all Hellas?—O he shall not say
 That one so princely showed a base man kindness.²⁸

This is certainly not burlesque, and the dramatic effect of the scene as a whole is hardly comic. Patin, following Villemain, aptly compares the situation with the scene in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, when the musicians, brought by Paris to play at the wedding, sound their light music and afterwards jest with Peter, though Juliet lies dead in a neighboring room.²⁹ In the final situation, also, when Heracles returns with Alcestis, the tone of the scene

²⁸ Vv. 837-860.

²⁹ Patin, *Études sur les tragiques grecs*, I, p. 216.

is not the tone of burlesque. It is rather the tone we find in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, when Hermione is restored to Leontes.

But, we are told, the audience must have had in mind the satyr-like Heracles. Perhaps so, but they might equally well have had in mind the heroic Heracles of epic tradition. When he appeared in the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, he could hardly have been taken as a comic figure. But even the satyr Heracles as a resurrection hero would not come with any shock of surprise to the Athenian audience. Gilbert Murray pertinently says: "To understand Heracles in this scene, one must first remember the traditional connection of Satyrs (and therefore of Satyric heroes) with the reawakening of the dead Earth in spring and the return of human souls to their tribe. Dionysus was, of all the various Kouroi, the one most widely connected with resurrection ideas, and the Satyrs are his attendant demons, who dance magic dances at the return to life of Semele and Persephone. Heracles himself, in certain of his ritual aspects, has similar functions. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 425 f., 365 ff., or my *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, pp. 46 f. This tradition explains, to start with, what Heracles—and this particular sort of revelling Heracles—has to do in a resurrection scene."⁴⁰

Finally it is hard to find any artistic unity and harmony in the play considered as a whole, unless Heracles is a prevaillingly heroic character. John Jay Chapman thinks of the play as delightful comedy throughout,⁴¹ but his interpretation is more ingenious than convincing. Verrall considers the play a thoroughgoing rationalistic criticism of the old legends, Euripides not intending us to believe,

⁴⁰ Murray, *Alcestis*, Note to vv. 1008 ff.

⁴¹ Chapman, *Greek Studies*.

even dramatically, in the rescue of Alcestis from Death. She was, he thinks, the victim of some kind of nervous catalepsy and came to herself just as Heracles arrived at the tomb.⁴² But, so far as I know, Verrall is alone in this belief. If the play is to be taken seriously at all, and as something more than a rationalistic argument, Heracles must be thought of as performing an heroic rôle by rescuing Alcestis from Death and rewarding the hospitality of Admetus. Only enough of the burlesque Heracles is retained to make the character acceptable to the Athenian audience, and to furnish the dramatic contrasts. Of course, Euripides did not actually believe the resurrection of Alcestis an historic fact. But we constantly accept as true for the purposes of the drama what we do not accept as true in fact. Surely we ought to give Euripides credit for intending the only thing which makes his play a great piece of dramatic art.

I have stated that scholars have taken more pains to point out the burlesque origins of the dramatic Heracles than to emphasize his heroic rôle in Euripides' play, but I do not wish to imply that his heroic character has been entirely ignored. Paley said long ago: "The character of Heracles . . . was designed to give a certain spirit and energy to the somewhat tame action of the play . . . and there is no reason why we should be displeased at the part taken by the honest hero. He personifies the *bon-vivant*, the cheerful, benevolent, disinterested friend of mankind. We are touched at this distress when he finds that he has unconsciously misbehaved in a house of mourning; and we are delighted at the generous and unexpected amends he makes by restoring Alcestis from the grave."⁴³ "The dignity of the language, too, which is

⁴² Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist*, pp. 106 ff.

⁴³ Paley, *Euripides*, I, p. 240.

purely tragic, should lead us to doubt whether the poet really intended to associate the idea of the ludicrous with the account of Heracles' doings and sayings over the festive board." ⁴⁴ Earle, in his edition of the play, says: "Heracles is the type of the higher animal nature, not over-fine, but, on the other hand, without a grain of meanness or pettiness in his composition." ⁴⁵ Jerram writes: "In this play Heracles appears to great advantage in comparison with his true satyric character." ⁴⁶ W. L. Hadley, in summarizing the play, remarks, "The servant is followed by the boisterous demi-god himself, merry indeed, but not in the intoxicated state the mortified henchman would have us believe." ⁴⁷ Way calls him "the incarnation of manliness and high courage." ⁴⁸ And Gilbert Murray, though he speaks of the heroic words of Heracles quoted above as "a fine speech, leaving one in doubt whether it is the outburst of a real hero or the vaporing of a half-drunken man," ⁴⁹ also speaks of him as "half-way on his road from the roaring reveler of the satyr-play to the suffering and erring deliverer of tragedy." ⁵⁰

These remarks, however, are largely incidental admissions of latent nobility. The point I have tried to make is that Heracles is more than half-way on his heroic road. Euripides consciously eliminated from the play, as far as practicable considering its position in the tetralogy, the burlesque elements in Heracles' character, and emphasized his old heroic qualities as helper and rewarder of mankind,

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

⁴⁵ Earle, *Euripides' Alcestis* (1894), p. xxv.

⁴⁶ Jerram, *Euripides' Alcestis* (1895), p. xvii.

⁴⁷ Hadley, *The Alcestis of Euripides* (1896), p. xviii.

⁴⁸ Way, *Euripides in English Verse*, I, p. 423.

⁴⁹ Murray, *Alcestis*, p. 78 (note to vv. 837 ff.).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

thus presenting him in a distinctly heroic rôle. Browning's interpretation is, therefore, essentially correct.⁵¹

But again the caution is necessary that origins furnish to genius a point of departure rather than a point of arrival. Browning never left anything just as he found it. He delighted to range through literature and history, to seize upon some individual, historical or fictitious, and to represent the essential truth as to character and situation, at the same time modifying both character and situation to suit his own artistic aims. The character of Heracles is no exception. According to Browning, Heracles is moved to action not so much by the wish to reward Admetus for his hospitality as by his desire to help a friend. He is the spirit, not of compensation, but of self-sacrifice. He is the heroic helper of mankind, willing to risk his life, if need be, in the service of others, not merely a man who is willing to pay for a good meal. Both motives are in the Greek play, but there is doubt as to which is the prevailing one.⁵² Browning, however, has left us no doubt

"Since the writing of this paper, J. A. K. Thomson's *The Greek Tradition* has come to my notice. In the chapter entitled "Alcestis and her Hero," he says: "What Euripides does is to soften down the grotesque elements of the story until we just feel that they are there, lurking possibilities of laughter, giving a faintly ironic but extraordinarily human quality to the pathos of the central situation" (p. 135) . . . "The drunkenness of Heracles is a very mild affair . . . Heracles is a very attractive character. He is a big jovial man, with a great deal of good sense and kindly feeling under that rough lion-skin of his. He is that at all times; but he is something more. One of the finest things in the play is the revelation, at the call of an extreme danger, of the heroic strain in this unassuming son of the god. We are made to feel that the rolistering mood of the feast was but the mask of a more permanent mood, a kind and cheerful stoicism, accepting, though fully conscious, the burden of its duty" (p. 138) . . . "Euripides has made us accept that transfiguration as natural, inevitable. This is great art" (p. 139).

⁵² Verrall's contention, already alluded to, that Euripides did not

in the matter. He clearly makes light of the hospitality *motif* and emphasizes the self-sacrificing spirit of Heracles. He does this not merely by taking advantage of every interpretation of the text favorable to this idea, as we have already seen, but goes out of his way to shower noble epithets upon the hero, which do not appear in the play. For example:

The irresistible and wholesome heart
O' the hero—more than all the mightiness
At labor in the limbs that, for man's sake,
Labored and meant to labor their life long.¹⁰

Heracles, who held his life
Out on his hand, for any man to take.¹¹

Glad to give
Poor flesh and blood their respite and relief
In the interval 'twixt fight and fight again—
All for the world's sake.¹²

The magnanimity
O' the man whose life lay on his hand so light,
As up he stept, pursuing duty still.¹³

Out from the labor into the repose
Ere out again and over head and ears
I' the heart of labor, all for love for man.¹⁴

All cares and pains took wing and flew
Leaving the hero ready to begin
And help mankind.¹⁵

This great benevolence.¹⁶

Gladness be with thee, Helper of our world.¹⁷

. . . . rage to suffer for mankind.¹⁸

Browning's purpose in thus emphasizing the motive of self-sacrifice and subordinating the motive of reward for

make Admetus truly hospitable and that Heracles upbraided him to the last with his unfriendly behavior, is left doubtful by a careful reading of the play.

¹⁰ Vv. 1055 ff.

¹¹ Vv. 1246 ff.

¹² V. 1779.

¹³ Vv. 1076 ff.

¹⁴ Vv. 1724 ff.

¹⁵ V. 1917.

¹⁶ Vv. 1216 ff.

¹⁷ Vv. 1765 ff.

¹⁸ V. 1921.

hospitality is not far to seek. He thought in this way to give a finer unity to his poem. The Greek play has a double interest, interest in the virtue of self-sacrifice and interest in the virtue of hospitality. To be sure the two parts of the play are united by Admetus, the pivotal character, since his selfishness leads to the self-sacrifice of Alcestis and his hospitality leads to her restoration by Heracles. Still, with the double motive the total impression of the play is two-fold and disturbing. Browning has made self-sacrifice the ruling motive throughout; self-sacrifice for the sake of family ties on the part of Alcestis, self-sacrifice for the sake of humanity on the part of Heracles. At the same time the character interest of the play is centralized in a single group contrast, the selfishness and egotism of Admetus being in contrast on the one hand with the self-sacrifice of Alcestis and on the other with the self-forgetfulness of Heracles.

Perhaps the Athenian audience saw in the *Alcestis* more glorification of the virtue of hospitality—one of the chief virtues of the Greeks—than the modern reader sees in *Balaustion's Adventure*. Also, the Greek may have connected Heracles more distinctly with the satyr-traditions than modern readers of Browning do. But this, I submit, is quite as much a difference in what the Greek and the Englishman read into a production as a difference in what the author has put there. Browning neither misread nor misinterpreted his original. Admetus is still hospitable and rises to moral dignity through his repentance. Heracles still has traces of his comic origin. He is neither grotesque nor coarse, but he is always merry and light-hearted. Browning has even eliminated largely the world-weariness which, we have seen, Euripides emphasized at the hero's introduction. Browning just thought he saw a weakness in the double motive of the play and sought to

better it without doing violence to Euripides' fundamental conception.

But the last word has not yet been said. Even though Browning did not change the fundamental conception of Euripides, *Balaustion's Adventure* is nevertheless not a Greek poem; it belongs distinctly to nineteenth-century England. And how so? Not because Browning did violence to the Greek play itself, but because he put it into a romantic setting, which makes the final and total impression distinctly modern. Here is where Browning's creative power appears.

The suggestion for the romantic setting came from a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Nicias*, which tells of the popularity of Euripides among the Sicilians:

Some (Athenians) there were who owed their preservation to Euripides. Of all the Grecians, his was the muse whom the Sicilians were most in love with. From every stranger that landed in their island, they gleaned every small specimen or portion of his work, and communicated it with pleasure to each other. It is said that, on this occasion, a number of Athenians, upon their return home (from the expedition against Syracuse) went to Euripides and thanked him in the most respectful manner for their obligations to his pen; some having been enfranchised for teaching their masters what they remembered of his poems, and others having got refreshment when they were wandering about, after the battle, for singing a few of his verses. Nor is this to be wondered at, since they tell us that when a ship from Caunus, which happened to be pursued by pirates, was going to take shelter in one of their ports, the Sicilians at first refused to admit her; upon asking the crew whether they knew any of the verses of Euripides, and being answered in the affirmative, they received both them and their vessel.^a

Browning has enlarged this into a brilliant description of the Greek world in the fifth century—the enmity of Athens and Sparta, the ill-fated expedition against Syracuse, the fame of Euripides, his character and life—and

^a Plutarch's *Lives* (ed. by Langhorn, 1860), III, p. 36.

has put the entire account into the mouth of a young girl, Balaustion, who is imagined as being in the boat pursued by the pirates. In telling to some companions how she gave to the Syracusans an interpretative recital of the play, she surrounds it with an atmosphere of sentiment which is Victorian English rather than classic Greek. She loves the play. It is to her that "strangest, saddest, sweetest song," by which she saved her life and won a husband. "But hear the play itself," she says:

'Tis the poet speaks;
But if I, too, should try and speak at times,
Leading my love to where your love, perchance,
Climbed earlier, found a nest before you knew—
Why, bear with the poor climber, for love's sake;
Look at Bacchion's beauty opposite,
The temple with the pillars at the porch!
See you not something besides masonry?
What if my words wind in and out the stone
As yonder ivy, the God's parasite?
Though they leap all the way the pillar leads,
Festoon about the marble, foot to frieze,
And serpentiningly enrich the roof,
Toy with some few bees and a bird or two,—
What then? The column holds the cornice up."^a

Exactly. *Balaustion's Adventure* is a genuine Greek building covered with romantic ivy.

After the recital of the play, however, Balaustion goes further; she adds a new and modern interpretation of the story. Admetus is not the weak and selfish king that Euripides pictured, but a hero-king throughout. The music that Apollo made as he tended the flocks and herds had wrought melodious wisdom into the heart of Admetus till he vowed to rule—

solely for his people's sake
Subduing to such end each lust and greed."^a

^a Vv. 343 ff.

^a Vv. 2451-2.

When, his work not half accomplished, he is condemned to die, he thus laments:

O prodigality of life, blind waste
 I' the world, of power profuse without the will
 To make life do its work, deserve its day!
 My ancestors pursued their pleasure, poured
 The blood o' the people out in idle war,
 Or took occasion of some weary peace
 To bid men dig down deep or build up high,
 Spend bone and marrow that the king might feast
 Entrenched and buttressed from the vulgar gaze.
 Yet they all lived, nay, lingered to old age:
 As though Zeus loved that they should laugh to scorn
 The vanity of seeking other ends
 In rule than just the rulers' pastime. They
 Lived; I must die."^a

Then Alcestis tells him she has already arranged to die for him, that he may pursue to the end his great work. With romantic fervor quite unlike the Alcestis of Euripides, who never indulges in romantic love, she says:

So was the pact concluded that I die,
 And thou live on, live for thyself, for me,
 For all the world. Embrace and bid me hail,
 Husband, because I have the victory—
 Am heart, soul, head to foot, one happiness."^a

And when he refuses to accept her sacrifice, she continues:

O thou Admetus, must the pile
 Of truth on truth, which needs but one truth more
 To tower up in completeness, trophy-like,
 Emprise of man, and triumph of the world,
 Must it go over to the ground again
 Because of some faint heart or faltering hand
 Which we, that breathless world about the base,
 Trusted should carry safe to altitude,
 Superimpose o' the summit, our supreme
 Achievement, our victorious coping-stone?

^a Vv. 1476-89.

^a Vv. 2544-48.

Shall thine, Beloved, prove the hand and heart
That fall again, flinch backward at the truth
Would cap and crown the structure this last time—
Precipitate our monumental hope
And strew the earth ignobly yet once more?
Would'st thou, for any joy to be enjoyed
For any sorrow that thou mightst escape,
Unwill thy will to reign a righteous king?
Nowise! And were there two lots, death and life,—
Life, wherein good resolve should go to air,
Death, whereby finest fancy grew plain fact
I' the reign of the survivor,—life or death?
Certainly death, thou choosest. Here stand I
The wedded, the beloved one: hadst thou loved
Her who less worthily could estimate
Both life and death than thou?

Shall Admetus and Alkestis see
Good alike, and alike choose, each for each,
Good,—and yet, each for other, at the last
Choose evil? What? thou soundest in my soul
To depths below the deepest, reachest good
In evil that makes evil good again,
And so allottest to me that I live
And not die—letting die not thee alone,
But all true life that lived in both of us?
Look at me once ere thou decree the lot!
Therewith her whole soul entered into his,
He looked the look back, and Alkestis died.¹⁰

Her spirit passes immediately into Hades; but, because the power of her soul has gone into the soul of Admetus, and made him doubly strong, Persephone believes herself cheated and sends Alcestis back:

Hence, thou deceiver! This is not to die,
If, by the very death that mocks me now,
The life, that's left behind and past my power,
Is formidably doubled.
Two souls in one were formidable odds:
And so, before the embrace relaxed a whit,
The lost eye opened, still beneath the look.¹¹

¹⁰ Vv. 2571-2614.

¹¹ Vv. 2632 ff.

This added interpretation is thoroughly modern in sentiment, thoroughly Victorian, a modern reaction on the ancient classic. It does not show poor scholarship or inadequate literary interpretation. It does not pretend to be Euripidean. It is what a poet of one race and time inspires in a poet of another race and time, an illustration of the "vital push" of poetry, creative through the centuries. As Browning himself says:

Ah, that brave
Bounty of poets, the one royal race
That ever was, or ever will be, in this world!
They give no gift that bounds itself and ends
I' the giving and the taking; theirs so breeds
I' the heart and soul o' the taker, so transmutes
The man who only was a man before,
That he grows godlike in his turn, can give—
He also: share the poet's privilege,
Bring forth new good, new beauty, from the old.*

FREDERICK M. TISDEL.

* Vv. 2416-25.

XXI.—CHARLES LAMB, THE GREATEST OF THE ESSAYISTS¹

It has been the custom of historians of literature to discuss essays as if there were no essential difference between, say the Essays of Bacon and those of Macaulay, or between the *Spectator* and the *Essays in Criticism*. In his recent book, *The English Essay and Essayists*, a work which, however comprehensive, leaves much to be desired on the score of adequacy of treatment, Professor Walker makes a distinction between "essays *par excellence*" and compositions on scientific, philosophical, historical, or critical subjects, which agree with the former, "only in being comparatively short and in being more or less incomplete." Lamb's essays he considers the best example of the "literary form;" yet when he comes to discuss the *Essays of Elia* he does not attempt to show wherein these pieces differ from the compositions of Elia's contemporaries or successors. Every reader is vaguely conscious of a difference of *kind* between the essays of various writers; for example, between those of Macaulay, Stevenson, Carlyle, etc., and the pieces by Hazlitt or Charles Lamb; and it is part of the intention of the following paper to indicate the nature of this difference. Generally speaking, the secret lies in the fact that Lamb carried on the traditions of the English essay, the tradition that found its first conscious spokesman in Bacon, was afterwards perpetuated in the periodical essays of the eighteenth century, and found its fullest, if not its latest, expressions in the *Essays of Elia*.

¹ The remarks on the early history of the essay are a condensation of Chapter I, of *The Beginnings of the English Essay* (University of Toronto Studies) by the present writer.

I

A brief history of the essay from its beginning will help to show Lamb's position amongst the essayists. In the first place, it must be noticed that the essay began, and for a quarter of a century flourished, as a pretty distinct form. Bacon introduced it into English under its present name. Cornwallis,¹ Robert Johnson,² Tuval,³ and the author of *Horae Subsecivae*⁴ published collections which are now unknown except to the specialist. The numerous writings of more recent date bearing the general title have made the essay extremely hard to define, but such was not the case in the first half of the sixteenth century. The custom of essayists, their statements about their own writings, and the definition given by at least one schoolmaster for the guidance of pupils in essay-writing, enable us to distinguish the essay from the mass of pamphlet literature of that time. It is a "short discourse" in prose written in a leisurely manner and in an urbane, non-controversial spirit, in which are developed, according to a plan more or less vague, "undigested" thoughts on such commonplace subjects as ignorance, justice, hate, love, pride, humility, etc. The style, usually aphoristic and epigrammatic, is enlivened by illustration and anecdote generally drawn from classical literature. While the purpose is usually diversion, there is frequently present a more or less didactic tone. Sometimes the commonplaces are the personal experience or feelings of the writer, a feature which is specially noticeable in Montaigne's *Essais* and the compositions of Cornwallis and

¹ *Essayes*, in two parts, 1631.

² *Essaies, or Rather Imperfect Offers*, 1607.

³ *Vade Mecum*, 1629.

⁴ Published in 1620.

Cowley. In Bacon's *Essays* even, there is a great deal of this autobiographical element,—much more than appears on the surface.

Many difficulties are met in applying this description to the actual compositions of acknowledged essay-writers, and the most obvious difficulty lies in the fact that it takes no account of the "critical" essay. Custom seems to have decided that literature is the theme *par excellence* for the essay. Moreover, when literature is the subject, the orthodox, dispassionate essay "mood" is frequently displaced by a pardonable enthusiasm. Several of the early essayists shook tentatively the boughs of the tree of criticism. Bacon's *Of Discourse* treats of the arts of conversation, and *Of Masques and Triumphs* deals with the rules for the proper presentation of two forms of entertainment more or less connected with literature. John Stephen's essay *Of Poetry* (1615) suggests Sidney's *Defence* in many places. Cornwallis's *Of Essayes and Bookes* touches upon almost every kind of literature in the author's usual desultory manner, and Felltham⁵ rambles over the same ground, pausing here and there to examine hastily the questions of literary criticism made current by Sidney's *Defence*. To these children of the Renaissance, such subjects were the commonplaces of conversation. Nothing lay nearer the hearts of these fireside philosophers than the "Bookes" which they loved, and which frequently furnished the occasion of their essays, as they generally supplied them with illustrative anecdote.

The pieces just mentioned are all contained in books of essays. There is here no question of Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* or of Sidney's *Apologie*, all such performances lying quite beyond the scope of the present discus-

⁵ *Resolves*, 1623.

sion. Professor Walker has gone astray in seeking for "Anticipations of the Essay" in the pamphlet literature of the Elizabethan period. Professor Gregory Smith's *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, from which he seems to have drawn most of his material for the chapter, are in no sense essays, except in the loosest of modern applications of the term. There is as much similarity between the urbanity of the essayists and the spirit of Gosson's *School of Abuse* as there is between the sweet reasonableness of Newman's *Apologia* and the venom of Milton's pamphlet on Divorce. Anticipations there were, of course, but they are to be sought in the place to which Bacon pointed, the *Morals* of Plutarch and the *Epistolae* of Seneca; in the classical discourses of John of Salisbury and the half-paganized moral sermons of the mediæval theologians.

The conditions which produced the eighteenth-century periodicals led to a change of tone in the essay, but the instrument remained essentially the same. What we know as the English Renaissance, had run its course in England in matters of literature as well as in religion and politics. Men of letters no longer wrote for the delectation of some few who, like themselves, were steeped in classical lore. The readers for whom they wrote were no longer men of the stay-at-home kind who took a quiet delight in the pagan speculations of a belated stoic philosopher. Their home was the club, the dining-hall, the coffee-house; their subjects of conversation, the last new play, the last book of poetry, the latest fashion, and the latest scandal. Furthermore, the appeal of writers was no longer to men alone. Women had taken their place not only on the stage but amongst the playwrights themselves. In putting forward his project of an academy for women, Defoe expressed his contempt for the barbarism of his so-called civilized country in denying the advantages of education to the

female sex. The number of pamphlets, letters, and books dealing with the deportment and the conversation proper to young ladies, testifies to the growing importance attached by men of letters to women readers.

Steele and Addison provided the vehicle to supply the demand created by this new reading public. As Greene says, "Literature suddenly doffed its stately garb of folio or octavo and stepped abroad in the light and easy dress of pamphlet and essay." The garb had changed, but the essay thus brought into being is not essentially different from the older essay of Bacon and Cowley. The subjects are still the commonplaces of life; but instead of being treated in the abstract, as was generally the custom with the older essayists who wrote for men of learning like themselves, they are presented in the concrete. Instead of a philosophical discourse "Of Petticoats," we see the offending garment brought into the Tatler's Court and gravely banished from the world of fashion. "Of Precedence," "Of Country Manners," "Of False Delicacy," etc., are no longer shown "with their several parts or kinds, with their distinctions, the several causes, adjuncts, and effects of each sort and kinde." We see, instead, a group of country gentlemen acting in a way suggestive of the *noli episcopari* of ecclesiastical procedure; a typical fox-hunting squire, representative of an ignorant gentry who are the greatest enemies of the King and Government; and a linen draper condemned to the loss of his tongue because he talks of such suggestive things as "linen" and "smocks" in the presence of a lady of quality. The purpose of Steele and Addison is frankly different from that of the earlier essayists. Not for diversion simply do they write, but "to banish vice and ignorance out of the territories of Great Britain." The tone of the periodical essays is therefore generally satirical

in contrast with that of the normal essay of the earlier period; but there is noticeable the same classical reserve and detachment as is present in the compositions of Cowley, Cornwallis, and Robert Johnson. Bickerstaff and the *Spectator* always preserve the bearing of a dispassionate observer, of one who is more grieved than angered by the petty foibles of his fellow countrymen. It is to be further noted that controversial subjects as such have no more place in the *Tatler* and *Spectator* than they have in the early essay. Strong adherent as Addison was of the party of the Revolution, he never allowed his political prejudices to lead him into the errors of violence and temper that so often disgrace the pamphlets of his time. The fate of the *Guardian*, if not of the *Tatler*, is a warning to the writer who forsakes the quiet walks of the literary essay for the rocky path of the political pamphlet. Throughout the history of the essay contemporary events and controversial questions have been excluded. The *Tatler* and *Spectator* were the product of the time of Marlborough wars, but how often do the victories of the British arms form topics for discussion in the daily essay? Lamb was an accomplished essayist when England was at death grips with Napoleon, but I recall only a single mention of Bonaparte's name in any of his writings. So it is with religious controversy. Bacon writes dispassionately "Of Religion" at a time when people were thinking much more of differences that separated the sects than of the common bond of fellowship between them.

But again an exception must be made where it is a matter of literary criticism. Writing about a book he loves or dislikes, as the case may be, the essayist is bound to throw aside his characteristic reserve and appear as an ardent advocate or prosecutor. It was so with the Renais-

sance scholars who cultivated the poise and reserve of their classical masters. Even Sir Philip Sidney, a typical product of the Renaissance, wrote with enthusiasm of *Chevy Chase* and with scorn of *Gorboduc*. In the garb of essayists, though not of the kind which affects this discussion closely, Dryden and Temple actually took part in the literary controversy which received its quietus in Swift's *Battle of the Books*. Addison has given up for the time being the rôle of a detached critical observer, to assume that of an advocate. It does not concern us here to discuss Addison's critical essays any further than to note that they glance backward to classical models and classical canons of poetry, that their appeal is to the learned reading public, and that incidentally the writer enforces, even in the Milton papers, his strictures on extravagance in language and conduct.

Steele and Addison have generally been accepted as typical "Augustan" essayists. In taking leave of the century it is only necessary to mention Goldsmith and Johnson as later representatives. *The Citizen of the World* is in no way inferior to the more famous *Spectator*, but why are the *Rambler* and *Idler* now read only from a sense of duty? Is the explanation not found in the fact that Johnson's essays are, generally speaking, a reversion to type? Here we have the old subjects treated abstractly in the manner of Bacon and Cornwallis. It is not enough to say that the style is ponderous. So too is the style of Gibbon and Burke, in a sense, but their subjects are never commonplace. Through Addison, Steele, and Goldsmith we have become accustomed to seeing the foibles and weaknesses of mankind treated in a light, playful fashion; Johnson's attempts to be free and airy usually suggest the effect of a rigadoon played on a trombone. The

ponderous style lends itself more fitly to the serious and abstract, but the day for that kind of essay passed when the curtain was rung down upon "Aphoristic" essayists.

II

Nature and destiny combined to make an essayist of Charles Lamb, as they had combined to make an historian of Gibbon. He says himself that had it not been for an impediment in his speech he should have entered the pulpit; the same defect, "even more than certain personal disqualifications," may have prevented him from going on the stage; his duties as clerk until the age of fifty, and his noble solicitude for his afflicted sister, left him little leisure for prolonged literary effort. On the other hand, these very circumstances forced him to seek expression in the shorter compositions that have made his name famous. But apart altogether from the conditions in which his life was passed, Lamb's genius was suited for the essay. Whatever virtues *Rosamond Gray* and *John Woodvil* possess, they unquestionably show that the author was deficient in constructive powers as well as in capacity for character drawing in story and drama. For one kind of character sketching he had, as will be shown later, a peculiar felicity, but this aptitude merely points with other finger-posts along the highway of the essay.

To get a complete idea of Lamb the essayist, attention must not be centered entirely upon the *Elia* collections. No doubt these contain what Lamb considered the best of his contributions to the London Magazines, but it is difficult to understand some of the omissions. When, for instance, he saw fit to include *On the Artificial Comedy of the Last Century* and *Barrenness of the Imaginative Faculty*, why did he not reprint *On the Tragedies of*

Shakespeare, written in 1811, as he did the *Bachelor's Complaint*, written in the same year? *Edax on Appetite*, *Hospita on Immoderate Indulgence*, and *On the Custom of Hissing at the Theatres*, not to mention a dozen other pieces which are now included in the Miscellaneous Prose, are all worthy of a place in the collection which will be Lamb's passport on the day of Judgment.

"My Essays," wrote Lamb to his publishers, "want no preface; they are *all preface*. A preface is nothing but a talk with the reader; and they do nothing else." This is exactly the attitude of all the earlier essayists. Nothing in Lamb—not even the autobiographical element—is so suggestive of Montaigne as the jovial contempt he frequently shows for any sort of unity in his essays. They are, as all the older essays professed to be, only "imperfect offers, loose sallies of the mind, irregular or undigested pieces,"⁶ that "rather glauce at all things with a running conceit, than insist on any with a slowe discourse."⁷ *In Praise of Chimney Sweepers*, is a good example of what an essay subject may become,—a mere starting point from which various related or unrelated ideas may be developed. With the exception of the last two pages, the *Praise* is so attenuated as to be as near *nil* as can be. The text, *Old China*, is again a mere starting point, the real subject of the piece being the joys of easy poverty as against the cares of affluence. Like Montaigne and Cornwallis, Lamb refuses to "chain himself to the head of his chapter." In the very last lines the original situation, the imaginary theme, is recalled as a joke by the essayist. Of course, an author who indulges in such vagaries may write at any length according to his mood, the allotted space, or the fecundity of his mind. Montaigne writes a

⁶ Johnson's *Dictionary*.

⁷ Tuval, *Vade Mecum*.

couple of pages on the subject *That the House of Parley is Dangerous*, a page on *Idleness*, sixty on *Vanity*, and seventy *Upon Some Verses of Virgil*. But Montaigne was not writing for a magazine, and Lamb was; consequently the latter had to set some limit to his digressions other than that fixed by the fertility of his brain. But there is ample evidence that he approached his subject in just the same way as Montaigne. Professor Walker's statement that the essays of Lamb and Montaigne "could under no circumstances expand into treatises; they are complete in themselves," is meaningless or wrong, or else the critic is insisting upon the formality of the treatise. Take for example one of the essays just mentioned. *In Praise of Chimney Sweepers* is evidently an expansion of a short paper entitled *A Sylvan Surprise* published as *Table Talk* in the *Examiner* ten years earlier. *Rejoicings Upon the New Year's Coming of Age*, one of the sprightliest of all the *Elia* essays, is an expanded form of the *Fable for Twelfth Day* printed in 1802. Furthermore, two paragraphs in the *Rejoicings* were expanded into separate papers which appeared a couple of years later. One of these delightful passages in the longer piece must be quoted: "Order being restored—the young lord (who, to say truth, had been a little ruffled, and put beside his oratory) in as few, and yet obliging words as possible, assured them of entire welcome; and, with a graceful turn, singling out poor *Twenty-ninth of February*, that had sate all this while mumchance at the sideboard, begged to couple his health with that of the good company before him—which he drank accordingly; observing, that he had not seen his honest face any time these four years, with a number of endearing expressions besides. At the same time, removing the solitary Day from the forlorn seat which had been assigned him, he stationed him at his own board, some-

where between the *Greek Calends* and *Latter Lammas*." This is the kernel of the *Remarkable Correspondent* (1825) which complains of the neglect that Hone's *Everyday Book* has shown toward Leap-year's day; it begins "Sir,—I am the youngest of Three hundred and sixty-six brethren—there are no fewer of us—who have the honour, in the words of the good old Song, to call the Sun our Dad." The other instance is the dispute between the Twelfth of August and the Twenty-Third of April which forms the basis for *The Humble Petition of an Unfortunate Day* in Hone's *Everyday Book* two years later.

It is readily seen that most of the pieces which appear in *Elia* as *Popular Fallacies* are just the kind of fancies that Lamb might have expanded into essays. As a matter of fact two or three of these compositions are in Lamb's happiest style and are in no way different from the *Essays*. Numbers XII to XVI contain some of the best work of *Elia*. The last, "The Pleasures of Sulkiness" is much in the style of Montaigne, only here Lamb is poking fun at himself, laying bare, in the manner of Mr. Arnold Bennett, the little, mean, kinks that sometimes tend to warp the most generous soul. One of the Fallacies (that a deformed person is a Lord) was published as a separate piece under the title *A Popular Fallacy*. *Characters of Dramatic writers, contemporary with Shakespeare*, which are not essays in themselves, are best considered as the kernels of essays, rough and ready thoughts occasioned by Lamb's reading, which might have been expanded into real "critical essays."

That Lamb, both consciously and unconsciously, modelled his writings on those of the old masters of English prose there is ample evidence. He has the characteristic attitude of the essayists toward what is old. His predecessors of the seventeenth century were never tired of

quoting the classics; Lamb is constantly quoting the old English classics. The names of Sir Thomas Browne, Fuller, Butler, Marvel, Shakespeare, and the old dramatists are those which most often appear in the essays, and quotations from their writings are to be found in abundance. Classical references of course are numerous, but as has been pointed out, the general reading public of Lamb's day was no longer the kind to respond to such an appeal; moreover, Lamb was thoroughly convinced that his own native English contained stores as rich as any to be found in the literature of Greece and Rome. Not only in the matter of literature does this respect for antiquity, or the antiquated, and neglect of the contemporary appear. The passing of the sun-dial, the change in readers, who no longer read for pleasure as they did thirty years ago, the deterioration in acting, the decay of beggars and schoolmasters, are all subjects of complaint, though of course the complaint must be taken only half seriously. Attention has already been called to the fact that there is but one distinct reference to the Napoleonic wars in all the essays—a fact that is more easily understood in 1917 than it would have been three years ago. References to contemporaries like Hunt, Hazlitt, and Coleridge fall in a different category, being inevitable in autobiographical essays.

Lamb carries on the tradition of Bacon and Addison, yet in a sense he is greater than either. Elia's aphorisms are frequently as wise as Bacon's, but they are not so closely packed together as to form the tissue of the essay. One always feels that Bacon has something very wise to say, that the proper thing to do is to listen attentively. Lamb, on the other hand, frequently startles his readers by some profound observation in the midst of seemingly trivial talk. Frequently it is apparent that Lamb has little or

nothing to say, and then he performs the *tour de force* of holding his reader by saying nothing in a clever, interesting way. *The Convalescent* is an instance. Contrast with this the very next piece *On The Sanity of True Genius*. The former is spun out of mere nothing; in the latter the essayist grapples with a real text. Did Bacon ever sound more profound depths of wisdom than Lamb on the subject of oaths (*Imperfect Sympathies*) or ceremony (*Bachelor's Complaint*)? Whether the answer is "Yes" or "No," there are few readers that will not find Lamb's offering more acceptable than Bacon's. The latter teaches *ex cathedra*, the former inveigles us into the ways of wisdom.

Like Bacon, Lamb occasionally talks in abstract terms, as for example in *Stage Illusion*; more frequently, however, the subject is opened in a general way and illustrated by an interesting anecdote, much in the manner of Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*. Examples of this kind of essay are *Witches and Other Night Fears*, *The Old and New Schoolmaster* and *The Two Races of Men*. But one cannot say that Lamb has any particular method of treatment. He uses every method. In fact, it is Lamb's versatility, his protean temper, his facility of surprise both in individual pieces and in successive essays, that make the *Essays of Elia* supreme amongst their kind. One critic has described the literary essay as being "moulded by some central mood—whimsical, serious or satirical." The adjective "serious" of this description applies suitably to Bacon's essays, individually and in mass; "satirical" to the *Tatler* and *Spectator*; "whimsical" applies with special force to the essays of Lamb. Its application, however, should be in a sense somewhat different from that in which the critic seems to use it. Instead of meaning "odd," let it mean "according to the whim of the moment," and the

term becomes more significant than either serious or satirical, because more inclusive. Lamb is a "whimsical" essayist in both senses of the word. What could be more fantastical than the *Autobiography of Mr. Munden, Rejoicing upon the New Year's Coming of Age, Roast Pig, and the Remarkable Correspondent?* *Tombs of the Abbey* is in a serious vein throughout. None of the other essayists, excepting Steele occasionally, writes with such pathos as permeates *Dream Children* and underlies *The Wedding*. The nice balance preserved between the light and the pathetic in the last named essay is an instance of the danger in declaring that one special mood gives the key to any individual composition of Lamb's. When we speak of satire we think of Lamb in relation to the eighteenth-century periodical essayists. Like Addison's, the satire of Lamb is always light, never vindictive or canine, as is usually the case in Hazlitt's essays. In the *Imperfect Sympathies* the writer suggests that perhaps the imperfection is in himself. *On the Custom of Hissing at the Theatres, Hospita on the Immoderate Indulgence of the Pleasures of the Palate, Edax on Appetite, A Vision of Horns*, and others, are very much in the style of the *Tatler* and *Spectator*. The essay last named immediately suggests Addison's *Vision of Justice* in form and substance, but as compared with the latter is crude and ineffective. Addison's infallible decorum allows him to handle a delicate subject in such a way that only the humor of the satire is impressed upon the reader. Lamb is not always decorous, and in this instance there is something repulsive, a lack of nice taste, which probably persuaded him to omit the piece from the *Elia* collection.

Epigram and aphorism, the stock in trade of the older essayists, are abundantly present everywhere in Lamb, but in using them the nineteenth-century writer has improved

upon his masters. Lamb's purpose is to entertain his readers, not to provide an exercise in mental gymnastics. Bacon parades his witticisms and profound general truths in massed battalions. Lamb's method is to lead them out in extended order—a more effective if less imposing arrangement. The occasional epigram gives a fillip to the intellect and raises the commonplace to a higher plane without forcing the mind to be constantly on the alert. The usual way with Lamb, as with all essayists, is to open up the subject with a striking statement that immediately arrests attention. "The human species," thus he begins *The Two Races of Men*, "according to the best theory I can form of it, is composed of two distinct races, *the men who borrow* and *the men who lend*." "I have no ear—" are the opening words of *A Chapter on Ears*. Wealth of allusion, apt metaphor and simile are qualities of style that every prose writer requires who wishes to be interesting. Lamb's felicity in this respect is too obvious to be insisted upon here; every critic of the essayist has discussed these elements of his style. The peculiar effect of Lamb's style is best expressed in the word "unexpectedness." He can be grave and gay, dignified and playful, grandiose and simple, rhetorical and pathetic in successive compositions and sometimes in the same essay. The style is as whimsical as the mood which produces it, and the exact correspondence of the two constitutes the special charm of Lamb's essays. In this respect he is far superior to all his predecessors. Bacon seldom if ever unbends. The eighteenth-century periodical writers, to whom Lamb is much more nearly allied, are always dignified. To apply a phrase of Mr. Chesterton's, their style never plays the fool, though it sometimes takes a holiday. One never finds in the *Spectator*, the *Tatler*, or the *Citizen of the World* the delightful abandonment, the breathless hilarity

of *Poor Relations*, *The Praise of Chimney Sweepers*, *A Chapter on Ears*, and the *Autobiography of Mr. Munden*. To appreciate the full range of Lamb's power one should read in succession a series like the following; any one of the list given, *Old China*, *Rejoicings upon the New Year's Coming of Age*, *The Tragedies of Shakespeare*, *Sanity of True Genius*, and *Dream Children*.

The seventeenth-century "character" is a form nearly related to the essay. The decade which saw the first edition of Bacon's *Essays* witnessed the appearance of Casaubon's Latin translation of Theophrastus's *Characters*. The normal character is a brief composition consisting of sententious, epigrammatic, often paradoxical statements, defining and describing a person or thing not as an individual but as representative of a class. The essential difference from the essay lies in the concrete treatment of the character and the satirical mood of the writer. But this has reference to the normal type of both character and essay. Frequently the two forms exchange garb to such an extent that the reader, if not the writer, is at a loss to distinguish between them. This tendency towards fusion is well illustrated by the titles of many of the earlier character-books: *Characters upon Essays*,⁸ *Essays and Characters of a Prison*,⁹ *Characters or Essays of Persons, Trades and Places*,¹⁰ etc.

As a writer of characters in the seventeenth-century meaning of the word, Lamb is an adept. But just as he was too versatile an essayist to conform to any particular mould, so in character writing he is too great an adept to confine himself to any form or any particular mood. Sympathy with his fellow-men and his kindly nature would

⁸ Nicholas Breton, 1615

⁹ Gefray Mynshul, 1618.

¹⁰ "R. M." *Micrologia, Characters, etc.*, 1629.

not allow him to indulge in the mordant, satirical humor that ordinarily gives pungency to the seventeenth-century character. Moreover, interest in the life around him forbade his dwelling on the abstract qualities of a class when he saw only the concrete eccentricities of an individual. At the same time Lamb does write characters of the older kind. His versatility is amazing. Nothing makes greater demand upon the "sheer wit" of an author than a character sketch that consists only of happy epigrams; and nothing of the same length in all Elizabethan and Jacobean literature is more clever than the first three paragraphs of *Poor Relations*. At the end of the first he seems to gasp for breath to utter an adequate "apology to your friends." And so for two more pages he seems to challenge the whole field of character writers—Earle, Overbury, Butler, and the rest, to do their worst—or best—and he will meet them on any field with their own weapons. And to round off the piece he gives the pathetic "instance" of "Poor W—" of Christ's college, and "the mysterious figure of an aged gentleman clothed in neat black" whom the author remembered to have seen at his father's table every Saturday. Such a closing recalls the manner of Thomas Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*, but again with a difference, Lamb using instances from his own experience, Fuller drawing them from history. In only one character does Lamb show the bared teeth of the satirist,—in *The Good Clerk*, which is otherwise very reminiscent of his beloved Fuller. The *Character of an Undertaker*, appended to the essay *On Burial Societies*, is entirely in the style of Earle; *Tom Pry* and *Tom Pry's Wife* in the "Lepus" papers recall similar pieces in the *Spectator* and *Tatler*. In *My Relations* Lamb draws the portrait of his "aunt" and his "cousin," James Elia, in the humorous manner and loving spirit of the Sir Roger

de Coverley papers. *The Gentle Giantess* and *A Character* (of Egomet) are more in the modern style of character sketches. The delightful *Convalescent* is a character in Lamb's style only.

As has been remarked above, *Rosamond Gray* and *John Woodvil* prove pretty conclusively that Lamb lacked the capacity for showing the gradual development of character through action and conflict. His genius was not suited to such a task. No character excepting that of Bridget Elia recurs in the essays, and it seems entirely improbable that Lamb had the intention of giving any sort of unity to the *Elia* pieces by this device. Yet the Bridget essays inevitably suggest the Jenny Bickerstaff numbers of the *Tatler* and the Sir Roger papers of the *Spectator*. Whether there was intention or not on the part of Lamb in following the lead of the eighteenth-century masters, it is obvious that Bridget Elia is much more shadowy as a character than either Jenny Bickerstaff or Sir Roger de Coverley. ✓

The autobiographical element in the *Essays of Elia* has often been discussed. For the purpose of this article it is necessary to allude to it only in a general way. The personal element in Lamb's essays shows similarity to, and difference from, the same feature in Montaigne's. Given the key, one can re-construct a great part of Lamb's life from *Elia*. How much could one reconstruct of Montaigne's life from his writings? The latter writes of what he sees, feels, thinks, and reads; Lamb does all that, but also talks frankly of many incidents of his life. The names that one meets in reading Montaigne are those of celebrities, and Montaigne usually speaks of them as such. Lamb talks of famous men of old and of the present, but he also has a great deal to say of his friends and acquaintances. In Lamb's work Coleridge is not so much a great English poet as a close friend of the author; hence there is

a double interest when the names of Coleridge, Hunt, Boyle, and Hazlitt occur. To quote from S. C. Hill's introduction to the second series of the *Essays of Elia*: "In Lamb's writings, as in Montaigne's, the subject is the writer himself—not, however, the mere individual Lamb, but Lamb as he was connected with his numerous friends, as his sympathy identified him with the inhabitants of the great city in which he lived." In other words, Lamb betters the instruction of his masters where the autobiographical as well as where most of the other elements of the essay are concerned.

Many of Lamb's essays are not in the dispassionate essay mood. Frequently the *indignatio saeva* is merely affected, as for instance when he makes his bachelor's complaint against the display of married happiness, or when he warms his wrath against the "sea-charmed emigrants" from town who, trained in the pit of the London concert halls, pretend to find a pleasure in the music of the waves—because it is the fashion. But in *Readers against the Grain* his anger, if not white hot, is genuine, because the offence is simulated, half-hearted, empty loyalty to a sovereign who, according to Lamb's way of thinking, demands whole-souled allegiance or none at all. And this brings us to the subject of Lamb's literary criticism, not the excellence or limitations of it,—that has been treated often enough already,—but its place in Lamb's essays.

When the question is one that concerns literature or any allied subject in which Lamb has a special interest, painting or acting, he never pretends to assume a detached attitude,—that is one of the reasons why his remarks are so readable. *On the Genius and Character of Hogarth* was written quite frankly for the purpose of combating the "vulgar notion" respecting the artist. *The Tragedies of Shakespeare* was inspired by the inscription to Garrick in

the Abbey which practically puts the actor on a par with the dramatist. This aroused Lamb's ire and became the occasion of one of the most famous passages in literary criticism. But Lamb overstated his own case and was led by his passion into uttering a paradox. The same thing happened in the essay *On the Artificial Comedy of the Last Century*. Lamb loved paradox; he loved to shock conventionality. "I like a smuggler," he says in *The Old Margate Hoy*, "he is the only honest thief." He does not approve of the crusade against Beggars, "the oldest and honourablest form of pauperism." Frequently whole passages give the effect of paradox, although he is not stating paradoxes. *Popular Fallacies* witness to the same predilection for the unpopular side. So in the two famous critical pieces mentioned above, he has just been led to utter a paradox and afterwards forced to bolster his thesis with special pleadings. For while there is much truth in every part of these two essays, the total impression that remains after seeing a good performance of one of Shakespeare's tragedies is that they are fitted for presentation on the stage; and after reading many of the comedies of the eighteenth century, one is forced to conclude that the dramatists of that period did take delight in shocking the ordinary views of morality.

III

The claims of most of the essayists since Lamb to precedence may be disposed of without much discussion. By the accident of 1776, if for no other reason, Washington Irving, Emerson, and Oliver Wendell Holmes are disqualified from running. Macaulay, Carlyle, and Matthew Arnold belong to another category of essayists. Their work is nearly all critical or biographical, and the com-

pleteness and finish of the separate pieces belie the real significance of the general title they bear. Moreover, in each case the attitude and the spirit of the writer are far removed from those of the traditional essayist. Macaulay proves his point by mercilessly beating down his opponents with the sledge-hammer blows of his argument. Carlyle poses as a preacher, and not a very happy one. He is generally in a rage with an unbelieving or, worse still, an unthinking generation; and though the passion may be justified and generally does credit to the writer, it militates against his claims as an essayist. In matters of criticism Arnold "settles *hoti's* business, dead from the waist down." *Ipse dixit*. "There nis no more to say." But Arnold really does not call for consideration here at all, as his essays make no claim to be other than critical.

Of all the nineteenth-century essayists who challenge Lamb's position, William Hazlitt deserves first consideration of his claims. If one wished to avoid the issue, the thesis that Lamb was the "last" of the essayists might be defended on the ground of chronology, the collected editions of Hazlitt being slightly earlier than those of Lamb. But the two writers are really contemporaries and should be judged as such. In one respect, Hazlitt is the greater essayist; page for page his writings contain more of wisdom than Lamb's. In this sense Bacon is the greatest of all the essayists. But it has been pointed out that aphorism and epigram may be carried too far, and the combined effect of Hazlitt's rather saturnine genius and epigrammatic style is one of depression, if not fatigue, when several of his essays are read in succession. *On the Knowledge of Character* contains a significant passage; "What is it to me that I can write these Table-Talks? It is true I can, by a reluctant effort, rake up a parcel of half-for-

gotten observations, but they do not float on the surface of my mind, nor stir it with any sense of pleasure, now even of pride. Others have more property in them than I have: *they* may reap the benefit, *I* have only had the pain." This is a far remove from Lamb's "make-shift papers" or "talks" with the reader. Lamb's words, of course, are not to be taken too literally; but it is hard to conceive any of his essays as being the slow product of "reluctant effort." Hazlitt's remarks on men and things are almost always caustic. The "singularity" of the views advanced in *Prometheus Unbound* is the object of several pages of bitter sarcasm. The *amende honorable* which he sees fit to make is an equally bitter arraignment of the "finished common-place" of Mr. Canning's Liverpool speech. Lamb once wrote a sharp letter to Southey, reproaching him for an unjustifiable censure of the irreligion of parts of the *Essays*. All of this letter that Lamb considered as representative of Elia was the part which displayed the least personal animus—*The Tombs in the Abbey*. In the essay, *On Vulgarity and Affectation*, Hazlitt goes out of his way to "make an example" of one who had seen fit to condemn his dramatic criticisms. Such "gall in the ink," while it lends poignancy to the words, detracts from the pleasure of reading the essays as a whole, and points to a real limitation in Hazlitt as an essayist. With all his wisdom, epigram, and paradox, he lacks the versatility of his contemporary. He writes *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, he chats in an extremely interesting and informal way, generally instructive and always stimulating, but he cannot write in all moods and all styles. In all but a very few essays like *Reading Old Books*, one misses the effect of sunshine and blue sky, the effect, say, of such pieces as Lamb's *Mackery End* and *Captain Jackson*.

No one would claim for Leigh Hunt a place amongst essayists as high as that of his contemporary Lamb. Hunt's reputation has inevitably suffered from the effects of his enormous journalistic activity. He produced too much to produce much that is good, and when account is taken of the fact that his abilities at best were only mediocre—at least as compared with those of his brilliant contemporaries—the position he holds amongst essayists is easily explained. Nearly all the critics try to be as charitable with Hunt as they can be with justice, simply because he was, like "The Man in Black" in the *Citizen of the World*, "tolerably good-natured without the least harm in him." The subjects he treats are commonplace, and it must be said his treatment is generally commonplace, sprightly perhaps, but still commonplace. His essays give in the bulk the impression of triviality, dilettantism, diffuseness, even padding. This does not mean that there are not good things to be found, but that much reading is necessary to discover something that is worth while. Hunt should be read in a "pretty" edition. The collection, for example, edited by Arthur Symonds and illustrated by H. M. Brock has this great advantage, that if one tires of the reading one may turn with pleasure to the pictures. Hazlitt's opinion that Leigh Hunt "inherits more of the spirit of Steele than any man since his time," if true, means only that the English Essay had outgrown the garb of the *Tatler*, or that Isaac Bickerstaff had become a mere shade amongst English essayists.

Many are inclined to think that Stevenson's fame will rest upon his essays. Whether this estimate is true or not, he must always be ranked very high amongst English essayists; posterity will ultimately have to decide as to the relative excellence of his novels and essays. The question

to be considered here is whether as an essayist he ranks as high as Charles Lamb, whether after all he is an essayist in the same sense as Lamb. In the first place, Stevenson's essays are usually much longer than Lamb's, and as a rule the compositions of the former have an approximate uniformity in this respect. The contents include a fairly large variety of subject matter, yet the bulk of the literary and biographical pieces is relatively much greater than in the case of Lamb's essays. These are small points, and yet they have a real bearing on the question of the total impression made by the collections of the two essayists. A cursory glance at the table of contents indicates a difference between the two. When the essays themselves are examined simply as "essays," several marked differences appear. As against the "crude, unlicked, incondite things" of Lamb the essays of Stevenson at once impress the reader as being elaborate, complete, *finished* pieces. Such a comparison does not necessarily imply disparagement of the one, nor undue praise of the other. Who shall decide which displays the greater "art" as an essayist? The artist who wrote *Kidnapped* is utterly incapable of dashing off for the press a few casual remarks, wise though they be, on some casual subject. The "gossip" on Romance and the "gossip" on a novel of Dumas's are informal only in name. The impression of impromptu is never gained from reading an essay by Stevenson. He nails himself down to his subject and seldom if ever allows himself to digress. He is even chary of illustrative anecdote, and never abandons himself to the mood of the moment. When a reader picks up a volume of Stevenson's essays, he knows pretty well that he will be adequately repaid for half an hour's reading, but he knows also that his delight will be the disciplined, chastened pleasure derived from reading a lyric or a drama. Contrast

with this the pleasure one gets from the unexpectedness of Lamb's essays, from reading, say *A Chapter on Ears* and then *Dream Children*. The individual reader must say, of course, which kind of pleasure he prefers and thus decide which is his favorite essayist; but Stevenson's is not the way of the traditional essay, the essay of Bacon, of Cowley, of Addison, and Lamb. Besides, there is in Stevenson too much of the participant in life's contests and too little of the spectator to admit him to full communion with the masters.

When mention is made of *The Roundabout Papers*, the nineteenth-century collections that seriously challenge comparison with *Elia* are about exhausted. "In these essaykins," says Thackeray, "I have taken leave to egotise. I cry out about the shoes which pinch me, and, as I fancy, more naturally and pathetically than if my neighbour's corns were trodden under foot." And while the *Roundabouts* treat of almost every conceivable subject in the desultory style of Montaigne, the sentence just quoted gives on the whole the keynote of the collection. The shoes do pinch whoever wears them, and however naturally and pathetically the writer may talk of the discomfort, Thackeray the essayist is always the same as Thackeray the novelist. The "essaykins" are for the most part of a piece with the philosophical digressions one meets so frequently in all Thackeray's novels; somewhat more expanded, of course, and furnished with an occasion or text to give each a sort of unity. "All claret would be port if it could." . . . "In literature, in politics, in the army, the navy, the church, at the bar, in the world, what an immense quantity of cheap liquor is made to do service for better sorts!" The quotations taken from the two essays hardly do justice to the collection as a whole, in which there is a great deal in Thackeray's best style,—

allusion, wit, wisdom, pathos; but the total effect of reading the *Roundabout Papers* is the same as that produced by reading the novels, a feeling of depression.

In the foregoing discussion an attempt has been made to show in outline that the English essay has had an almost unbroken career as a literary form from the time of Bacon to the late nineteenth century, and in particular that the *Essays of Elia* are lineal descendants of ancestors that flourished in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. And not only are Lamb's essays in the main current of what may be called the "literary essay," but precedence may fairly be claimed for them over any other similar collection in English. Lamb used all styles of essay-writing, and in the words of Johnson's epitaph on Goldsmith, he touched nothing which he did not adorn. In skilful handling of the materials with which essayists have worked, aphorism, epigram, character-writing, literary criticism, etc., he has proved himself second to none, and in versatility, whether of style, mood, or wit, superior to all the rest.

W. L. MACDONALD.

XXII.—THE THEME OF DEATH IN *PARADISE LOST*

The theme of Milton's epic, we are told at the beginning of the poem, is man's disobedience, which brought death into the world. If there is a central doctrine in *Paradise Lost*, it would seem to be that death is the inevitable result of sin. The voice of God declares with severe emphasis that man, once become sinful,

To expiate his treason hath naught left,
But to destruction sacred and devote,
He with his whole posterity must die.¹

Death, then, is peculiarly Satan's gift to man; when the devil entered Paradise, he came, we are told, "devising death to them who lived."² Yet in the last two books of the epic Milton apparently contradicts himself; he tells us that death is not a curse but a comforter, not the gift of Satan but the gift of God. That the new account of death should lack none of the authority which the earlier doctrine enjoyed, he puts it also into the mouth of God:

I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him [man] endowed—with Happiness
And Immortality; that fondly lost,
This other served but to eternize woe,
Till I provided Death; so Death becomes
His final remedy.³

To this contradiction between the earlier and the later accounts of death in *Paradise Lost*, this paper would call attention.

A parallel contradiction might be noticed in the earlier

¹ *Paradise Lost*, III, 207 sq.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 197.

³ *Ibid.*, XI, 59 sq.

and the later accounts of sin. For the greater portion of his epic Milton holds that sin is the essential product of evil, the very child of the devil, and that therefore it can produce nothing but further sin, and death at last. Yet at the end of the poem, after Michael has foretold the blessed age when Earth shall be all Paradise, far happier than the first Eden, it seems to have crossed Milton's thought that perhaps we should have lost something, had our original parents clung to their innocence; perhaps we should have lost some spiritual benefit, which no saint would be without.⁴ Adam raises this question—

Full of doubt I stand,
Whether I should repent me now of sin
By me done and occasioned, or rejoice
Much more that much more good thereof shall spring—
To God more glory, more good-will to men
From God—and over wrath grace shall abound.⁵

The idea that sin may serve a good purpose in affording divine mercy something to work on, is unfortunately not unknown to theology, but Milton means more than this ugly paradox. He is expressing a doubt whether what is called sin may not prove to be, here in earthly fortunes, a life-giving benefaction. When Adam confides this doubt to Michael, we expect the archangel to straighten out the remarks into something like orthodoxy; but apparently the heavenly messenger shares Adam's sentiments.

This contradiction in Milton's accounts of death and of sin is here stated somewhat sharply; it is obvious that the illustrations take on a certain exaggeration when isolated from the whole text. It is obvious also that the terms need defining. The death that follows Satan's disobedience, for example, can hardly be identical with the

⁴ Cf. Kenyon's speech in *The Marble Faun*, ch. I.

⁵ *Paradise Lost*, XII, 473 sq.

death that follows Adam's sin, for there is no prospect that Satan will cease to exist. Milton has fortunately made clear for us in his treatise on *Christian Doctrine* what he means by Sin and by Death. He there enumerates the four degrees of death recognized by theologians.⁶ The first degree "comprehends all those evils which lead to death, and which it is agreed came into the world immediately upon the fall of man"—such evils, he continues, as guiltiness, terrors of conscience, the loss of divine favor, "a diminution of the majesty of the human countenance, and a conscious degradation of the mind." The second degree is spiritual death—that is, loss of innate righteousness, loss of understanding to discern the chief good, and loss of liberty to do good. These two degrees of death are defined in the *Christian Doctrine* as applying to man, but in *Paradise Lost* their effects are traced more relentlessly in Satan, the majesty of whose countenance is gradually diminished, whose mind is consciously degraded, and who at last is without understanding to discern the chief good. But the death with which Adam and Eve are threatened, and which Milton allows to obscure the spiritual decay in their characters, is the third degree of death,⁷ the dying of the soul as well as of the body. Milton's opinion is well known, that the soul perishes with the body,⁸ and that at the resurrection all men are to be "made alive" again quite literally, the righteous for immortal happiness, and the wicked for the fourth and last degree of death—everlasting torment.

⁶ Chapter XII.

⁷ Chapter XIII.

⁸ Milton seems to have made the acquaintance of this idea in Calvin's *Psychopannychia* (Opera, ed. Baum, Cunitz, Reuss, vol. v, p. 168), a tract written in 1534 *against* the idea. The doctrine had been taught by certain of the early Anabaptists, whom Calvin felt it necessary to answer.

Even with these definitions, however, the contradiction remains between the theory that all degrees of death are the result of sin, and God's announcement that the third degree of death, the sleep of the soul between this life and the resurrection, is his merciful gift, man's last remedy.

The definition of sin in the *Christian Doctrine*⁹ seems at first less important than the discussion of death, but it suggests certain reflections on *Paradise Lost* which perhaps explain the contradictory accounts of death there given. Sin is defined as disobedience, as transgression of law; and two kinds of sin are noticed—that which is common to all men, and that which is personal to each individual. Personal sin, however, flows from the general guiltiness of the race, and every later form of wrongdoing is traceable to the first disobedience in Eden. We sometimes forget that *Paradise Lost* illustrates "all our woe" as well as the single cause of it, and that Milton was committed by his program to a portrayal not only of the act in which all men with Adam sinned and died, but also of some personal acts in which sinful individuals disclose their ruined disposition. We sometimes fail to observe that whereas Adam and Eve before the fall represent the whole race allegorically, he standing as a symbol for all his sons and she for all her daughters, after the fall they are two individuals, suffering the consequences of a particular sin which they alone committed, and representing the race not allegorically but poetically, as Macbeth or Oedipus represents it. Milton marks the difference by the forms of address which Adam and Eve use toward each other. As Miss Barstow has pointed out,¹⁰

⁹ Chapter XI.

¹⁰ Marjorie Barstow, "Milton's Use of the Forms of Epic Address," *Modern Language Notes* (February, 1916), XXXI, p. 120.

before the fall they address each other in phrases which reflect what Milton conceives to be the universal relation of man and woman—"Daughter of God and Man,"¹¹ "O thou for whom and from whom I was formed,"¹² "My author and disposer,"¹³ but after the fall, when they are become individuals, they call each other simply "Adam" and "Eve." But the change goes deeper than the form of address. The critics of *Paradise Lost* who find Adam and Eve somewhat tiresome and insipid, have probably not read the latter part of the epic; for the moment Milton treats these two characters as individuals rather than as symbolic types, he confesses by implication that to him also the allegorical Adam was a bore, and he spends some effort to give Eve her rights. Her first impulse on eating the apple is to "keep the odds of knowledge in her power,"¹⁴ to be a match at last for that all but omniscient man; but immediately reflecting that when she is extinct, God may create another Eve in her place, she resolves that Adam must share with her in bliss or woe. When Adam, out of magnanimous love, has eaten the apple, determined to die with her, and when he realizes what the sacrifice has cost, he upbraids her in highly individual terms, though still, it must be confessed, with a thought of the superfluousness of woman in general. If his own personality is most revealed in that outburst of wrath and scorn, the character of Eve is discovered in her advice to cheat death;¹⁵ if all their children are to die, she says, they must have no children—perhaps it were best to commit suicide at once. Though Adam hesitates to follow this counsel, giving Hamlet's reason, that beyond the certain sleep of death there may be uncertain adventures,

¹¹ *Paradise Lost*, IV, 660.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV, 440.

¹³ *Ibid.*, IV, 636.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 820.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, X, 985.

yet his admiration for the advice is sincere and unorthodox.

Milton, then, treats Adam and Eve before the fall as epic characters, who represent the race in a great crisis; but after the fall he treats them as actors in a drama, who reap the results of their past decisions. In the early drafts of his masterpiece, he planned a drama with epic elements; the epic which he finally wrote, however, proved in its best moments to be a drama. What he says of death in the epic part of the story comes with propriety from the mouth of God, whose will, in the beginning of the poem, is illustrated on earth; but what he says of death after the fall might better have been put, not in the speech of God nor of Michael, but in the words of Adam and Eve, since it is the reflection of their dramatic experience. It is natural for Adam, conscious of the loss of happiness, to look on death as a release, but we are shocked when the sentiment proceeds as an epic statement from the deity. When Adam sees that all is not lost, that through the love of God the race may be saved for a second and nobler innocence, it is dramatically fitting that he should be rather proud than otherwise of his sin, which brings about the benefit; but we are surprised that Michael, the epic messenger, permits such demoralizing comfort. (How exclusively dramatic the epic becomes when once Adam and Eve are individualized, is clear when we reflect how easily the epic machinery might be spared—the scenes in heaven, the angelic messengers—and how much the important passages would gain if they were converted into a frankly dramatic form.) In many of the conversations between Michael and Adam, Adam is really arguing with himself, though one side of the meditation happens to be externalized in the archangel. The scene in which Adam has his

first sight of death,¹⁶ is cast in the epic manner; ostensibly Michael is revealing to him the future, the will of heaven. But the effect of the scene is dramatic; we are interested not in the prophecy of Cain and Abel, but in the adjustment of Adam's character to the world before him. The scene, therefore, is essentially a monologue, such as Hamlet might have spoken—the sequence of ideas by which man, starting in horror from his first sight of death, concludes at last that death is a release, a remedy. Michael is not necessary to the episode. Adam's first reaction is of horror at the sight of death; his second reaction is of horror at loathsome forms of life; his third reaction is of resignation, after seeing the penalties of even the gentlest end, old age—the penalties of lost strength, of lost beauty, of blunted senses, of pleasure and cheerfulness foregone. He says at the real end of the monologue—

Henceforth I fly not death, nor would prolong
Life much—bent rather how I may be quit,
Fairest and easiest, of this cumbrous charge.

The famous comment which Michael makes in reply is usually read as an epic speech, a voice from heaven of warning or direction; to ascribe the words to Michael was, however, only Milton's concession to the epic machinery he thought he ought to use. The comment is but a more sententious phrasing of that resignation which Adam had already mastered, after first clinging to life and then loathing it—

Nor love thy life, nor hate, but what thou livest
Live well.¹⁷

That Milton intended to differentiate between Adam and Eve as types and the same characters as individuals,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XI, 461 *sq.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XI, 549.

seems evident from the different forms of address they use toward each other; but we wonder if he realized how dramatic his epic became. He may not have been conscious of the extent to which he changed his original scheme, nor of the contradictions he was setting up in the treatment of sin and of death. It was probably with him as with so many other great poets—the theme which he announced proved but a point of departure, what he finally developed was his own nature, and his nature was greater than his theme. The significance of the contradiction in the accounts of death and of sin is that in the later accounts the larger Milton speaks, the poet rather than the theologian. When he was preparing his epic for the press, presumably when he was finishing the last books, he had arrived at an independence in religion which would make the story of Eden distasteful to him.¹⁸ Virtue is obedience, sin is disobedience, says Adam. But obedience to what? The mature Milton was accustomed to obey his own conscience before any ordinance; when he defined sin¹⁹ as transgression of the law, he hastened to say that “by law is here meant in the first place, that rule of conscience which is innate, and engraven in the minds of men.” Evidently his epic theme would embarrass him, in so far as it turned upon obedience to a kind of police regulation. But Milton was also, to the end of his days, a renaissance spirit, loving this world as a scene for action, for chivalric virtues; the beautiful paradise which he drew, he may have believed in historically, but he never desired that kind of sequestration for himself. [Some

¹⁸ See Paul Chauvet, *La Religion de Milton*, Paris, 1909. Also Margaret Lewis Bailey, *Milton and Jakob Boehme*, New York, 1914, Chapter IV.

¹⁹ *Christian Doctrine*, Chapter XI.

passages in the fourth book doubtless represent genuine ideals, yet in the main it is not unfair to say that Milton's true paradise, his ideal world, does not figure in the poem until Adam and Eve are about to be driven from Eden. If he had remained chiefly a theologian, he would have terminated the poem in a decent melancholy, considering what the race, according to the theologian, had lost; but as a matter of fact, when once the sin is fairly committed, the epic becomes appreciably livelier, more liberal, more sympathetic, more hopeful,—and Milton feels free to identify himself with his characters. Though he has diminished the grandeur of Satan's countenance, to show the effect of sin, he cannot bring himself to make the man and the woman less beautiful. God announces that they are not to leave Paradise disconsolate, and they indeed go out in excellent spirits, except for the inconvenience, as Eve laments,²⁰ of leaving the home one is accustomed to. But for the world before them they had nothing but zest. At last they were to travel and to see life—in short, to have a renaissance career. Here speaks the Milton of the *Areopagitica*: "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat."

If these contradictory accounts of death and of sin in *Paradise Lost* can be thus reconciled with Milton's character, it is unnecessary to reconcile them with each other. They arise apparently from the double representation of Adam and Eve as allegorical types and as individuals. Imagining them as individuals, Milton allowed his genuine ideals to govern the portrait. The theologian in him

²⁰ *Paradise Lost*, XI, 268 sq.

was persuaded that death was a curse, the result of sin; but the poet in him uttered his true opinion, after a long and exhausting life, that death is a heaven-sent release. From this conviction he did not again vary; he merely elaborated it in *Samson Agonistes*.

JOHN ERSKINE.

XXIII.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRIEF NARRATIVE IN MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE:
A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Brief narrative, at first thought, connotes the abridged fiction of low grade with which American magazines are now saturated; but as soon as the term is used to cover the whole field in modern literature, it calls to mind a *genre* which, under various names, has risen to a position of dignity in many places in the world and has worthily engaged the attention of literary historians, particularly in America and in Germany.

The chief features in the development of the form in the United States and England have been discussed at length, and there is now a definitive record, with abundant bibliographical apparatus, of its evolution.¹ Poe is looked upon as the pioneer, and his perpetually quoted definition (1842) has set a standard for the majority of the practitioners of the art in the English language. The form suggests, for America, such experts as Hawthorne, Bret Harte, and Henry James; in England it does not gain the attention of writers of the first magnitude until near the end of the century, in the persons of Stevenson and Kipling.

The German *Novelle* has been subjected to even closer scrutiny, as appears from a recent monograph by Profes-

¹ Cf. Brander Matthews, *The Philosophy of the Short-Story*, New York, 1901; H. S. Canby, *The Short Story*, New York, 1902; Bliss Perry, *A Study of Prose Fiction*, Boston, 1902; C. S. Baldwin, *American Short Stories*, New York, 1909; H. S. Canby, *The Short Story in English*, New York, 1909; C. A. Smith, *The American Short Story*, Boston, 1912.

sor Mitchell,² wherein he reviews the territory from the first noteworthy attempt at a definition, that of the brothers Schlegel, through Goethe and Tieck to Spielhagen and Paul Heyse.

Both types, it has been demonstrated, are essentially different from the novel, as regards narrative concentration, and they vary from each other chiefly in that the American form aims "to produce a single narrative effect with the greatest economy of means that is consistent with the utmost emphasis,"³ while the *Novelle*, although it likewise requires a high degree of unity, is far less restricted and does not need to be superlatively compact.

Now it is amazing that there exists no similar history of the practice and theory of the French *conte* and *nouvelle*. France possesses an impressive brief-narrative literature, the product of a corresponding period, yet, except for casual references and a few special articles,⁴ the problem of its development has not been considered.

It is for such an investigation that a plan is here offered and certain landmarks indicated which may prove useful guides.

Those literary historians, for the most part Americans, who have glanced at the subject, are inclined to choose the neighborhood of 1830 as a point of departure. With this there is no reason to disagree, as will presently be shown, provided it is realized that these critics are deliberately looking at the matter from a special angle. They are writing from the point of view of the American short-

² *Heyse and his predecessors in the theory of the Novelle*, Frankfurt, 1915.

³ Clayton Hamilton, *Materials and Methods of Fiction*, New York, 1908, p. 173.

⁴ Cf. a list of these in my article on *Balzac and the Short-Story*, *Modern Philology*, XII, p. 72, note 2.

story and they mean that a type of narrative identical with this began to develop in France about 1830. An examination of the field so conducted is worth while and must be taken into account in the present article, where, to avoid confusion, the expression "short-story" will be used only in application to the distinctive American type or to the French form which exactly corresponds to it.

But whoever considers the mass of brief-narrative literature in modern France will discover a multitude of pieces of merit that stand outside of these limits, and obviously, in a complete history, these may not be neglected.

With the angle of vision widened, it becomes necessary to include an earlier period, to look back into the preceding century. Indeed, Professor Hart, in an article on the *fabliaux*,⁵ connects modern brief narrative with the Middle Ages, and no doubt the ultimate record must contain a summary of the antecedents of the modern *conte* and *nouvelle* which shall be as inclusive as this. The notable developments, however, hardly extend beyond the last hundred and fifty years.

A pioneer theorist, perhaps the earliest, is Marmontel, writing in the supplement to Diderot's *Encyclopédie* in 1776. The novelty of his view will stand out by contrast if one first glances at the brief-narrative criticism found in the original edition of the *Encyclopédie* (1754 is the date of the volume in question). The comment here is both meagre and uncertain. D'Alembert, describing *conte*, *fable*, and *roman* as synonyms, affirms "que *conte* est une *histoire fausse et courte* . . . ou une *fable sans but moral*; et *roman* un long *conte*." ⁶ And Diderot, supplying the

⁵ *The Narrative Art of the Old French Fabliaux*, Kittredge Anniversary Papers, Boston, 1913.

⁶ Vol. iv, p. 111. D'Alembert continues: "On dit les *fables* de

comparison of *conte* and *fable*, in the department of *Belles-Lettres*, underlines the shapelessness of the former:

Il y a cette différence entre le *conte* et la *fable* que la *fable* ne contient qu'un seul et unique fait, renfermé dans un certain espace déterminé, et achevé dans un seul temps . . . au lieu qu'il n'y a dans le *conte* ni unité de temps, ni unité d'action ni unité de lieu.⁷

Marmontel, on the other hand, writes with precision, and, contrary to his predecessors, insists upon a degree of unity and believes there is an essential distinction between *roman* and *conte*. He contends that

un récit qui ne serait qu'un enchaînement d'aventures, sans cette tendance commune qui les réunit en un point et les réduit à l'unité, ce récit serait un roman et ne serait pas un conte.⁸

This remark must be emphasized, for it is apparently the first suggestion ever made that the difference between extended and brief narrative should be more than a matter of length. Professor Matthews, more than one hundred years later, appears to be the first critic to make the distinction for American and English literature,⁹ while in

Lafontaine, les *contes* du même auteur, les *contes* de Madame d'Au-
noy, le *roman* de la princesse de Clèves. *Conte* se dit aussi des
histoires plaisantes, vraies ou fausses, que l'on fait dans la conver-
sation. *Fable*, d'un fait historique donné pour vrai, et reconnu pour
faux; et *roman*, d'une suite d'aventures singulières réellement ar-
rivées à quelqu'un."

⁷ *Id.*, *ibid.* The definition is not written by Diderot, but provided by him as editor. It goes on: "La *fable* est souvent un monologue ou une scène de comédie; le *conte* est une suite de comédies enchaînées les unes aux autres. Lafontaine excelle dans les deux genres, quoiqu'il ait quelques *fables* de trop, et quelques *contes* trop longs."

⁸ *Nouveau dictionnaire pour servir de supplément aux dictionnaires des sciences*, etc., Paris, 1776, II, p. 569. The article is to be found, enlarged and revised, in Marmontel's *Éléments de Littérature* (*Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1818, XII, pp. 521 ff.).

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 77. Professor Matthews points out indeed that "there

the case of Germany the first significant differentiation of *Roman* and *Novelle* is found in an essay on the subject by Mundt, dating 1833.¹⁰ Marmontel has the prior claim by half a century.¹¹

It may not be implied that he has a carefully elaborated theory comparable to Mundt's or to Professor Matthews's. Instead of developing the idea contained in the above quotation, Marmontel turns at once to other phases of narration.¹²

Yet, in the preface to his own *Contes moraux*,¹³ and in a few of these stories, he does reveal some of the possi-

is little doubt that Poe felt it [the difference], even if he did not formulate it in set terms."

¹⁰ Cf. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

¹¹ An article published the same year in the *Bibliothèque universelle des Romans* (Paris, Lacombe, octobre, 1776, p. 11) refers to "le genre des Nouvelles ou petits Romans." And in the preceding year the *Discours préliminaire* of this collection (juillet, 1775, p. 21) affirms that both *contes* and *nouvelles* are "Romans abrégés." I find no suggestion of any distinction at this period between *conte* and *nouvelle*.

¹² In the initial paragraph Marmontel presents his philosophy of the *conte*: "Le conte est à la comédie ce que l'épopée est à la tragédie, mais en petit, et voici pourquoi: l'action comique n'ayant ni la même importance, ni la même chaleur d'intérêt que l'action tragique, elle ne saurait nous attacher aussi longtemps lorsqu'elle est en simple récit. Les grandes choses nous semblent dignes d'être amenées de loin, et d'être attendues avec une longue inquiétude; les choses familières fatigueraient bientôt l'attention du lecteur, si au lieu d'agacer légèrement sa curiosité par de petites suspensions, elles la rebutaient par de longs épisodes. Il est rare d'ailleurs, qu'une action comique soit assez riche en incidents et en détails, pour donner lieu à des descriptions étendues et à de longues scènes." This and other remarks in the article should be thoughtfully considered in the light of whatever information may later be gathered as to the status of brief narrative in Marmontel's period.

¹³ *Œuvres complètes*, III, pp. ix-xvi. Two items in this preface seem to contain in embryo theories afterwards evolved in Germany. The view of Spielhagen that brief narrative by its nature is not

bilities of his definition. The core of each of his narratives, obviously enough, is a moral: each, he tells us, is meant to express one truth, to bring out one characteristic of human nature. He describes his conception in the case of a story named *Il le fallait* as follows:

On ne dit pas assez aux jeunes hommes combien pour eux les lois de la probité sont sévères, et dans quel labyrinthe de malheur et de honte un seul pas au-delà des bornes du vrai, du juste et de l'honnête se trouve quelquefois les avoir engagés. Je vais en donner un exemple.¹⁴

From the point of view of technique the advantage of this procedure, of setting out invariably with one preconceived object, lies in the resultant singleness of effect. In this particular story, for example, the unity is deep-seated. Thanks to what Marmontel would call "une tendance commune," a central idea, the events are amalgamated, and the result is a narrative totality equidistant from anecdote and novel.¹⁵

adapted to dealing with the development of character, is already suggested in Marmontel's remark (xiii-xiv): "Il est des caractères qui, pour être présentés dans toute leur force, exigent des combinaisons et des développements dont un conte n'est pas susceptible. . ." And the device later conceived by Tieck of having as a turning point in a *Novelle* an event simple and likely to happen any day, yet, in the circumstances, of special consequence, is foreshadowed in the statement (p. xiv): "A la vérité des caractères j'ai voulu joindre la simplicité des moyens, et je n'ai guère pris que les plus familiers. Ainsi un serin me sert à détromper et à guérir une femme de l'aveugle passion qui l'obsède; ainsi, quelques traits changés à un tableau réconcilient deux époux. . . ."

¹⁴ *Œuvres complètes*, vi, p. 1.

¹⁵ Other stories of this order are *le Mari sylvain* and *les Rivaux d'eux-mêmes*. In many cases, on the other hand, the promise of the method is not realized. Cf. the story called *Heureusement*, wherein, Marmontel explains (vol. III, p. x), he tried "de faire voir à quoi tient le plus souvent la vertu d'une honnête femme, et combien sa faiblesse doit la rendre indulgente pour les fautes mêmes qu'elle

It is to tales like this that one may apply, with point, the remark made by Marmontel's publisher in a notice to the collection known as *Nouveaux contes moraux*:

Une fiction de peu d'étendue, régulièrement conduite, ayant un but moral, et formée . . . d'une suite d'événements naturels, empruntés de la vie commune, ne présente pas sans doute le mérite d'une aussi grande difficulté vaincue qu'un grand roman, où la naissance, les progrès, les effets des passions sont mis sous nos yeux, où sont en action un grand nombre de caractères, et où la multitude et la variété des événements et de leurs causes réveillent et exercent tous les genres de sentiments; mais c'est aussi un mérite de dessiner avec vérité plusieurs caractères dans un cadre plus resserré, de faire naître l'intérêt dans un récit peu étendu.¹⁶

As literature Marmontel's stories are intolerable, and it is impossible to subscribe to the publisher's not disinterested encomium. Yet, if structure alone be considered, it is likely that Marmontel was decidedly influential in introducing a special type of narrative, of a unity distinct from that of the novel, where a few characters act within prescribed limits.

This notice dates from 1801, two years after Marmontel's death. The narrative concentration which it outlines is strikingly illustrated a few years later in *Adolphe*, by Benjamin Constant (1806).¹⁷ This story, according to the author, was written "dans l'unique pensée de con-

a su éviter." The result is merely a string of anecdotes, of instances where a lady nearly succumbs to temptation. Observe also that in his definition of *conte* Marmontel selects, as examples of stories with a "tendance commune," *Joconde* and *la Fiancée du roi de Garbe* (referring presumably to La Fontaine's versions of these), narratives which have no more unity than *Heureusement*. That is to say, in these cases Marmontel did not carry his definition to its possible consequences.

¹⁶ *Œuvres complètes*, iv, pp. 243-244.

¹⁷ Completed in 1806 but not published until 1816. Cf. *RLR*, 1898, p. 229.

vaincre deux ou trois amis . . . de la possibilité de donner une sorte d'intérêt à un roman dont les personnages se réduisaient à deux, et dont la situation serait toujours la même." ¹⁸ Although there were other motives, not here acknowledged, for the writing of *Adolphe*, the remark continues to be of interest. A perusal of *Adolphe* reveals expert composition, sharp focussing of attention upon the single theme, and even leaves the reader convinced of its propinquity to the later developed short-story type. ¹⁹

A comment parallel to that of Constant is found in the preface to Balzac's *Argow le pirate* (1824). ²⁰ Balzac desires the reader to observe the essential simplicity of his story and explains:

En général l'on ne se tire d'affaire dans la composition d'un roman que par la multitude des personnages et la variété des situations, et l'on n'a pas beaucoup d'exemples de romans à deux ou trois personnages, restreints à une seule situation. ²¹

The performance falls short of the plan; *Argow le pirate* is diffuse. The conception, however, is precisely Constant's and not remote from Marmontel's, and suggests an aspect of the problem, namely the question of the influence upon brief narrative of the condensed novel, which requires further investigation.

¹⁸ *Adolphe*, Paris, 1864, pp. 29-30 (Préface de la troisième édition).

¹⁹ Cf. Professor Lanson on the composition of *Adolphe*: "Rien de plus classique que ce roman à deux personnages, où les sobres indications de cadre et de milieu laissent la crise morale s'étaler largement" (*Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1908, p. 978).

²⁰ Cf. Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres de Balzac*, Paris, 1888, p. 256.

²¹ Vol. I, p. 15. Balzac had apparently not read *Adolphe* at this time (cf. Le Breton, *Balzac*, Paris, 1905, p. 76), for he adds that "dans ce genre, *Caleb Williams*, le chef-d'œuvre du célèbre Godwin, est, de notre époque, le seul ouvrage que l'on connaisse. . . ." Constant also was acquainted with *Caleb Williams*, but seems to have been more interested in the author's political theories than in his fiction (cf. *RLR*, 1898, p. 210).

By 1830, it has been stated, there are signs of the development of a French form comparable to the American short-story. Mérimée and Gautier have been accredited, by the American critics, with pioneer work: Professor Canby says that the former "in such a story as *Mateo Falcone* (1829) had illustrated the art of single effect in a short story before Poe's first tale was published,"²² and Professor Baldwin considers Gautier's *la Morte amoureuse* (1836) the first genuine short-story in France, and sums up with the remark: "it is safe to put forward as a working hypothesis that the new form was invented by France and by America, and by each independently for itself."²³

In general the American view, which is offered merely as a hypothesis, is acceptable, although evidence can be adduced that suggests a revision of details. It can be demonstrated, for example, that Gautier's activities in this field begin not with *la Morte amoureuse* but as early as 1831.²⁴ And the remark of Balzac, quoted above, to the effect that there is a peculiar virtue in a narrative wherein there are only a few characters, restricted to a single situation, later bore fruit in his own work in the

²² Canby, *Study of the Short Story*, New York, 1913, p. 45. Cf. Lauvrière, *Poe*, Paris, 1904, p. 646: "L'énergique laconisme de la nouvelle avait été porté par Mérimée à un haut degré de perfection avant que Poe qui en profita peut-être ne l'eût remis en vogue."

²³ *Op. cit.*, Intro., p. 34.

²⁴ At the commencement of Gautier's literary career, in 1831, stands a story, *la Cafetière*, which in conception if not in execution is quite comparable to the Poe type, and between this date and 1836 there are four others which may be said to approach the short-story and which offer interesting and conclusive evidence that during this period of five years Gautier was advancing, consciously or not, toward the form finally achieved. Cf. *Onuphrius*; *Omphale*; the story of a youth and a *grisette* inserted in *Sous la table*; and the story without name published by Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres de Théophile Gautier*, Paris, 1887, vol. I, pp. 8-11. The last two are little more than amplified anecdotes, but they have the short-story stamp.

form of three tales, *une Passion dans le désert* (1830), *Jésus-Christ en Flandre* (1831), and *la Grande Bretèche* (1832), which may be classified as, in the American sense, short-stories.²⁵

The essential fact, however, remains as stated; in the neighborhood of 1830 there is a notable advance. Unhappily for the historian, neither Mérimée nor Balzac nor Gautier makes any declaration during this period that illuminates his processes, and, curiously enough, no sooner is the form launched than its originators, except Mérimée, abandon it. And Mérimée's persistence is intermittent.²⁶

So the complete history of the genesis of the form must determine what other men, if any, wrote short-stories in this period, up to about 1840. Anything before that point may probably be stamped as an independent French product. At the beginning of the next decade are published the first translations of the work of Poe (1841).²⁷ The American becomes more and more widely known in France, in 1846 appears an important critical estimate of his works,²⁸ in 1848 begin the translations by Baudelaire, and in 1857 Baudelaire reproduces the famous Poe definition. Therefore, as the century advances the influence of Poe must be taken more and more into account.

To return, however, to the three writers who relinquished this type, the French short-story, after creating it, it is found that they also wrote brief narrative of another

²⁵ Cf. the article on *Balzac and the short-story*, referred to above, p. 584, note 4.

²⁶ L'Abbé Aubain (1846) is short-story though certainly not conventional, and *la Chambre bleue* (1866), *toute proportion gardée*, suggests O. Henry.

²⁷ Cf. Retinger, *le Conte fantastique dans le romantisme français*, Paris, 1909, p. 33, note. On French translations of Poe cf. also Lauvrière, *op. cit.*, and Morris, *Cooper et Poe d'après la critique française du dix-neuvième siècle*, Paris, 1912.

²⁸ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 octobre, 1846.

stamp, much more reminiscent of the theory presented by Marmontel. Balzac's *la Femme abandonnée* (1832) is an example of a number of narratives that are without the compactness necessary from Poe's point of view and that, as a result of developing a more elaborate structure about a single nucleus, nevertheless achieve a unity quite as artistic.²⁹

Here too these men were more given to practice than to theory. Gautier, however, on one occasion offers unconsciously a useful clue. In *Arria Marcella* (1852) he stops short to remark that he is presenting "le simple récit d'une aventure bizarre et peu croyable, quoique vraie,"³⁰ and it can easily be proven that this purely casual statement is nearly identical with Goethe's famous definition of the *Novelle*: "Was ist eine Novelle anders als eine sich ereignete unerhörte Begebenheit?"³¹ There is no evidence that Gautier was inspired by the German,³² and the words that so neatly correspond to Goethe's, and in addition so well epitomize his own processes, appear to be a felicitous accident.

But, taken in conjunction with the observable practice of the three Frenchmen, this remark leads to the suggestion that, alongside of the French short-story, there is developing another distinctive type of brief narrative that may approach the German *Novelle*. The idea is presented without emphasis, since it would be unfortunate to appraise the French product constantly according to a for-

²⁹ Other instances in his work are *Adieu* (1830) and *le Succube* (1833). Cf. Gautier's *Nuit de Orléopâtre* (1838), *le Roi Candaule* (1844), *Arria Marcella* (1852), etc.; Mérimée's *Tamango* (1829), *le Vase étrusque* (1830), *il Viccolo di Madama Lucrezia* (1846), etc.

³⁰ *Romans et contes*, Paris, Charpentier, p. 273.

³¹ *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, 29. Jan., 1827.

³² There are a few casual references to Goethe in Gautier's works. Cf. *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, Paris, 1859, I, p. 193; IV, p. 337.

eign standard. Yet, properly restricted, the comparison may prove useful.

A pause and a glance backward at brief narrative before 1850 now reveal the facts in fairly correct perspective. Marmontel is a pioneer, and the distinction he foreshadowed between extended and brief narrative is vital. After Marmontel there is no swift advance until about 1830, when two forms begin to develop, one comparable for singleness of effect and superlative concision to the American short-story, another unified but far less restricted and comparable in some respects to the German *Novelle*. Both are contained in germ in Marmontel, although they can hardly be a direct outgrowth.

From the middle of the century on, currents and cross-currents intermingle. It is not likely that the two varieties of brief narrative progress steadily along parallel lines; there must be at times amalgamation, the introduction of new elements, perhaps the creation of other varieties. An interesting variation is found in *le Procureur de Judée*, by Anatole France,³³ wherein, as with Poe, the tendency of every word is to the one pre-established design,³⁴ but wherein, contrary to the practice of Poe and that of the French short-story writers, the tendency is deliberately and consistently the reverse of direct. Foreign influences have to be weighed, that of Poe, as has been suggested, that of the Germans, whose *Novelle* theories culminate in the definition of Paul Heyse published in 1871, that of the Russians.³⁵ Conditions of periodical publica-

³³ The first story in the collection entitled *l'Etui de nacre*.

³⁴ Cf. Poe's definition, *Works*, New York, Crowell, 1902, XI, p. 108.

³⁵ Cf. Baldwin, *op. cit.* Intro., p. 34, note: "It would be interesting, for instance, to determine whether Mérimée learned anything in form from Poushkin."

tion are presumably a factor, as they are, for example, in the United States.³⁶

The problem of terminology also presents itself. In Germany *Novelle* now designates a recognized type, in America short-story has been given a similar function, but it is still an embarrassing question as to what French narratives are to be denominated *contes* and what *nouvelles*.

One solution, not perhaps definitive, has been given by Ferdinand Brunetière, who writes, apropos of Balzac:

The *nouvelle* differs from the *conte* in that it always claims to be a picture of ordinary life; and it differs from the novel in that it selects from ordinary life, and depicts by preference and almost exclusively, those examples of the strange, the rare and the extraordinary which ordinary life does in spite of its monotony nevertheless contain. It is neither strange nor rare for a miser to make all the people about him, including his wife and children, victims of the passion to which he is himself enslaved; and this is the subject of *Eugénie Grandet*. . . . But for a husband, as in *La Grande Breteche*, to wall up his wife's lover in a closet, and that before her very eyes; and, through a combination of circumstances in themselves quite out of the ordinary, for neither one of them to dare or to be able to make any defense against his vengeance—that is certainly somewhat rare! "

The fantastic, Brunetière continues, is to be treated in the *conte*, not in the *nouvelle*.

³⁶ Cf. C. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. Gautier sometimes meets the requirements of the *feuilleton* system with conspicuous success, as in *Avatar*, where it may be argued that the restraint imposed by this method of publication induced throughout a high degree of narrative control.

³⁷ *Honoré de Balzac*, Little French Masterpieces, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903, Intro., pp. xiv-xv. Brunetière further explains the scope of the *nouvelle* with the statement that, in general, "all those things in life which are out of the usual run of life, which happen *on its margin* and are so beside yet not outside it; all that makes its surprises, its differences, its *startlingness*, so to speak—all this is the province of the *nouvelle*, bordering on that of the novel yet distinct from it. Out of the common every-day life you cannot really make *nouvelles*, but only novels—miniature novels, when they are brief, but still novels."

The distinction is lucid and interesting. Yet equally clean-cut, and quite at variance, is the distinction made by the American critics viewing the French field, who identify *conte* with short-story and allege that a *nouvelle* is merely a novelet, that is, a condensed novel.³⁸

The entanglement becomes even worse upon inspection of the six stories of the Balzac volume for which Brunetière writes the above-quoted introduction. All six are, in Brunetière's sense, *nouvelles*. On the other hand, the history of their publication³⁹ shows that four of them were not classified, that the fifth, *le Réquisitionnaire*, appeared in the first edition of *Romans et contes philosophiques* and presumably was considered by Balzac a *conte*, while the sixth, *le Chef-d'œuvre inconnu*, was first presented by Balzac with the subtitle, *conte fantastique*. *Conte fantastique*, it is remembered, is precisely the term which Brunetière says is not applicable.⁴⁰ Furthermore, if the narratives are looked at with the eyes of the American critics, two of them are *contes*,⁴¹ but not the two so styled by Balzac himself.

It is vain to risk making confusion doubly confounded by suggestions of reform in nomenclature until there is a clearer conception of what one is attempting to name, and at best the final choice may be arbitrary, for it can hardly be hoped that any system will square with the facts of the practice of the art and also with the terminology of the practitioners.⁴²

³⁸ Cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 169, especially: "The difference is merely that the novelet (or *nouvelle*) is a work of less extent, and covers a smaller canvas, than the novel (or *roman*)."
Cf. Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Baldwin, *op. cit.*, Intro., pp. 30-31.

³⁹ Cf. Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres de Balzac*, pp. 32, 146, 147, 178, 183, 184.

⁴⁰ Observe also that Gautier calls *Spirite* a *nouvelle fantastique*.

⁴¹ *Une Passion dans le désert* and *la Grande Bretèche*.

⁴² Cf., for example, Flaubert's *Trois contes* (published in 1877). The

Ultimately there will present itself the interesting and elusive problem of the relation of French brief narrative to the French genius. In the case of the American type of story, Professor Alphonso Smith points out that "it has a brief intensity that harmonizes with the national temper. It moves . . . to its conclusion—it does its work—with an economy of details, with a definiteness of purpose, with an efficiency of means that find a quick response from the average American reader."⁴³ What of the French tales? Do they similarly correspond to the Gallic love of precision? The short-story, it has been observed,⁴⁴ often fulfills the requirements of the three unities of the French classical stage. Does that characteristic of the French national mind which has made it cherish the formality of the unities, and the symmetry of *la pièce bien faite*, mean that it feels a ready sympathy for brief narrative thus prescribed?⁴⁵ Answers to this and to a multitude of other questions must depend upon an exact and critical investigation of the whole subject.

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narrative methods in the first two, *un Œœur simple* and *Saint Julien l'Hospitalier*, are far from conventional, but, in the slight degree that ordinary terms apply, they are condensed *romans*. The third, *Hérodias*, is precisely what Brunetière would call a *nouvelle*.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁴ Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴⁵ The relation of brief narrative to the drama has been carefully developed, in the case of the *Novelle*, by Spielhagen (*Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans*, Leipzig, 1883). The principle, enunciated by Poe for the short-story, that a peculiar totality of effect results from a single, uninterrupted presentation of a piece of literature, is applied by Strindberg to the drama, as in *The Outlaw*, "a single well-built act . . . taking an hour for its performance" (Preface to *Miss Julia*, Plays, second series, tr. by Björkman, p. 107). Examination of the French field may reveal parallel resemblances. Cf., for example, the stories and the one-act plays of Villiers de l'Isle Adam.

XXIV.—SIR PERCEVAL AND THE BOYISH EXPLOITS OF FINN

The relations between the English romance, *Sir Perceval*, and its counterparts in French, German, and Welsh have been frequently and extensively investigated.¹ Efforts have been made also to show connections between the story of Perceval (especially the boyhood portion) and various other stories—the “Fair Unknown” (*Libeaus Desconus*) group, the romance of *Fergus*, the lai of *Tyolet*, and the Irish tales of Cuchullin.²

Another Irish story which has not, it seems to me, received the attention it merits in this connection is *The Boyish Exploits of Finn*. The resemblances between it and the English romance were first pointed out by Alfred Nutt in 1881.³ He believed *The Boyish Exploits* to be a fifteenth-century composition;⁴ and he repeated this be-

¹ For bibliog. see Wells, *Manual of Writings in M. E.* (New Haven, 1916), pp. 71-74, 772-3. To this add: Martin, ed. of *Parzival* (Halle, 1900-1903), vol. II; Hertz, *Die Sage v. P. u. d. Gral* (in his trans. of Wolfram's *Parzival*, Stuttgart, 5th ed., 1911, pp. 413-550), and Rosenhagen, *Nachträge* (*ibid.*, pp. 551-572); Voretzsch, *Einf. in d. Stud. d. altfranz. Lit.* (Halle, 2nd ed., 1913), pp. 322-345; Foerster, *Wörterbuch zu Kristian* (Halle, 1914), einl., pp. 145-202.

² For reference on *Lib. Des.*, see Wells, p. 772; on all four, see Voretzsch. On *Fergus*, see also Heinzel, rev. of Martin's ed., in *Zt. f. d. oest. Gym.*, XXIV (1873), pp. 156-167. Marquardt's *Der Einfluss Kristians auf den Roman 'Fergus'* (diss. Göttingen, 1906), although the most extended study of this romance, is unfortunately of little value. Innumerable other possible connections are suggested in Chamberlain's *The Child and Childhood in Folk-Thought* (N. Y. and Lond., 1896), esp. chap. XXIV, “The Child as Hero, Adventurer, etc.”, a book written from the point of view of anthropology rather than that of literary origins. The bibliog. (pp. 495-434) is valuable.

³ “The Aryan Expulsion-and-Return Formula,” *Folk-Lore Record*, IV, pp. 1-44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

lief in 1888, 1891, and 1910.⁵ This late date was supported in long arguments by Zimmer in 1890 and 1891;⁶ and it has been generally accepted by students of the story, including d'Arbois de Jubainville, Newell, Miss Paton, Miss Weston, and Professors Schofield and Griffith.⁷

Belief in a much earlier date was expressed (entirely without reference to possible connections with *Sir Perceval*) by O'Donovan in 1858, by Miss Eleanor Hull in 1906, and more recently by John MacNeill and Kuno Meyer.⁸ Nutt only a short time before his death twice intimated that he was then inclined to accept the earlier date.⁹

The evidence of the manuscript, Bodleian Laud 610, is as follows.¹⁰ Inside the cover is pasted a slip, dated 1673, stating that the manuscript is copied from older and now

⁵ *Studies Leg. H. G.* (1888), p. 158; *The Fians*, ed. Campbell (1891), "Bibl. Notes," p. 284; *Folk-Lore*, **xxi** (1910), p. 400.

⁶ *G. G. A.*, 1890, 2, pp. 521 ff.; "Kelt Beiträge," *Z. f. d. A.*, **xxxv** (1891), pp. 1 ff.

⁷ d'Arbois, *Essai d'un catalogue* (1883), pp. xxxviii, 174; Newell, *Leg. H. G.* (1902), pp. 88, 92; Paton, *Fairy Myth. of Arth. Rom.* (1903), p. 181; Weston, *Leg. Sir P.* (1906), 1, p. xix. Schofield does not refer to *The Boyish Exploits*; but he would hardly take the fifteenth-century *Lay of the Great Fool* as evidence for the existence of such stories in early Celtic if he knew an earlier story embodying substantially the same features. (See his *Eng. Lit. Norm. Conq. to Chaucer*, p. 228.) Griffith, although he mentions *The Boyish Exploits* several times, makes clear his acceptance of a late date by saying: "I have made no inquiry into Old Irish literature." (*Sir P. of G.*, Diss. Chicago, 1911, preface.)

⁸ O'Donovan, *Trans. Oss. Soc.*, iv, p. 284; Hull, *Text-Book of Irish Lit.*, 1, p. 244; II, pp. 26, 43; MacNeill, *Duanaire Finn*, *I. T. S.* (1908), p. xxix; Meyer, *Z. f. o. P.*, vii (1909-10), p. 524; *Fianaigeacht*, *R. I. A.*, *T. L. S.*, xvi (1910), p. xxviii.

⁹ *Folk-Lore*, **xxi** (1910), p. 110; *Arnold's Study of Celtic Lit.* (1910), p. 166.

¹⁰ This account of the ms., which I have not seen, is based on Todd, *Proc. R. I. A.*, II (1840), pp. 336 ff.

not extant documents, including the "Psalter of Cashel." This psalter was compiled by Bishop Cormac, who died in 903. On folio 86a appears a gloss stating that this copy was made in 1453, the date accepted as the time of composition by Nutt and Zimmer, and, as I have indicated, by most subsequent writers.

It is generally agreed that evidence is required to disprove the statement of a manuscript or an early printed book as to its origin. When Arthur Brooke in the preface to his poem, *Romeus and Juliet*, tells us that he "saw the same argument lately set forth on the stage," we do not deny his assertion merely because no play filling the bill is extant. When the Doctor's tale of Chaucer names Livy as its source, we deny the assertion when we discover that the Doctor's version differs from Livy's in an important particular, and follows the version given in the *Roman de la Rose*. The claim of Laud 610 that it is a copy of much older documents should be accepted unless evidence to disprove is presented. Aside from this fact, and from the fact that Zimmer's argument for the confusion of two psalters¹¹ is far from convincing, the only evidence of date is linguistic. Now there is no more uncertain occupation than the dating of early Irish documents;¹² and there are probably not more than three or four living men who would venture an opinion on the subject. Two of these, as indicated above, have examined *The Boyish Exploits*: MacNeill accepts the date of Bishop Cormac—tenth century; Meyer assigns it to the twelfth century.

When we see, then, that *The Boyish Exploits* is at least

¹¹ *Z. f. d. A.*, xxxv, pp. 119 ff.

¹² On the subject of dating, see Nutt, *Z. f. o. P.*, II (1898-9), p. 320; Meyer, *King and Hermit* (1901), p. 5, n. 1; Brown, *Mod. Phil.*, VII (1909-10), p. 204; Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, XXI (1910), pp. 239-240; Cross, *Mod. Phil.*, x (1912-13), p. 292.

as old as any story yet cited in studies of *Sir Perceval*,¹³ and is possibly older than any, the seven incidents common to the two become of some significance.¹⁴ I shall set these incidents down very briefly.

INCIDENT I—Death of the Father

Cumall, Finn's father, fell in battle	And now is Percyvell the wighte (180) ¹⁵ Slayne in batelle and in fyghte. (161-2) ¹⁶
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By itself this incident would hardly deserve notice. The Irish version, however, is at least as near the English as any yet cited.

INCIDENT II—The Forest Rearing

Finn was carried into the for- est by two "heroines," and se- cretly reared.	Perceval was carried by his mother (with one maid) and (181) reared. (163 ff.)
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The differences here are more striking than the resemblances; but they are not so great as in many parallels given by Nutt and by Professor Woods to bring *Sir Perceval* under certain folk-lore formulas.¹⁶ In view also of

¹³ For approximate dates see Griffith, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3; Schofield, *op. cit.*, App. I (pp. 458-465).

¹⁴ Cf. Brown, *Iwain*, p. 120: "A student of literary origins early learns that, altho incidents survive and may safely be used to trace a source, the name of the hero of any particular incident changes with considerable facility."

¹⁵ Text and trans. of *The Boyish Exploits in Trans. Oss. Soc.*, iv (O'Donovan); text (Meyer) in *R. O.* v (1881-3), and trans. (Meyer) in *Eriu*, 1 (1904). Figures under the Finn incidents refer to pages in *Eriu*, 1. Figures under *Sir Perceval* incidents refer to lines in the edition of the romance by Campion and Holthausen (Heidelberg, 1913).

¹⁶ Nutt, *F.-L. Rec.*, iv; Woods, "A Reclassification of the Perceval Romances," *P. M. L. A.*, n. s. xx (1912), pp. 524-567. The subject of "formulas" seems to me to be sadly overworked; see, for instance, Heyman, *Studies on the Havelok-Tale* (diss., Upsala, 1903), p. 92; Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt* (Frankfort and Lond., 1913),

the widespread occurrence of the "forest rearing" theme, it need not be stressed here beyond observing that *The Boyish Exploits* is probably earlier than any story yet found containing this feature.

INCIDENT III—The Hero's Early Prowess in Hunting

Finn cuts off at a shot the
feathers and wings of a duck on
the lake. (182)

Perceval shot small birds
(217), and harts and hinds
(218); and

So welc he lernede hym to schote,
Per was no beste, þat welke one
fote,

To fle fro hym was it no bote,
When þat he wolde hym have.

(221-4)

The treatment of Perceval's skill in hunting seems to me the natural procedure for an author who had the Finn story before him. Perceval first shoots birds, as does Finn in his first chase; but instead of repeating the fantastic details of the Irish story, the romancer merely makes a general statement of the boy's proficiency.

INCIDENT IV—Catching Wild Animals

Finn's nurses lament that they
cannot get one of a herd of wild
deer. Finn catches two "bucks,"
and brings them to the women.

(183-4)

Perceval sees a group of wild
horses, catches the "biggest,"
and rides to his mother on it.

(325-348)

In the two aspects of incidents III and IV, *expertness* in shooting, and *agility* in catching wild animals, *The Boyish Exploits* is the only old story offering parallels.

I, pp. 206, 214, 221, 223; II, p. 280; nearly the whole of Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands* (Cöthen, 1906). All such attempts at classification should be considered in the light of Windisch's caution in *Das kelt. Brit. bis zu K. A.* (Leipzig Abhandl., 1912), pp. 198-9.

INCIDENT V—Suspecting the Hero's Identity

The King of Bantry, with whom Finn has taken military service, is so much impressed by Finn's deeds, that he says: "If Cumall had left a son, one would think thou wast he." (184)

Arthur says that if the hero were well dressed, he would resemble the elder Perceval (545-548); and again:
The kyng bi-holdez þe vesage free,
And ever more trowed hee
þat þe childe scholde bee
Sir Percevell son. (585-588)

This incident, which has not, so far as I have discovered, been noted, appears to me one of the most striking parallels. Here, moreover, as in incident III (expertness in hunting), *Sir Perceval* contains just the sort of thing to be expected of a writer who was elaborating and improving the Irish narrative.

INCIDENT VI—Discovery of the Wailing Woman

Finn "heard the wail of a woman," who lamented that her "only son had been slain by a tall, very terrible warrior." (185)

Perceval hears near by as if a woman were crying. He finds a woman bound to a tree by her husband, the Black Knight, who has wrongly accused her of infidelity. (1817-1856)

As in incident II the difference here is more striking than the similarity. The kernel in both is clearly the solitary woman *who had been in some way 'wronged'*; and this seems to make unjustifiable Professor Griffith's conclusion that "the story of a *Suspected Lady*" (italics mine) "was incorporated into the framework to make the tale of Perceval." 17

INCIDENT VII—Avenging of the Wronged Woman

Finn pursues and kills the "terrible warrior." (185)

Perceval conquers the Black Knight. (1881-1932)

In both cases the hero avenges *the woman who has been wronged*.

¹⁷ Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

APPENDIX TO INCIDENT VII

The Hero Ignorantly Avenges his Father

The warrior killed by Finn proves to be "the Grey One of Luachair, who had dealt the first wound to Cumall in the battle of Cruacha."

(185)

Perceval, in slaying the Red Knight, who had taken Arthur's cup, slays also (without knowing it) his father's slayer. (141-144, 553-560, 601-624, 629-640, 689-692, 709)

In incident VII the story and the romance appear to part company—Finn slays the wrong-doer, Perceval only vanquishes him. In the romance, it should be noted, the death of the Black Knight was not essential; it was essential only that he be brought to confess his error and be reconciled to his lady. If, moreover, we turn back to Perceval's *first* personal combat, we find an explanation of the variation in incident VII. In his adventure with the Red Knight Perceval had already accomplished what Finn accomplishes in his *only* personal combat; viz., had avenged, though *unintentionally* and *ignorantly*, his father.

In view, then, of these facts: (1) that *The Boyish Exploits of Finn* is certainly older than the English romance; (2) that it contains these seven incidents in common with the romance; (3) that the incidents occur in the same order in both narratives; and (4) that three of the incidents (IV, V, VI) are found in no other story of the Perceval group—in view of these facts I think we have reason to believe that the Irish story was known to the writer of the romance, and that it was not improbably used by him.

ROY BENNETT PACE.

XXV.—THE LINCOLN CORDWAINERS' PAGEANT

In determining whether the Lincoln mystery plays were processional like those of York and Chester or were acted on a fixed stage, it is important to know whether the St. Anne's Day Sightings, about which there is a considerable amount of information, were merely floats or real plays. They are regarded as plays by Mr. Chambers¹ and by Mr. A. F. Leach.² A recently discovered account book of the Lincoln Cordwainers' Company, preserved in the Free Public Library,³ indicates what part the Cordwainers took in the St. Anne's day celebration and what the nature of the spectacle was. The Cordwainers were to maintain and send forth annually in the procession of St. Anne's day a pageant, called the Pageant of Bethlehem. This was not a play, and there is no evidence to show that they were responsible for a play at any season of the year. Their entries of expenses indicate a very different form of dramatic activity from that of the Weavers of Coventry and other companies in that city where the companies maintained plays.⁴ The following is a transcript of the entries in the Cordwainers' account book which refer to the dramatic activities of the company:

¹ E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, pp. 377-9.

² *Some English Plays and Players* in the "Furnivall Miscellany," 1901, pp. 224 ff.

³ This document I was able to see and transcribe through the kindness of Mr. Corns, the librarian.

⁴ Thomas Sharp, *Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries*, 1825, pp. 13 ff.; *The Presentation in the Temple, a Pageant as originally represented by the Corporation of the Weavers of Coventry*, Abbotsford Club, 1836, pp. 20 ff.; or the writer's *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, 1902, App. II, where the records from Sharp are republished.

Folio 1: The outhe to be geven to the graceman at his eleccione . . . and at saint Anne even or day, I shalbe personally at the dressyng and araying of the pageaunt of Bethelhem and awaite of the sam in the tym of procession^a of the gild of the said saint Anne for the worshiþe of this cite, and when the said procession is donne, the(n) I shall helpe to vnaray and vndress the said pageant agayn.

The outhe of an outbrother or suster: I shalbe redy yerly to goo in procession with the graceman, the brether and susters of the fraternite from the chappell of saint Thomas of the hy Brige in Lincoln vnto the cathedrall church of Lincoln and ther to offer on farthyng as custom is.

F. 2: The outhe to be geven to the wardens of this gild. . . . I shall helpe to dresse and redresse the pageaunt of Bethelhem at saint Anne tyd and to goo in procession in saint Anne gild with master graceman from the place accustomed to the moder church of Lincoln and so doune aga(i)n. I shalbe redy to goo with master graceman and helpe him to gether the collect money and brotherhod of euery brother and suster, whenas he shall command.

The outhe to be geven to the Dean of this gild. . . . I shalbe personally at the dressyng and redressyng of the pageaunt of Bethelhem with master graceman at saint Anne tyd and to await the sam with master graceman except seiknes or disseis lett me.

F. 3: Inventorie. Itm. on vestment, albe and ammes to the sam, and all other thyngs holl to the sam belongyng, of the gyfte of Thomas Stowe graceman in the year of our lord m cccc xixth. Itm. on lynen awter clothe of ij yerds long.^a

The pageant of Bethelhem. It. iijre lynen clothes stened for damask warks for bethelem. It. a gret hed gilded set with vii beames and vii glasses for the sam, and on long beame for the mouthe of the said hed. It. iijre greatt stars for the sam with iijre glasses and a cord for the same steris. It. ij angells with sensers for the sam. It. on cage for to ber dowes in.

ACCOUNTS.^b

1527. *Expenses necessarie. It. soluti pro le pageants Rome de Bethelhem in ecclesia fratrum carmilitorum iiijd. It. soli. pro uno jantaculo facto pastoribus in processione gilde sancte Anne vjd. It.*

^a Written procession and usually below.

^b The latter entry is crossed out; both of course belong to the strictly religious activity of the gild.

^c The usual headings in each annual computus are *in nocte potacionis, stipendia officiorum, obit. fact. hoc anno, and expens. necessar.* (or "other expenses"). The items concerning the pageant are under the last mentioned heading.

sol. pro vna corda ad dominationem le pageaunt jd; et le takils et pro vno speculo jd ob; summa iiijd ob. It. *sol. pro emendacione brachij vnius angeli jd.* . . . It. *sol. pro vna perna (?) le cage iiijd.*

1528. *Alie expenses necessarie.* It. *sol. pro corda ad le pageant de Bethlem vjd.* It. *sol. pro faccione de handill le wyndows de la pageant jd.* It. *sol. in expensis pro le pageaunt de Bethlem xixd.* (f. 22b) It. *sol. pro le pageaunts Rome iiijd.*^a

1529. (f. 29b) *Alie expenses necessarie.* It. *pro portacione de la pageaunt de Bethlem in precessione sancte Anne, ultra omnes denarios collectos pro eodem xid ob.*

1530. (f. 38) *Alie expenses necessarie.* It. *sol. pro portacione de Bethlem xd.*^a It. *sol. pro le pageaunt de Bethlem standants ad Whitfrerie iiijd.* It. *pro le taks et seruicia jd ob.*

1531. (f. 46) *Alie expenses necessarie.* It. *sol. pro emendacione de le pageaunt de Bethlem ijd.* It. *sol. pro clauis ad idem opus jd.* It. *solitum pro pane et seruicia portantibus de le pageaunts vijd ob.* It. *solitum pro le pageaunt Room iiijd.* It. *sol. portantibus eiusdam le pageaunt iiijd.*

1532. (f. 54) *Other expenses.* It. *paid for bryngyng vp the pageaunt of Bethleem at saint Anne messe xijd.* It. *paid in expenses for the plaiers ijd.* It. *paid to the plaiers above all that was gathered viijd.*¹⁹ It. *for naills to the pageaunt jd.* It. *for the Rome of the pageaunt standyng iiijd.*

1533. (f. 60) *Expenses necessarie.* It. *for mendyng the pageaunt of Bethleem ijd.* It. *for sheperds deners at vjd.* It. *for ij gallons ayell and a penyworth breed iiijd.* It. *for taks to the pageaunt ob.* . . . It. *for the pageaunt stondyng in the Whiet freris iiijd.* It. *paid for a lynen [cloth] to the pageaunt ijd.*

1534. (f. 66b) *Expenses necessarie.* It. *mendyng the pageaunt ijd ob.* It. *for the sheperds dener vid.* It. *for ij potts aiell xiijd.* It.

^a An item in this list "*ad le pypers in die processionis iiijd*" probably refers to a procession on the day of St. Crispin and St. Crispianus.

^a The following item for this year stands after the expense for St. Anne's day and before the payment for rent: "*It. soli. coco nostro iiijd.* It. *soli. certie de players in aula nostra ad cenam vjs iiijd.*"

¹⁹ This entry is probably to be regarded as a record of a special play like that given in the hall two years before; but since it says *the* players instead of *certain* players, it may indicate that a general levy for the Corpus Christi play, falling short in the sum of viijd, was made up out of the common funds.

for wyn to the prest *xs jđ.* It. for breid *ijđ.* It. for strawe *jđ.*¹¹
It. for the dener of the gyld day *viijs.* It. for *ij* dossyn trenchers, etc.

1535. (f. 73b) Expenses necessarie. . . . It. to the shepherds and 6 pageaunt berars *iiijđ.* . . . It. for weshyng of clothes this year *iiijđ.*¹²

1536. (f. 79) Expenses necessarie. It. paid to *iiij* sheppards at saint Anne gyld *xviiijđ.* It. paid to *vj* berars of the pageaunt in the sam gild *xviiijđ.* It. for bred and ayell spent in the mynster the sam tym *vjđ.* It. for takytts to the pageaunts *jđ.*¹³

1537. (f. 86) *Allocaciones.* It. soli. pro emendacione unius ale angeli *jđ.* It. soli. pro emendacione de pageant de Bethaleem *xviiijđ.* It. solitum pro *ijobus speculis* de le pageaunt *iiijđ.* It. soli. pro le tynfoul pro le paynttyng faciei verniculi *iiijđ ob.* It. soli. pro vna corda dicte le pageaunt *iiijđ.* It. soli. pro pane et servicia data portarijs dicte le pageaunt in die Saint Anne *iiijđ.* . . . It. soli. pastoribus et portarijs de le pageaunt predicta *x + d non allocatur.*

1539. (f. 95b) Alie expenses. It. for mendyng the pageaunt of Bethalem and cord *vd.* It. for costs and charges to the mynster with the pageaunt of saint Anne day *xiiijđ.* It. to the bell ryngers *ijđ.* It. to the mynstrells *iiijđ.*¹⁴ It. for the pageaunt standyng in the whitt freris *iiijđ.*¹⁵

1540. (f. 99) It. payd for mendyng the pageant *viiijđ.* It. paid for beryng the pageant *vd.* It. for bred and aille to the berrars of the sam *ijđ.* It. for a cord to the padgayn *iiijđ.*¹⁶

1542. (f. 109) It. for bearyng vpp the paygaunte of Saint Anne

¹¹ The last three entries may or may not refer to St. Anne's day. They are followed in the account by these entries: "It. paid to the porter *iiijđ.*"

¹² This entry may not refer to the pageant.

¹³ The following entries seem also to refer to the ceremonies at the minister or to the pageant: "It. for weshyng the awlbe and ames that the prest syngs in *iiijđ.* It. for a pottyll wyn geven to Master Sapcotts *iiijđ.* . . . It. for weshyng herd clothes and towells *vjđ.* It. for bred and wyn to said prest *viđ.*"

¹⁴ The last two entries are not necessarily to be connected with the St. Anne's day procession, since the entries in these lists of miscellaneous expenses seem to have no fixed arrangement.

¹⁵ Following this entry are these: "It. for gloves *viiijđ.* It. for mendyng the angells of the hersse *ijđ.*"

¹⁶ There is no entry for 1541 which refers to the pageants. The entry "It. to the waits *iiijđ.*" evidently does not.

day and the morn aftur *xxd.* It. for brede and ayle to the pagiaunt berers at the mynster *ijd.*¹⁸

1542 (?) (f. 112b) It. for beryng vp the pageant of bethelēm *vjd.* It. for kydds *xxd.* bred and aill at mynster at Saint Anne tyd *ij—summa xxiij.*^{19a}

After f. 112b there are no further entries referring to the pageant until f. 121 when the following undated entry occurs. The gild had leased its house and distributed its funds in 1545. It is obvious from an order of the secret council, found in Corp. Min. Bks., III, f. 110, that the year is 1554:

1554. (f. 121) layng out for the pachagan at Saint Annes. Paments. It. pade to Spede the caruer for makyng of the paghan *ijs ijd.* It. pade for nalls and drynke to the carvars *iiij.* It. pade to Wylliam Lyttyll for panttyng ther off; the hed and the starēs *ijs.* It. pade to the shepherds on sant An daye *xviiij.* It. pade for drynk to the berers of the pagane *iiij.*

1555. Layyng owt for the paggane the nyxte yere after. It. pad to the *iiij* shepherdes on Sant Anedaye *xviiij.* It. pade to the berers off the paggan on Santanedaye *ijs.* It. payde for takxe *jd.* It. in alle *id.* It. for howsrowme for the paggane to Jhonsone *iiij.*

Then follows a statement of rent apparently due the gild from one William Potter and the following list:

Paments. It. pade in the seconde and thurde yere off owre soferand lawarde and ladye kynge and qweyne [Philip and Mary] off Eyngland, ffransse, Iarlande, napylls and so forth, etc. It. pade to Roberte Jonsone on Schant Anedaye laste paste for the rowme off the paggyene all the yere a-fore paste *iiij.* It. pade for berynge of the paggane of Sant Anes daye last to *vj* felows *ijs.* It. for a corde to the sterrys *iiij.* It. pade for takē and pacthrede *ijd.* It. pade for drynke and brede to the berars *viiij.*

¹⁸ This entry is cancelled and apparently repeated on f. 112b.

^{19a} The entries which follow probably have no connection with St. Anne's tide: "It. for cheis *xiiij.* for *iiij* dessyn tayks to Xpofer brampsten *iiij—summa vs ijd.* It. for *ij* dossyn bred and halff *ijs vjd.* It. to James Lovday for lyghtyng candylls at mynster *iiij.* It. to the mynstrells *iiij.*"

The gild resumes its normal activity with the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth, but there is no further mention of the Pageant of Bethlehem.

It is evident that the Cordwainers presented in dumbshow a spectacle of the Angels and the Shepherds. The invoice given at the front of the book and the entry of 1554 of the reconstruction of the pageant at the time of the Marian reaction show what their stage properties were. They had a pageant to which belonged cloths stained damask, apparently to represent the walls of Bethlehem, a great gilded figure head set with seven beams (of light?), and seven glasses, apparently over the beams, and one long beam for the mouth of the head; three stars with three glasses and a cord belonging to them, and, finally, two inanimate angels with censers. The cage to put doves in seems also to belong to the pageant. The scene was probably limited to the angels and the shepherds, since there are no other characters, such as Joseph and Mary, who would have appeared had it been a regular nativity play or even an elaborate piece of dumbshow. It is to be observed also that this is the composition of a somewhat similar spectacle in the Dublin procession which is described as "The shep[er]dis, with an angel syngying Gloria in excelsis Deo."¹⁷ Note also in connection with the use of a cord and a star in these entries the well-known entry in the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Nicholas, Yarmouth, between 1462 and 1612, for "making a new star," "leading the star," "a new balk line to the star and riving the same."¹⁸ One is reminded also of the picture from *Heures a Lusaige de Rome*,¹⁹ where the shepherds rest amid their flocks and look upwards at two angels beneath

¹⁷ Chambers, II, p. 364.

¹⁸ Chambers, II, p. 399.

¹⁹ Cf. Mr. A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays* (1909), p. 31.

canopies, with a figure head between them, and bear in their hands a scroll with the words, *Gloria in altissimi[s] Deo in terra p[ax]*. The shepherds at Lincoln were real persons, possibly real shepherds, but there are no other characters; also no payments to actors, no rehearsals, no mention of plays except on two special occasions at the dinner of the gild, and no evidence that regular expenses for a play were incurred at any other season of the year. The St. Anne's day expenses are too slight and too definite to refer to the performance of a play, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the business of the Cordwainers on St. Anne's day, during the years for which we have their records, was to present a mere pageant or float to be drawn through the streets from the Chapel of St. Thomas upon the High Bridge to the minster upon the hill. What happened at the minster cannot be definitely told from these accounts. Each outbrother and sister offered a farthing there; there was no doubt a general offering also. The proximity in the records of the reward given to the priest for singing seems to indicate that the Cordwainers had a special religious service at the cathedral at the time of the procession. The bearers of the pageant and probably the shepherds had bread and ale there. The Cordwainers' account book gives no further information; this must be sought in the records of the Cathedral Chapter.

As to the procession itself, a good deal of interesting information can be gained from the minute books of the municipal corporation, which begin with 1511 and contain acts of the Common Council, the Secret Council, and the Court Leet. Most of the entries with which we are concerned are summarized in the Historical MSS. Commission, 14th Report, App. VIII. Every man and woman being able within the city was required to be a brother or

sister in St. Anne's gild and to pay 4d. at the least.²⁰ Also every man in his degree must wait upon the mayor in the procession on St. Anne's day to the worship of the city under pain of 4d.²¹ To every occupation within the city was assigned a pageant which they were regularly ordered to apparel and bring forth. These orders had by 1511 become routine matters and are quite general.²² The municipal corporation had an interest in the sights both because of the regulation demanded in so extensive an affair in the community and because of the close connection which existed between the mayor and council and the gild of St. Anne. The aldermen were themselves held responsible for one part of the pageant. They were required to furnish crimson silk gowns for the "kings" in the procession, must send forth a servant with a rochet upon him bearing a torch to be carried in the procession about the sacrament, and must themselves under penalty wait upon the mayor.²³ Likewise those who had occupied the office of sheriff, who were known as sheriff peers, were required to give their attendance upon the mayor on St. Anne's day and to wait at the hall until he came thither, also to have a person in an "honest gown" going in the procession among the prophets.²⁴ The objective point of the procession was the minster. In 1524 every man was ordered to give his attendance, so that "Mr. Maier be at the Mynster by x of the bell."²⁵ Constables and under-

²⁰ *Entries of Common Council 1511-1541* ("White Book"), f. 97, 1519.

²¹ F. 179, 1524.

²² F. 97b, 1519; f. 115, 1520; f. 144, 1522, etc.

²³ F. 81, 1518; f. 107, 1520; f. 142b, 1521; f. 129, 1523; f. 169, 1524; f. 179b, 1524; f. 189, 1526; f. 198, 1527.

²⁴ F. 131b, 1521; f. 159, 1523; f. 179b, 1524; etc.

²⁵ F. 169.

constables were required to wait upon the pageants upon St. Anne's day by seven of the clock, both to keep the people from the array and to take heed of such as wore garments in the procession.²⁶ Every mayor in the year following his mayoralty became graceman of St. Anne's gild, and the two persons that had been his sheriffs became wardens of the gild to help the graceman in his business, particularly, in the matter of gathering money from the brethren and sisters.²⁷ The corporation enacted special legislation on various matters concerning the gilds and procession. One of those is the well-known act of 1521²⁸ in which the council decreed, after it had been represented to them by the acting graceman of the gild that owing to the plague in the city he is unable to get such garments and other "honourments" as should be in the pageants, that Mr. Alanson should be instantly desired to borrow a gown of my Lady Powes "for one of the Maryes and thother Mary to be arrayed in the cremesyng gown of velvet that longyth to the same gild." Another is the act of 1539, which also reveals a feature of the procession, directing a large door to be made in the late schoolhouse that the pageants may be set in and every pageant to pay 4d. and "Noy schyppe xijd."²⁹

What happened at the minster can be determined with some clearness from chapter acts and accounts preserved there; but space is at this time lacking to go into it. They apparently did not perform the Corpus Christi play. Entries for 1473, 1474, 1475, in the accounts, show that the Corpus Christi play was acted at the feast of Corpus Christi, and this is probably to be understood in the case

²⁶ F. 42b, 1515; f. 81, 1518; f. 131b, 1531; f. 198, 1527.

²⁷ F. 160b, 1523.

²⁸ F. 132.

²⁹ F. 276.

of other entries. Accounts for 1482, 1489, show that the Sights of St. Anne were put forth in the same year with the Pater Noster play; those for 1486, 1487, show that they could accompany the Corpus Christi play. These same correspondences are also indicated by the Cordwainers' accounts given above in comparison with the corporation minutes. It is also significant that cathedral computi for 1482 indicate that the Pater Noster play lasted for two days.

As to the manner of acting the play, certain considerations would indicate that it was not processional. It was evidently not managed by the municipal corporation, but by the Corpus Christi gild. It is, however, impossible to see how, if the individual plays were acted at various stations round about the city, they could have been policed without the intervention of the mayor and his brethren. At Coventry and York there is much legislation referring to the location of the stations at which the plays were acted processionally. There is none at Lincoln. It is furthermore very doubtful if there would have been two sets of pageant vehicles in the city, and the Cordwainers certainly did not participate in any other dramatic festival besides the St. Anne's day sights. They paid rent regularly for their pageant standing in the White Friars until the order of 1539 to the effect that the stuff belonging to St. Anne's gild was to be laid in the chapel of the bridge, and the pageants stored in the late schoolhouse; the payments for rent then cease. Further indications that the Lincoln play was stationary will come from the cathedral accounts.²⁰

²⁰ An entry given by Mr. A. F. Leach, "History of Lincolnshire Schools," in the *Victoria County History of Lincolnshire*, II, p. 464, indicates that there was a stationary play also at Louth in Lincolnshire: "Paid to Mr. Goodall for certain money by him laid out for the furnishing of the play played in the market stede on Corpus Christi Day, the year before my entering (1555-6)."

The Corpus Christi play at Lincoln was thus entirely distinct from the St. Anne's day sights. That the two were once united, or that the St. Anne's day sights were based upon the Corpus Christi play, cannot reasonably be doubted when the relation of the plays and the procession at places like York and Chester is taken into consideration together with the whole series of entries referring to the plays and pageants at Lincoln. This state of affairs seems, in some measure, to agree with the hypothesis that the so-called Coventry Mysteries or Hegge plays are the lost Lincoln cycle, since the Coventry Mysteries were once evidently a processional play, but, in the form preserved, were obviously acted on a stationary stage.⁸¹

HARDIN CRAIG.

⁸¹ See the present writer's letter to the *Athenæum*, August 16, 1913, and to the *Nation*, October 8, 1913; also his *Note on the Home of Ludus Coventriae*, published with *An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae*, by Miss Esther L. Swenson, The University of Minnesota *Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 1, 1914; Miss Swenson's article is also important.

XXVI.—THE EARLY “ROYAL-ENTRY”

Many, if not most, of the writers on early pageantry state that the first pageantic “royal-entry” at London took place in 1236, when Queen Eleanor of Provence arrived at her new capital. It is the purpose of this paper to show that there had been elaborate “royal-entries” before that date, and that the first pageantic “royal-entry” did not occur until sixty-two years after this ceremony. The best way to do this, is to make a survey of the “royal-entries” of the thirteenth century.

It was in connection with this method of honoring their rulers that the English people developed pageantry most notably between the early years of the thirteenth century and the reign of Queen Elizabeth; therefore the beginnings of pageantry in connection with the “royal-entry” are not only interesting in themselves, but historically important. The splendor which surrounded all ceremonies involving the king was great, long before 1200; Wendover’s account of the coronation of Richard I in 1189¹ is a clear picture of the kind of thing that took place. But there was no pageantry, in the true sense of a procession with floats and characters representing figures of historical, allegorical, or symbolical significance. The mayor and citizens, it is true, often took part in these celebrations, riding to meet the king outside of the city and escorting him joyfully to the palace; golden gifts were offered, and the walls of the houses were decked with costly tapestries.

¹ *Flores Historiarum*, I, pp. 164 f.; copied by Matthew Paris (*Historia Minor*, II, pp. 6 f.; *Chronica Majora*, II, p. 348). Cf. Strutt, *Manners and Customs*, II, p. 59.

But pageantry in its strict sense was still confined to the Church and folk.

In 1207 the Emperor Otho visited London; the city was elaborately decorated, but there is nothing in the account which we have that leads us even to suspect pageantry.² In 1209, Henry Fitz-Alwin, of the Drapers' Company, became the first Lord Mayor of London; and the procession to Westminster, which in the seventeenth century developed into elaborate pageantry, and which to this day is a feature of London civic life, began. These shows did not become pageantic until the sixteenth century: the modern show is descended from this procession on one side, and the Midsummer Watch on the other.

What is often called "the first example of pageantry in the proper sense"—as Chambers phrases it—is found in the year 1236, when Eleanor of Provence rode through London on her way to her coronation. The authority for assuming pageants on this occasion is a passage from Stow's *Survey*; but a reference to Stow's authority, Matthew Paris, gives us a statement that is ambiguous at best. Paris tells us how the streets were cleaned, the city ornamented with flags, banners, chaplets, hangings, candles and lamps,—and "quibusdam prodigiosis ingeniis et por-

² *Annales Lond.*, I, p. 13: ". . . in cuius adventu tota civitas Londoniæ induit solempnitatem pallis et aliis ornamentis circumornata." Cf. also E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, II, p. 166, n. 5.

In Chrétien de Troyes' romance *Yvain* (lines 2319, 2340 f.), is an interesting mediæval account of citizens welcoming a king. To be sure, the king is Arthur, and the citizens live in a land which cannot be located on a map of this world; but we may presume that Chrétien took his description of the streets hung with tapestries, the dancing folk, and other "features," from the life of the time. There is nothing pageantic in this welcome; but we must not forget that the description is probably taken from the life of the mid-twelfth century.

tentis.”³ Much as I should like to do so, I cannot agree with those writers who see here a union of pageantry and “royal-entry.” The matter cannot, of course, be definitely proved, one way or the other; but had there been real pageantry in 1236, it is not likely that we should find no other established instance of it before 1298; for there were plenty of other opportunities for its use.

Although there is no mention of pageants in Matthew Paris’s account of the arrival of the Count of Flanders in 1239, the extract from his history noted below, is interesting as showing the usual method of preparing for the entry

³ *Chron. Maj.*, III, p. 336. Giles, in his translation (I, p. 8), renders this “with wonderful devices and extraordinary representations,” which again is ambiguous. There may have been pageantry on this occasion; *representations* may refer to miracle plays; but this interpretation is not necessary. That it is unlikely, seems to be shown by the fact that no other example of a pageantic “royal-entry” occurs before 1298.

The oft-quoted passage from Stow is this: “of triumphant Shewes made by the citizens of London, yee may read in the yeere 1236. the 20. of Henrie the third, Andrew Bockell then beeing Maior, how Elianor . . . riding through the Citie of [London] towards Westminster, there to bee crowned Queene of England, the Citie was adorned with silkes, and in the night with Lamps, Cressets . . . besides many Pageants and strange deuices there presented. . . .” Stow, *Survey* (1618), p. 147; cf. Hone, *Ancient Mysteries Described*, p. 234; Taylor, *Glory of Regality*, p. 251; Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 167; etc.

Miss Strickland, in her *Lives of the Queens of England*, I, p. 247 (referring to Matthew Paris) notes that the citizens “prepared all sorts of costly pageantry to grace the coronation festival.” It should be pointed out that her use of the word *pageantry* is extremely loose; (cf. *ibid.*, I, pp. 41, 42, 43, 121, etc.). The same caution may be extended to Mr. Richard Davey (cf. *The Pageant of London* (2 vols.), London, 1906, I, p. 95) and many other writers, who use the word rather in a sense of “gorgeous procession” than in its stricter meaning. We must be on our guard against this too-general use of the word.

of a noble guest.⁴ The citizens wore their festal gowns, and there was evidently a procession.

In 1243, Beatrice, Countess of Provence, came to London. The city was cleaned and decorated by order of the king; but again Matthew Paris fails to mention pageantry.⁵ The same author records the return of Henry III from France, the same year; again, there is no pageantry in the technical sense.⁶

A great procession took place in 1247, when Henry received from the Patriarch of Jerusalem some drops of the Precious Blood. Matthew Paris was present on this occasion, and wrote an account of the whole proceedings.⁷ The

⁴ *Chron. Maj.*, III, p. 617: "De cuius adventu cum rex certificaretur secus quam deceret letabundus occurrit venienti, præcipitque cives Londonienses in adventu ejus omnes trunco et sterquilinia lutum quoque et omnia offendicula a plateis festinanter amovere; civesque festivis vestibus ornatos, in equis eidem comiti gratanter occurrere faleratis. In quo facto, rex multorum sibilum movit et cachinnum."

⁵ *Op. cit.*, IV, p. 261 f.; "Venit autem in apparatu magno et fastigio pomposa nimis; . . . jussit rex civitatem Londoniarum cortinis aulæis et diversis aliis ornamentis decorari a ponte usque Westmonasterium, stipitibus, luto et omni eluvie et offendiculo procul a visu transeuntium elongato." Giles translates this passage: "She came in great state, and with very pompous pageantry," etc. This is the free use of the word; there is no reason to suppose that the citizens furnished pageants.

This entry of the Countess is noted in *Archæologia*, I, p. 492, note d. The property inventoried in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul (*ibid.*, p. 492) included "rubeus strictus cum longis avibus et leonibus, de dono Comitissæ Provinciae."

⁶ Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, IV, p. 255. *Pompa inanis gloriæ* stands in the margin.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 644. (The account begins on p. 640). Cf. also *Ann. Lond.*, I, p. 44 (*sub anno* 1246): "dominus rex cum honorabili processione dictum sanguinem recepit." *Flores Hist.*, II, pp. 343 f., contains an account of this ceremony, which Davey (*Pageant of London*, I, p. 115), calls "one of the most picturesque pageants" of the reign of Henry III—using the word carelessly.

clergy, naturally, took a prominent part in this ceremony; the king, in humble raiment, carried the vase containing the Blood of Christ from St. Paul's to the church at Westminster. It is interesting to note that the civic authorities apparently had no place in this procession, which was a Church affair distinctly.⁸

In 1252, Alexander III of Scotland married the daughter of Henry III at York. Great feasting is recorded. Later, pageantry plays a part in celebrating royal nuptials, but not yet.⁹ In 1255, on the eve of St. Andrew's Day, Henry returned from Gascony. Again London was adorned, and the king was conducted to the palace of Westminster with enthusiastic pomp. Though there is splendor, there is not — as yet — pageantry in its true sense.¹⁰ London was again decorated by the king's order on the occasion of the visit of the King and Queen of Scotland in 1256; but Paris does not mention pageants.¹¹

⁸ Says Matthew Paris (*op. cit.*, iv, pp. 641 f.): "Quo et ipse rex venit, et cum summo honore et reverentia ac timore accipiens illud vasculum cum thesauro memorato, tulit illud ferens in propatulo supra faciem suam, iens pedes, habens humilem habitum, scilicet pauperem capam sine caputio, præcedentibus vestitis prædictis, sine pausatione, usque ad ecclesiam Westmonasterii, quæ distat ab ecclesia sancti Pauli circiter uno milliari. . . . Nec adhuc cessabat dominus rex, quin indeffessus ferens illud vas, ut prius, circuire[t] ecclesiam, regiam, et thalamos suos." *This was no pompa inanis gloriæ!*

⁹ Matthew Paris, *op. cit.*, v, pp. 266 f. The splendor and extravagance of the marriage banquets are remarked on, pp. 269 f.

¹⁰ Matthew Paris, *op. cit.*, v, p. 527: "Quo die a magnatibus Angliæ quamplurimus et civibus Londoniensibus, civitate Londoniarum nobiliter adornata, est receptus, et usque ad regiam Westmonasterialem cum magno pompa et applausu est perductus."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, v, pp. 573, 574. It is interesting to note that the Fifth Episode of the Chester Pageant of 1910 showed the visit of Prince Edward and Princess Eleanor to that city in 1256 (*Book of the Chester Pageant*, p. 49). No pageants—in the older sense—were reproduced.

Nor does there seem to have been any pageantry when Edward I was crowned in 1274;¹² although on his return from France, "a clero et populo est receptus cum gaudio maximo et honore."¹³

In 1298 we find, for the first time in a "royal-entry," pageantry in the strict sense of the word, when the Fishmongers celebrated the Battle of Falkirk, won by Edward I. Perhaps this is not strictly a "royal-entry,"—I can find no mention of the king being present,—but it is closely related to royalty; at any rate, it is not a religious pageant, nor a folk-festival. "The Cytezyns of London hearyng tell of this great Victorye made great solempnyty euery one accordyng to his crafte & in especyall the fyshmongers which wth solempne processyon passed through the cytye havyng fyrst 4 storions¹⁴ gylded caryed on 4 horses and after 4 horses caryed 4 samons¹⁵ of sylver and after xlvi knyghtis all armed vppon luges of the water¹⁶ and St. Magnus among the rest wth a thowsand horsemen passed to leaden hall And this they dyd on St. Magnus Day in honor of the Kyngis Victorye."¹⁷

¹² See *Ann. Lond.*, I, p. 84; *Flores Hist.*, III, p. 44; Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales*, p. 84. Matthew of Westminster is quoted by J. G. Nichols, *London Pageants*, p. 10, as his authority for saying that on the king's return from abroad (2 August 1274) "the streets were hung with rich cloths . . . the Aldermen and Burgesses of the city threw out of their windows handfuls of gold and silver to signify their great gladness at his safe return, and the conduits ran plentifully with wine. . . ." I cannot find the basis for these remarks in Matthew of Westminster. Cf. Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants*, pt. I, p. 2.

¹³ Rishanger, p. 83. If this shows pageantry, make the most of it!

¹⁴ Sturgeons.

¹⁵ Salmon.

¹⁶ A trade-mark common enough in later Lord Mayor's Shows.

¹⁷ *The Chronicle of Dunmow*, (in Harl. ms. 530, fols. 2-13; this paragraph is on fol. 7b), cited by Stow, *Annals*, p. 207. Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 167, says that he could not identify Stow's authority

This show is particularly important as giving us the first "triumph" in which animals—or, to be more exact, fishes—are used with a trade signification. The reason for the presence of St. Magnus is obvious; we cannot tell whether he was impersonated by a living rider, or was an image, borne by riders; if the former, he probably shows a development from the latter.

The thirteenth-century "royal-entry" contained much splendor, but—until the last years—no pageantry in the strict sense of the word. Whether or not Edward were present at this civic celebration of 1298, the fishes, armed knights,¹⁸ and St. Magnus appeared in his honor; the occasion was not a folk-holiday, and may be considered the equivalent of a royal-entry.

By the fourteenth century this ceremony was in a fair

(abbreviated *Ohro. Dun.*). By referring to the first place where Stow uses it—namely on p. 170 of his *Annals*—I discovered the name of the chronicle written out in full. Thomson, *Chron. Lond. Bridge*, p. 101, describes the ms.; it "is now to be found only in a small quarto volume in the Harleian Library of Manuscripts, no. 530, article II, page 2a. It consists of a miscellaneous collection of notes, in the handwritings of Stow, Camden, and perhaps Sir Henry Savile; transcribed upon old, stained and worn-out paper."

Cf., also, on this 1298 show, Herbert, *History of the Livery Companies*, I, pp. 89 f.; Chambers, II, p. 167; Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 86 (who says that in 1293—obviously a misprint—the London guilds held a procession with what appear to have been moving pageants indicative of trade, to welcome Edward I on his return from Scotland); J. G. Nichols, *Lond. Pag.*, p. 6. All these writers go back to Stow.

Fairholt, *op. cit.*, pt. I, pt. 3, calls this "the earliest exhibition of shows or pageants connected with the city trades or companies." I have found no earlier purely civic pageantry.

¹⁸ These may have been real; but as they rode "lucres of the water" they were probably, at the most, members of the guild, (who may also have been members of the watch,) and strongly suggest pageant-knights, whose patent of knighthood was ephemeral.

way to become pageantic; and, in fact, it developed quickly from this germ, until little more than a hundred years later, John Lydgate was writing words to go with the spectacular shows with which royal visitors to London were regaled.

ROBERT WITHINGTON.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, AT PRINCETON, N. J.
DECEMBER 27, 28, 29, 1916,
AND OF THE
TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL
DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION
HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO AND NORTHWESTERN
UNIVERSITY, AT CHICAGO, ILL.
ON THE SAME DAYS

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held under the auspices of Princeton University at Princeton, N. J., December 27, 28, 29, 1916, in accordance with the following invitation:

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, N. J.

February 21, 1916.

My dear Professor Howard:

On behalf of our Modern Language Department of the University I wish to extend to the Modern Language Association of America a very hearty invitation to meet in Princeton next December. We should feel it indeed a great privilege to welcome the members of the Association to our Princeton campus.

With warmest regards,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN GRIER HIRREN.

To

PROFESSOR WM. G. HOWARD,
Cambridge, Mass.

The sessions were held at McCosh Hall. The President of the Association, Professor James Douglas Bruce, of the University of Tennessee, presided at all, except as hereinafter noted.

FIRST SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 27

The meeting was called to order at 2.45 p. m.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, presented as his report volume xxxi of the *Publica-*

tions of the Association, and the same was unanimously accepted.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, presented the folloing report:

A. CURRENT RECEITS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEITS		
Balance on hand, December 22, 1915,	- - -	\$ 630 61
From Members, for 1909,	- -	\$ 3 00
“ “ “ 1910,	- -	3 00
“ “ “ 1913,	- -	6 00
“ “ “ 1914,	- -	61 00
“ “ “ 1915,	- -	201 00
“ “ “ 1916,	- -	3,220 70
“ “ “ 1917,	- -	222 10
“ “ “ Life,	- -	111 00
“ “ of the Amer. Philol. Assn., - -	- -	24 00
		\$3,851 80
From Libraries, for Publ. I-XXX,	-	\$ 60 90
“ “ “ “ XXXI,	-	226 10
“ “ “ “ XXXII,	-	93 15
		380 15
For Publ. I-XXX,	- - -	\$ 201 47
“ “ XXXI,	- - -	37 90
		239 37
For Reprints, from Publ. XXX,	-	\$ 8 00
“ “ “ “ XXXI,	-	313 51
		321 51
For Corrections,	- - -	13 90
From Advertizers, in Publ. XXX,	-	\$ 127 50
“ “ “ “ XXXI,	-	67 00
		194 50
Interest, Permanent Fund,	- -	\$ 246 07
“ Current Funds,	- -	32 05
		278 12
		\$5,279 35
		\$5,909 96

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1916

v

EXPENDITURES

To Secretary-Treasurer,

for Salary, - - - -	\$ 750 00
" Printing, - - - -	90 93
" Stationery, - - - -	3 80
" Boxes, - - - -	35 10
" Bond, - - - -	12 50
" Postage, - - - -	205 25
" Expressage, - - - -	19 21
	\$1,116 79

To J. A. Lomax,

for Stationery and Postage, - - - -	6 00
To A. R. Hohlfeld, <i>Chairman</i> , - - - -	10 60
To G. N. Henning, <i>Delegate</i> , - - - -	5 00
To W. A. Neilson, <i>Managing Trustee</i> , - - - -	115 00

To Secretary, Central Division,

for Salary, - - - -	\$ 100 00
" Stationery, - - - -	13 25
" Clerical Services, - - - -	17 50
	130 75

For Program, Central Division, - - - 103 45

Subscriptions returnd, - - - - 5 40

For Publications, XIII-XXIII, - - - 12 00

For Reprinting Proceedings, 1884, 1885, - - 101 87

For Publications, XXXI, 1, - - \$ 815 13

" " XXXI, 2, - - 772 92

" " XXXI, 3, - - 952 21

" " XXXI, 4, - - 916 56

3,456 82

For Program, Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting, - 136 03

For Exchange, - - - - 8 02

\$5,207 73

Balance on hand, Dec. 23, 1916, - - - 702 23

\$5,909 96

B. INVESTED FUNDS

Bright Fund (Eutaw Savings Bank),			
Principal, Dec. 22, 1915,	-	-	\$1,867 28
Interest, April 1, 1916,	-	-	74 60
			\$1,941 88
von Jagemann Fund (Cambridge Savings Bank),			
Principal, Dec. 22, 1915,	-	-	\$1,309 89
Interest, July 27, 1916,	-	-	56 23
			1,366 12
Total, Dec. 23, 1916,	-	-	\$3,308 00

The President of the Association appointed the folloing committees:

To nominate officers: Professors H. A. Todd, H. E. Greene, C. B. Wilson.

To audit the Tresurer's accounts: Professors G. M. Priest, F. B. Luquiens, C. S. Northup.

On resolutions: Professors B. P. Bourland, R. H. Fife, Jr.

The Secretary spoke of the gratifying growth of the Association in number of members and in financial resources, and suggested means of stil further accelerating this growth.

The Secretary red the folloing proposed

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

AND

THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

I. Any member of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast for whom the Tresurer of said Association shal on or before the fifteenth day of March pay to the Tresurer of the Modern Language Association of America the sum of two dollars and fifty

cents (\$2.50) shall be admitted to full membership in the said Modern Language Association of America and shall have for that year and for any subsequent year in which said sum is paid as aforesaid all the privileges pertaining to membership in the Modern Language Association of America, including the right to hold office, to participate in meetings, to submit articles for publication, to receive the *Publications* of the Modern Language Association of America, to have his name printed in the list of members of the same, and to share equitably in any other benefits that may accrue to members of said Modern Language Association of America.

II. Any member of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast for whom the Treasurer of said Association shall after the fifteenth day of March pay to the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association of America the sum of two dollars and fifty cents (\$2.50) shall be admitted to full membership in the said Modern Language Association of America and to all the privileges thereof, except that his name shall not in that year be printed in the list of members of the Modern Language Association of America, nor in any other year in which payment is not made as aforesaid before the fifteenth day of March.

III. If at any future time the annual payment of three dollars now required by Article III of the Constitution from every member of the Modern Language Association of America not a Life Member or an Honorary Member shall be increased or diminished, the sum of two dollars and fifty cents provided in Articles I and II above shall be increased or diminished in the same ratio; otherwise this Agreement shall terminate.

IV. This Agreement shall terminate upon one year's notice given by either party to the other; otherwise it shall continue in full force and virtue.

On motion of the Secretary it was unanimously *Resolved*: that this meeting

(1) Approves the proposed Articles of Agreement between the Modern Language Association of America and the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast.

(2) Recommends to the Executive Council the making of such Amendments to the Constitution as may be necessary to carry said Articles of Agreement into effect.

(3) Authorizes the Secretary-Treasurer in 1918 and 1919 to extend to the members of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast the privileges that will be secured to them by the adoption of the aforesaid Articles of Agreement; provided, however, that such

extension of privilege shal not constitute a right, that said members of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast shal not be admitted to full membership in the Modern Language Association of America until the Constitution is amended accordingly, and that in the years 1918 and 1919 the members of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast to whom the aforesaid privileges ar granted shal hav their names printed in a list appended to the list of members of the Modern Language Association of America under the rubric "Members of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast affiliated with the Modern Language Association of America".

In connection with the amendment of the Constitution necessary to carry the foregoing Agreement into effect the Secretary pointed out that members of the varius local societies of teachers might welcom the opportunity for an affiliation with the Association that shud afford them, on favorable terms, participation in some of the privileges of membership; and on his motion it was unanimously

Resolved: that this meeting recommends to the Executiv Council the folloing addition to Article III of the Constitution:

Members of other societies of scholars or teachers may be admitted either to membership in the Association, or to affiliation with the same, upon such terms as the Executiv Council shal from time to time determin. Members of other societies so admitted to membership in the Association shal hav all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto; persons admitted to affiliation with the Association shal hav such rights and privileges as may be mutually agreed upon, but not the right to vote or to hold offis in the Association.

On motion of the Secretary the thanks of the Association wer unanimously exprest to Professor G. M. Priest for representing the Association at the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Rutgers College.

Professor C. H. Grandgent askt leav to introduce on the folloing day a motion concerning the use of a fonetic

alfabet in the teaching of languages; and permission was readily granted.

Professor F. B. Luquiens moved that a committee of five be appointed by the Chair to revise the recommendations made in 1910 concerning a course of study in Spanish. The motion was unanimously adopted, and the Chair appointed to this committee Professors J. D. M. Ford, E. R. Greene, J. P. W. Crawford, F. B. Luquiens, R. H. Keniston.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The Dramas of George Henry Boker." By Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[An investigation of the manuscripts of George Henry Boker, in the possession of his family, establishes dates and circumstances of production of *Calaynos*, *The Betrothal*, *All the World a Mask*, *Leonor de Guzman*, and *Francesca da Rimini*, and brings to light three other plays, never published. These and other data establish his claim to be considered as a practical playwright.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

2. "The Literary Criticism of John Wilson." By Professor Carrie Anna Harper, of Mount Holyoke College.

[A study of the more than 2000 pages of literary criticism written by John Wilson (Christopher North) for *Blackwood's Magazine*. I. Classification. II. Characterization. III. Treatment of contemporaries. Wilson's phrasing of the relations between critic and author is brutal, but his actual criticism is usually encomium. He valued, in both classical and contemporary criticism, the portrayal of human emotions. His work is frankly personal. It should be sharply differentiated from Jeffrey's.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

3. "Der Unterschied in Schillers und Kants Auffassung von der Ethik, dargelegt aus ihren Werken." By Professor Anton Appelmann, of the University of Vermont.

[Kant: Pflicht schlieszt Freundschaft aus. Des Menschen empirisches Wesen ist radikal böse, die Sinnlichkeit unterschiedslos verwerflich. Schiller: Die sinnliche und geistige Natur bilden harmonische Einheit, dargestellt in schöner Sittlichkeit. Kants Freiheitsbegriff ist abstrakt; der Schillers, ein objektiv-realer Prozess. Kant: Das Schöne ist form- und körperlos, ein abstraktes Etwas, nur dem Verstande definierbar. Schiller: Es ist der Schein der dargestellten übersinnlichen Idee, und die ästhetische Erhebung ist kein unbestimmtes Lustgefühl, sondern Erhebung zur konkreten sittlichen Idee.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

4. "The Analytic Syntax and Some Problems of Germanic Philology." By Dr. Alexander Green, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[This paper presented the salient features of the analytic syntax, discuss the relative advantages of the formal and of the functional classification of syntactical expressions, and investigated the applicability of the formal method to problems of Germanic Philology. Especial consideration was given to ways and means in which such a system can elucidate moot questions of syntax in the translational literature of Gothic, OHG, and AGS.—*Twenty minutes.*]

5. "The *Ingénu* of Voltaire." By Professor Shirley Gale Patterson, of Dartmouth College.

[The romances of Voltaire have not received the scholarly attention that their reputation implies. In this paper the *procédés* of their satiric technique were studied as evidenced in the little-red *Ingénu*. The history of the composition of the tale. The source of the principal situation of the story, and of fugitive ideas in it. Voltaire is not to be charged with plagiarism, though his borrowings are evident.—*Twenty minutes.*]

At seven o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, December 27, members of the Association dined together in Procter Hall, The Graduate College. President John Grier Hibben of Princeton University presided and welcomed the gathering. At half-past eight o'clock the President of the Association, Professor James Douglas Bruce, delivered in Procter Hall an address entitled "Recent Educational Tendencies."

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28

The session began at 9.45 a. m.

On behalf of Professor John William Cunliffe, *Chairman*, the Secretary presented the folloing report of the Committee on the Reproduction of Erly Texts:

The Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts, while regretting the delay in the publication of the facsimiles of the Caedmon and Cotton Nero MSS., encourages subscribers to have faith that they will yet appear. Professor Israel Gollancz, who has charge of both facsimiles on behalf of the British Academy and the Early English Text Society, writes: "I hope at least Cotton Nero will be issued in reasonable time: both are ready."

J. W. CUNLIFFE,
Chairman.

On motion of the Secretary the report was accepted and the committee continued.

On behalf of the Trustees of the Permanent Fund the Secretary reported for Professor W. A. Neilson, *Managing Trustee*, that the Fund amounted December 22, 1916, to \$6,765, an increase of \$115 in 1916.

For the Committee on the Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foren Languages Professor Carl F. Kayser reported as folloes:

December 23, 1916.

*To the Modern Language Association of America
Assembled in Its Thirty-fourth Annual
Meeting at Princeton, N. J.*

Your Committee on the Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages begs to report that, in accordance with the trend of the discussion of its Preliminary Report at the Union Meeting at Cleveland in 1915 and in pursuance of the action of the Association then taken (Proceedings for 1915, p. xix), it has prepared its final report which is herewith presented.

In its final form the Report is a comprehensive document of about 30,000 words which, on account of its length, it is evidently im-

possible to bring before the entire Association except in printed form. Before printing, the Report as it now stands is to be revised once more, most carefully, in regard to all matters of form, as well as in regard to a few matters of minor detail, as e. g. a table of contents, certain bibliographies, and a brief summary at the end, for which there was not sufficient time at present.

We do not submit a document that calls for any specific action, nor one that commits the Association or any of its members to any specific policy. If as a result of certain sections of our report such action should be proposed at subsequent meetings of the Association, we should consider that as one indication that our Report was bearing fruit.

In support of our method of procedure we desire to quote the closing paragraph from the letter which accompanied our Preliminary Report of last year:

"Your committee, if asked to prepare a final report along the lines indicated in the present preliminary one, will not invite this Association to commit itself by a formal vote to any definite set of resolutions or recommendations. For we feel that by proceeding in this freer and less dogmatic manner we can best serve a cause in which we apparently are all deeply interested, yet not always of one mind in regard to the best methods of attaining the object sought."

In presenting our final Report we desire to express the hope that the Association, if it accepts it, will authorize the Committee to proceed to have it printed, without expense to the Association, thru one of the regular firms in our field (to be sold at cost), and previously, if that proves feasible, thru the U. S. Bureau of Education.

Respectfully submitted,

On behalf of the Committee,

A. R. HOHLFELD,

Chairman.

On motion of Professor C. H. Grandgent it was unanimously *Voted*: that the report of the Committee on the Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages be accepted, and that the recommendation to print the final report in the manner stated be approved.

On motion of Professor C. H. Grandgent it was unanimously *Resolved*:

(1) That elementary linguistic instruction, whether in a foreign language or in English, should include effective training in pronunciation.

(2) That, as an aid to such training, a simple fonetic alfabet, similar to the one which this Association helpt to devise and in 1905 formally approved, should be generally accepted for the notation of the sounds of English speech.

(3) That carefully organized experiments in the teaching of the mother tung by a fonetic method ar highly desirable.

Professor G. M. Priest reporting for the auditing committee that the Tresurer's accounts had been found correct, it was unanimously *Voted*: that the Tresurer's report be accepted.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

6. "*Sir Perceval and The Boyish Exploits of Finn.*"
By Professor Roy Bennett Pace, of Swarthmore College.

[The Irish story cald *The Boyish Exploits of Finn* has long been known as a parallel to the English romance, *Sir Perceval*. Because of its supposed late date, its value in throing light on the origin of the Perceval story has not been recognized. When it is viewd as a composition certainly as erly as the twelfth century, and perhaps as erly as the tenth, the seven features which it has in common with *Sir Perceval* giv it a greater interest, and form an additional bit of evidence favoring the theory of Celtic origin.—*Ten minutes.*]

7. "The Return to Nature in English of the Eighteenth Century." By Professor Cecil A. Moore, of Trinity College, North Carolina.

[Thru a comparativ study of philosophy and poetry, this article attempted to sho that the so-cald "return to nature" is not merely a revival of erlier literary practis, but that some of the most poetic details of our modern conception of nature ar due to the popular imitation of Augustan philosophy.—*Twenty minutes.*]

8. "Accentual Structure of Isolable English Phrases."
By Professor Fred Newton Scott, of the University of Michigan.

[A study of the accentual rhythms of English prose based on a prosodic analysis of 2500 idiomatic phrases and an equal number of titles of prose fiction.—*Ten minutes.*]

9. "Young Germany in its Relations to Great Britain."
By Professor John Whyte, of New York University.

[Admiration for British politics, but recognition of some weaknesses and distrust of foreign policies. Attribution of the high rank of British literature to vigorous national life. Desire for such a life in Germany as the basis of a literature to counteract Romantic extravagances. Esteem for certain characteristics of the Briton, though to all, except Mundt, he is unattractive and uncongenial.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

10. "The Attitude of the Augustans towards Milton."
By Professor Raymond D. Havens, of the University of Rochester.

[An examination of the English writers from Dryden to Johnson shows that, contrary to the received opinion, nearly every one admired *Paradise Lost*, and many were enthusiastic over it; that a considerable number wrote blank verse, and that most were favorably inclined towards it. The bearing of these facts upon our conception of the neo-classicists, the "romantic revolt," etc.—*Twenty minutes.*]

11. "Poetry of the Cow Camp and the Cattle Trail."
By Professor John A. Lomax, of the University of Texas.

[Cowboys are fond of reciting verse as well as singing songs. Much of this verse is anonymous, as are the songs. Nearly all of it is imbued with action, and many a fragment possesses real power. In the mass it reflects the spirit of the big West.—*Thirty minutes.*]

At two o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 28, there was a meeting of the Concordance Society.

THIRD SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28

The session began at 2.45 p. m.

The reading of papers was continued.

12. "Notes sur un domaine inexploré de recherches."
By Professor Albert Schinz, of Smith College.

[De quelques ouvrages parcourus ces dernières années (Adams, *Jefferson and the University of Virginia*; Smyth, *Edition de Franklin*; Mims, *Edition du Voyage de Moreau de Saint-Méry*; Jusserand, *With Americans, past and present*, etc.) il ressort avec évidence que nos connaissances des rapports des pensées française et américaine avant et pendant la période tout importante de la Révolution, sont à la fois incomplètes et imprécises. Quant aux périodes d'après la Révolution, tout, à peu près, reste à faire. On a souvent conclu du fait qu'on avait établi certains rapports de pensée avec l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne, qu'il n'en existait point avec la France. En réalité, il y a promesse d'une bonne moisson. Exemples et suggestions. A remarquer que les documents et textes sont à portée de chacun — *Thirty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor Gustave Lanson.

13. "The Theme of Death in *Paradise Lost*." By Professor John Erskine, of Columbia University.

[The moral significance of deth as announced at the beginning of the epic and as illustrated allegorically at the end of Book II. Why Milton did not devote himself to a consistent exposition of this theme. His more humane account of deth and his less orthodox opinion of sin at the close of the poem.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

During the reading of this paper and to the end of the session Professor C. B. Wilson occupied the chair.

14. "The *gracioso* in the plays of Lope de Vega." By Mr. Angelo Lipari, of the University of Toronto.

[The elements of comedy: traces to be found in most dramatic works.—Ancient mimes.—The Latin *slave*.—The Italian *lazzi* and *la commedia dell' arte*.—The Spanish *bobo* and *simple*.—*La Francisilla* and Lope's claim to the invention of the *gracioso*.—Lope's development of the typical *gracioso*.—Brief analysis of *la figura del donayre* in some of his principal plays taken from different periods.—Characteristics of Lope's *gracioso*.—The rôle he plays.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

15. "According to the Decorum of these Daies." By Dr. David Klein, of the College of the City of New York.

[Five gentlemen of the Inner Temple collaborated in a play entitled *Gismond of Salerne* and presented it before the Queen in 1568.

In 1591 one of the five, Robert Wilmot, published a revision of the work under the name *Tancred and Gismund*, the title page affirming that the play was "newly revived and polished according to the decorum of these daies." A comparison between the two versions throws light on the development of the art of the theater during an interval of a quarter of a century.—*Ten minutes.*]

16. "The Genesis of *Ruy Blas*." By Professor H. Carrington Lancaster, of Amherst College.

[In establishing the sources of *Ruy Blas* scholars have overlooked Victor Hugo's testimony as to how the idea of the play first came to him. The credibility of his evidence. The information it gives as to the manner in which Hugo used his known sources in the composition of this play.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

17. "Allegories of Courtly Love in the Pastoral Comedies of Lyly." By Dr. Percy W. Long, of Harvard University.

[Not only in *Endimion*, but in *Midas* and *Love's Metamorphosis*, are found hitherto unstated allegories of courtly love. The increasing completeness of these coincides with lessening definiteness of personal allusion, and affords a means of substantiating the conjectural order of the pastoral comedies.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

Owing to the lateness of the hour the reading of this paper was omitted.

At half past four in the afternoon of Thursday, December 28, there was a meeting of the American Dialect Society.

From five to six o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 28, members of the Association were received by President and Mrs. Hibben at Prospect.

At half past seven o'clock in the evening of Thursday, December 28, the ladies of the Association dined together at the Nassau Inn.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Thursday, December

28, the gentlemen of the Association wer entertained at a smoker at the Nassau Club.

They wer address by Mr. McCready Sykes.

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29

The session began at 9.50 a. m.

On behalf of the committee on nominations Professor H. A. Todd reported the folloing nominations:

For President: Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard University.

For Vice-Presidents: Professor Oliver M. Johnston, of Leland Stanford Jr. University; Professor A. C. L. Brown, of Northwestern University; Professor Carl F. Kayser, of Hunter College of the City of New York.

The report was unanimously accepted and the nominees wer declared elected to their several offices for the year 1917.

On behalf of the committee on resolutions Professor B. P. Bourland reported as folloes:

The Modern Language Association of America offers its sincere thanks to all those who hav contributed by their hospitality to the success of the present meeting. In particular, to President and Mrs. Hibben, who hav opend their home for the reception of the members of the Association; to the House Committee of the Nassau Club, who hav put the commodius quarters of the Club at the disposal of the Association; to Chairman Collins and the members of the Local Committee, who hav been tireless in their exertions and most happy in the results they hav achievd; and to the University and the community of Princeton, which hav spared no effort to make the stay of the members of the Association plesant and the meeting successful. To each and all of these the Modern Language Association of America offers this expression of harty gratitude.

It was thereupon unanimously

Resolved: that the foregoing report be adopted and the thanks of the Association exprest accordingly.

For Honorary Membership in the Association the Executive Council nominated Michele Barbi, University of Messina, and Alfred W. Pollard, of the British Museum. On motion of Professor F. N. Scott these distinguished foreign scholars were unanimously elected Honorary Members.

Professor J. P. Hoskins briefly called the attention of the Association to the new *Modern Language Journal*.

On behalf of the ladies of the Association the Secretary presented the following communications:

I. The women members of the Association wish to express their thanks to the authorities of Princeton University and especially to Professor Collins and Mrs. Spaeth for the generous hospitality extended to them on the evening of December 28.

MARY V. YOUNG,
ISABELLE BRONK,
HENRIETTA VON KLENZE,
Committee.

II. The women members of the Association at their meeting on December 28 elected as their representatives for the year 1917 the following: Professors Mary V. Young, Isabelle Bronk, Luise Haessler, Marian P. Whitney, and Laura E. Lockwood. It is suggested that these persons act as an auxiliary committee to be consulted on questions relating to the arrangements made for the women members of the Association at the next meeting.

At the suggestion of the Secretary the President appointed the ladies mentioned in the second communication a committee of the Association for the purpose indicated.

On motion of Professor H. S. Canby it was unanimously *Resolved*: that it is the sense of this meeting that the Secretary be requested to provide, if it be practicable, an op-

portunity at the next meeting of the Association for the discussion of pedagogical problems.

At the request of Professor W. G. Hale, *Chairman*, it was unanimously *Voted*: that the representation of this Association upon the committee on grammatical nomenclature be continued.

The reading of papers was thereupon resumed.

18. "Three Phases of English Poetry." By Professor William Ellery Leonard, of the University of Wisconsin.

[An attempt to co-ordinate the familiar phenomena and traditional definitions of three characteristic movements from 1700 to the present time (Rationalism, Romanticism, Evolutionism) under a somewhat less familiar formulation, which emphasizes poetry as a document in the history of the philosophic interpretation of life and the world.—*Twenty minutes*.]

19. "The Marriage Group in the *Canterbury Tales*." By Mr. Henry Barrett Hinckley, of Northampton, Massachusetts.

[Group D is undoubtedly folloed by Group E, but the position of Group F is absolutely uncertain. If we wer bound to co-ordinate it with D and E, we shud do wel to place it before D rather than after E. D breaks off abruptly, and the intended gaps between D and E, and between E and F, ar immesurable. F cannot conclude a debate on matrimony so long as F is folloed by G. The *Prolog* and *Tale* of the Wife of Bath find their most unifying theme in the Wife's preoccupation with husband-hunting. Clerk and Merchant ar not primarily concern'd with the Wife or her contentions. The Franklin's introduction deals primarily with frendship, of which matrimony is treated as a form.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

During the reading of this paper and to the end of the session Professor C. B. Wilson occupied the chair.

20. "Friedrich Lienhards Literaturbetrachtung." By Dr. Friedrich Schoenemann, of Harvard University.

[Fr. Lienhard (geb. 1865), ein echtdeutscher Dichter aus dem Elsass. Elsassisches in seiner Kunst.—Sein Begriff der Heimatkunst. Seine eigenen Leistungen als Heimatkünstler wurden kurz erläutert an den dramatischen Dichtungen: *Münchhausen*, *Till Eulenspiegel*, *Wieland der Schmied*, und an *Oberlin*, *Roman aus der Revolutionszeit im Elsass*.—Was uns seine Literaturbetrachtung sein kann. *Die Wege nach Weimar*, *Neue Ideale*.—*Der Einsiedler und sein Volk* (1914).—*Twenty minutes.*]

21. "The Fable as a Poetic Genre in English." By Professor M. Ellwood Smith, of Syracuse University.

[Critical conception in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries: Sidney, Bacon, D'Avenant, Butler, Dryden, Blackmore, and Dennis. Confusion of Universal and Allegoric, Fable and Plot. Tendency carried out in Bodmer and Breitinger's *Hauptgattung*. Goethe's comment. Consideration of such fables in English as have poetic merit.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

22. "Richard Wagner and the German Philologists." By Professor Paul R. Pope, of Cornell University.

[Wagner's indebtedness to the earlier philologists, especially the Grimms, v. d. Hagen, San Marte, Lucas, and Görres. Numerous passages in Wagner's voluminous autobiographical writings as well as evidence obtained by comparing Wagner's texts with their sources attest this obligation. Wagner's thorough study of technical philological treatises. His eclecticism. Mistaken theories and etymologies of philologists furnish Wagner with motifs of the highest artistic worth.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

FIFTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29

The session began at 2.45 p. m.

The reading of papers was continued.

23. "The Legend of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin at Stone Priory." By Professor Gordon Hall Gerould, of Princeton University.

[This fifteenth-century legend is shown to be the complement of a fragment in verse, printed by Dugdale, which recounts the history of Stone Priory. The separately preserved documents refer

to one another and to their use as inscriptions on the walls of the priory church. The evidence they furnish as to the use of poems of some length in mural display is of considerable importance.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

24. "Maupassant's Sources." By Dr. Olin H. Moore, of the University of Illinois.

[Episodes borrowed from Flaubert. Obligations to Paul Bourget. Influence of Poe and Daudet. New materials on the use of the *nouvelles* in the composition of the *romans*. Tolstoi's strictures upon the moral value of Maupassant's works, and possible light on this subject from a study of the development of the *nouvelles*.—*Twenty minutes.*]

During the reading of this paper and to the close of the session Professor B. P. Bourland occupied the chair.

25. "Shakespeare and the Censor of Great Britain." By Dr. Evert Mordecai Clark, of the University of Texas.

[A discussion of the Shakespearean criticism which appeared in the *Censor* papers of 1715-17, and an attempt to show that, as a dramatic critic, Lewis Theobald, self-styled "Censor of Great Britain," was essentially un-Augustan; that he was already Shakespeare's most effective champion in 1716, ten years before the appearance of *Shakespeare Restored*.—*Twenty minutes.*]

26. "The Development of Brief Narrative in Modern French Literature: a statement of the Problem." By Dr. Horatio E. Smith, of Yale College.

[Literary historians have diligently studied the American and English short story, and the German *Novelle*, but not the corresponding French forms. Here appears to be a promising field for investigation. A survey of the territory, from the non-committal statements in the *Encyclopédie* (1754) and the pioneer definition of Marмонтel (1776) to Brunetiere's distinction between *conte*, *nouvelle*, and *roman* (1903).—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

27. "French Literature and Science." By Dr. William H. Scheiffely, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[The unparalleled development of science between 1840 and 1880 led enthusiasts like Renan, Taine, and Zola to draw far-reaching con-

clusions, which appealed to the masses. But after a rapid triumph in literature, criticism, philosophy, and religion, the new cult, upon failing to keep its "promises," was derided by such men as Brunetière, Tolstoy, and Bourget. In the literary reaction, professional representatives of science—particularly doctors—ar pitilessly satirized and ridiculed for the discredit of their "new idol."—*Twenty minutes.*]

At 4.30 p. m. the Association adjurnd.

PAPERS RED BY TITLE

The folloing papers, presented to the Association, wer red by title only:

28. "The Rhythm of Prose and Free Verse." By Professor Clarence E. Andrews, of the Ohio State University.

[Free verse must not be haphazard. Prose, having no rhythmical or metrical pattern, permits greater variety of tempo, emphasis, and pitch. The emotional effect of "rhythmical prose" depends primarily upon the sense of the passage, not upon the rhythm. Rhythmical prose and free verse ar the same in principle. Writers of free verse may therefore lern from masters of prose to choose appropriate subjects, to vary the length of phrase and the flo of rhythm, to employ suggestiv rhythms, and to regulate lines according to sense.]

29. "Benavente's *El Marido de la Télles* and its French Prototypes." By Dr. Courtney Bruerton, of Dartmouth College.

[The efforts of the Spanish press to find local allusions in Señor Benavente's *El Marido de la Télles*—which describes the rivalry of a great actress and her husband—disclosed the fact that the play derived from Lemaitre's *Flipote*, and, thru the latter, from Daudet's *Un Ménage de chanteurs*. Neither play has caught the charm of Daudet's story, altho Benavente has succeeded better than Lemaitre, both in characterization and in technique.]

30. "The Poetry of Francisco de la Torre." By Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[The purpose of this paper is to indicate the influence of the Italian Petrarchists and Neo-Latin poets upon the verse of Francisco de la Torre. The influence of the Neo-Platonic conception of Love upon his poetry and his position among the Spanish poets of the sixteenth century ar also considerd.]

31. "*LOVE FAYNED AND UNFAYNED: An Anabaptist Apologia.*" By Miss E. Beatrice Daw, of Bryn Mawr College.

[The fragmentary Morality *Love Fayned and Unfayned*, recently discovered by Mr. Arundel Esdaille, holds a unique place in the drama of religious controversy of the later Elizabethan period in that it appears to be the only known instance of dramatic expression on the part of the sect of Anabaptists. Numerus allusions in the play connect it with Anabaptist principles; e.g., hostility toward the Establish't Church and the Papacy, denial of the right of private property, opposition to mirth and amusements, insistence upon simplicity in dress and manner of address. The play also contains references to Anabaptist methods of propaganda and to contemporary persecution of the sect. A certain amount of influence from another sect of communist mystics, the Family of Love, is also traceable, but there ar grounds for believing that the authorship of the play does not fall within this group. *Love Fayned and Unfayned* is significant as indicating the wide range of the controversial drama of the period, which has attracted into its activity the comparatively obscure sect of the Anabaptists.]

32. "The Influence of the *Revelations* of pseudo-Methodius in Middle English Writings, together with a Middle English Metrical Version." By Miss Charlotte D'Evelyn, of Bryn Mawr College.

[The *Revelations* of pseudo-Methodius, a seventh-century world-history and prophecy, originally written in Greek, became, in Latin translation, one of the most widely quoted authorities of the Middle Ages. In England the work was known almost exclusively in a much abridgd version. It is this short text which was cited in the *Cursor Mundi* and in Capgrave's *Chronicle*, and which appeared in three independent English translations. The unique metrical translation, a stanzaic version of the fifteenth century (975 lines), is here presented, together with a copy of the short Latin text.]

33. "The Indebtedness of Restoration Comedy to English Comedy Before 1642." By Mrs. Mary Wakefield Dickson, Ph. D., of Radcliffe College.

[Restoration comedy was produced in imitation, not of Molière, but of old English plays revived in London in the early years of the Restoration. Molière furnishes incident and caracters, aiding the English dramatist to make a varied play, but in design, in theme, and in spirit Restoration drama folloes English models. Dryden takes the witty duel of sex from Fletcher, Wycherley the antithesis of the wit and the wud-be-wit from Jonson; Etherege combines

these and produces the first finished comedy of manners in *The Man of Mode*. Restoration dialog begins in an imitation of Fletcher and Shakespeare by Dryden and Etherege, is gradually refined upon by Etherege, and attains perfection in Congreve. The prolific hack writers of the period produce decadent comedy of intrigue in imitation of Brome and his school. Precedent for every feature of Restoration comedy can be found in the elder dramas; notably, Shirley's *Lady of Pleasure* affords an interesting approximation to the type. What is new is the manner in which the Restoration dramatist adapts old materials to an imitation of the life of his own times.]

34. "Spenser, Lady Carey, and the *Complaints* Volume." By Professor O. F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University.

[Spenser's promise to exalt the name of Lady Carey in his sonnet accompanying the *Faerie Queene*. The solution connecting that promise with the *Amoretti*. Another proposed. The composition, arrangement, and publication of the *Complaints* volume. Spenser's part in preparing that volume and new circumstances affecting his original plan.]

35. "Primary Sources for Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*." By Mr. Willard Edward Farnham, of Harvard University.

[The story of bird lovers and their pleading for a formal, which is the central incident of the *Parlement of Foules*, seems almost certainly connected with a widespread folk tale of contending lovers who perform service, plead for the loved one, but are granted no decision by a much perplexed judge. As a type the tale is a hoax. Closest to the *Parlement* and similar even in minute essential details is the story of the founding of Prato incorporated in *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, written supposedly by Giovanni da Prato very shortly after Chaucer. Historical allegory is unnecessary to explain the *Parlement* in the light of comparisons with this type of folk tale.]

36. "The Higher Aim of Comparative Literature." By Dr. Louis Sigmund Friedland, of the College of the City of New York.

[In the large assemblage of modern studies, each aims at a synthesis. The synthesis of Comparative Literature is a spiritual one. A nation's literature is a revelation of its true spiritual self. The comparison of these revelations discovers that they are essentially alike. Literature wipes out boundaries and swallows distances. It reveals the mind of man in its true universality. Yet it foretells no deducing uniformity.]

Nationalism, and the higher aim of Comparativ Literature. Each nation thinks itself the center of the universe—a Ptolemaic conception. Comparativ Literature—in its higher synthesis—is the Newtonian theory of nations. Comparativ Literature and the clash of cultures. America, a nation actually international and interracial (Dewey), can best convey the great message of Comparativ Literature. In our cuntry the higher synthesis of Comparativ Literature must be the animating thought of all teachers of literature. It shud becom the vital inspiration of all literary instruction.]

37. "‘Playeng in the Dark’ during the Elizabethan Period." By Professor Thornton Shirley Graves, of Trinity College, North Carolina.

[This paper is a reply to a recent production by Mr. W. J. Lawrence, and establishes the fact that performances wer frequently begun in the Elizabethan public theaters at such late hours of the afternoon as to make imperativ the employment of more or less artificial light. Further evidence is advanced to prove that plays wer sometimes given at night in the regular London playhouses during the lifetime of Shakespeare, and reasons ar presented why these performances occurd most frequently on Sunday.]

38. "Free Rhythm in German Poetry." By Professor Louise Mallinckrodt Kueffner, of Vassar College.

[The present development of free rhythm in America is ascribed to contemporary French influence. Tancrède de Visan points to the influence on French poetry of the free rhythms of Novalis. But free rhythm in Germany began with Klopstock. Brief analysis of free rhythms as found in Klopstock, Goethe, Hölderlin, Novalis, Mörike, Heine. Revival of free rhythm since Nietzsche.]

39. "Development in the Political Thinking of Milton." By Professor Jesse F. Mack, of Hillsdale College.

[The political principles of Milton wer not born full fledgd. His interpretations changed with the shifting of events. He enterd the Puritan struggle a moderate monarchy man; he became a Republican, an Oliverian, and at the end a doctrinaire advocate of a sort of electiv aristocracy. These changes ar due not so much to a far-reaching questioning and revision of former theories, as to personal antagonisms. He shoes little facility in returning upon himself and in noting wherein he may hav faild.]

40. "The Constructive Element in the Satire of Dean Swift." By Dr. Harvey W. Peck, of the University of Texas.

[The satire of Jonathan Swift is based upon positiv ethical ideas. The fact that these ideas wer presented negatively and with unique humor has caused critics to lose sight of their consistent and serius character. Swift's misanthropy may hav been due in some mesure to his despair of persuading men to accept his doctrines. The serius nature of Swift's satire is shown by his repeated diatribes against intemperance, the social evil, and war, and his indirect advocacy of temperance, self-control, hygiene, eugenics, and international frendship. The general philosophical principles that he attackt may be sumd up as naturalism, individualism, and nationalism; and those he commended, as rationalism or humanism and internationalism. Despite his personal bitterness, Swift may be regarded as a constructiv ethical teacher, representing a positiv and common-sense type of Christianity, which, in its stress upon the physical and material basis of welfare, anticipates strikingly many of the characteristic social movements of the 20th century.]

41. "The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare." By Mr. Hyder E. Rollins, of Harvard University.

[The reputation of Chaucer's *Criseyde* was hopelessly ruind by Henryson's *Testament of Oreseyde*, but this poem was publiht in every edition of Chaucer from 1535 to 1721, and was up to Shakespeare's time, as innumerable references in plays, poems, miscellanies, and broadside ballads prove, thought to be Chaucer's own work. In his erlier plays Shakespeare has the usual contemptuus references to Cressida, but in his *Troilus and Cressida*, as the history of the love story shoes, insted of being bitterly hostil to her, he pulld her slightly out of the mire in which Henryson's folloers had placed her. He added nothing to the characterization of Pandar. The history also throes some light on Shakespeare's purpose in writing the play and on its peculiar ending.]

42. "History of Spanish Literary Criticism in the United States." By Mr. M. Romera-Navarro, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[This study is divided into three parts: 1. A discussion of the precursors of the Hispanist movement in the United States, including Washington Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, Longfellow, and Lowell; 2. The Hispanist Society of America; 3. Contemporary historians, biographers, critics, commentators, poets, translators, and travellers who hav contributed to Spanish literary history or to an appreciation of "cosas de España" in the United States.]

43. "The Beginning of Italian Influence in English Prose Fiction." By Professor Howard J. Savage, of Bryn Mawr College.

[*The Goodli History of Luores*, which had appeared by 1560, a translation of Æneas Sylvius's *De Duobus Amantibus*, one of the most popular *novelle* of the Renaissance, is, so far as we know, the first rendering of an Italian *novella* for its own sake into English prose. Æneas based his story very exactly upon the Siennese amours of Sigismund's chancellor, Gaspar Schlick. Beginning with this tale, the influence of Italian stories brought the literary convention of the letter into Elizabethan prose fiction.]

44. "Significance of the First Scene in the French Realistic Drama." By Dr. William H. Scheifley, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[Altho Augier and Dumas *fil*s followed the classical tradition of revealing a part of the plot in the opening scene, they were hampered by their predilection for anecdotal conceits, and parallel plots. The rapid, unobstructed action demanded by our materialistic age compelled Becque and the younger realists to omit all digressions, incorporating still more of their plot in the first scene, since it is here that condensation counts most. Following a principle of Dumas *fil*s, contemporary French realists keep the *dénouement* constantly in mind.]

45. "*Chansons de geste* and the Homeric problem." By Professor William P. Shepard, of Hamilton College.

[Despite many close resemblances long since recognized, no detailed comparison between the Greek and the French *épopées* has been attempted since the discovery of new archeological evidence in Crete and the Aegean has modified opinions of the Homeric world on the one hand, and since M. Bédier's researches have revised our conception of the *chansons* on the other. In this paper, an attempt is made to indicate and discuss some analogies in respect to questions of (a) textual criticism and dialect; (b) cultural and social conditions, conscious or unconscious archaizing, expurgation, etc.; (c) geographical and historical background; (d) analytical criticism of content, contradictions, incoherencies and interpolations; (e) unity or multiplicity of authorship. A discussion of the value of these analogies, and a final parallel.]

46. "The Place of Middle High German in the College Curriculum." By Professor Lillian L. Stroebe, of Vassar College.

[The great variety of opinion apparent in college programs. Is MHG an undergraduate or a post-graduate study? Is Gothic or OHG prerequisite? How much knowledge of general linguistic development can students be presumed to have? Methods of teaching MHG. The

most important phase of the study. Importance of etymology and semantics. How much MHG ought a high school teacher of German to know?]

47. "The Glossed *Boece de Consolation* of Jean de Meung: Medieval Prolegomena to French Classic Rationalism." By Dr. Maud Elizabeth Temple, of Hartford, Connecticut.

[This work, represented in a fine manuscript, apparently unique, tho similar to some other glost versions, is the chief philosophic model and source of supply for the School of Neo-Victorine thinkers in the early fifteenth century. Intimate resemblances in the interpretation given by the Gloss to the ideas of Gerson, culminating in the *Internelle Consolation*, and resemblances to the Latin style and temper of Pierre d'Ailly, incline me to believe that the Gloss is his work, or that of one of his immediate teachers or disciples. By an ingenious manner of etymological, rather than allegorical, interpretation, it recalls the comments of Chrysostom, and peculiarly predicts the mood of the Renaissance. Its psychology is Neo-Platonic, Realist-Nominalist, and as this finds its expression in the French vernacular, it anticipates the cardinal aspects of French Classic Rationalism.]

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION

The twenty-second annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Chicago, Illinois, under the auspices of the University of Chicago and of Northwestern University, December 27, 28, 29, 1916.

The sessions were held in the assembly rooms of the Fort Dearborn Hotel, Van Buren and La Salle Streets, Chicago; in the Reynolds Club, University of Chicago; and in Northwestern University Law Building, Lake and Dearborn Streets, Chicago. The Chairman of the Division, Professor William Henry Hulme, of Western Reserve University, presided.

The attendance at the meeting was large. The register shoed the names of 240 delegates and visitors. The attendance at the luncheon at the University of Chicago was given as 182, at the smoker 179, and at the luncheon given by Northwestern University 165. The following institutions were represented by three or more persons: University of Chicago 37, University of Illinois 19, University of Indiana 6, University of Iowa 7, University of Kansas 5, Lewis Institute (Chicago) 3, University of Michigan 6, University of Minnesota 9, University of Nebraska 3, Northwestern University 15, Ohio State University 3, University of Texas 3, Vanderbilt University 3, University of Wisconsin 29.

Every member on the program, with one exception, was able to be present and read his paper.

The Executive Committee of the Division held its annual meeting December 27 at 11 a. m. and prepared its report, which was acted on at the final business session.

The folloing local committees wer in charge of the arrangements: University of Chicago, Professors T. A. Jenkins, Percy H. Boynton, and Charles Goettach; North-western University, Professors E. P. Baillot, J. T. Hatfield, R. S. Crane.

FIRST SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27

Indian Room, Fort Dearborn Hotel

The meeting was cald to order at 2 p. m.

The Secretary of the Division, Professor B. E. Young, of Vanderbilt University, presented a brief report, reviewing the work of the year. Discussing plans for the future, he red suggestions from Secretary Howard regarding ways and means of increasing the membership and revenues of the Association, and urged the coöperation of all members. The report was approved.

The Chairman stated that he wud announce the committees on Thursday morning.

The Chairman gave notis that all meetings wud be opend on time and that readers of papers wud be held strictly to time allotments.

Professor T. A. Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, made announcements for the local committees on entertainment.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Historical Poetry of the Hundred Years' War." By Professor Henry Raymond Brush, of the University of North Dakota.

[Froissart mentions the work of varius jongleurs in connection with events with which he is concernd. Of these poems there exists no complete list. Some ar found only in manuscript form. This paper listed and summarized this material, so far as discovered, also

cald attention to interesting popular misconceptions which the poems reveal.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

2. "The Ballads of 'Schir Ginkertoun' and 'Schir Andro Wode.'" By Professor Charles Read Baskerville, of the University of Chicago.

["Gynkertoun," which Lyndsay (*Complaynt*, 1529) cald the favorit tune of James V., was probably the air for the ballad of "Schir Ginkertoun" preservd in *Schir Ginkertounis Garland*, (1780). Internal evidence indicates that this ballad is very old, for in it is found conventional fraseology of the old traditional ballads, and its opening seems to reflect the *aubades*. The garland contains another ballad cald "Schir Andro Wode: His Battell wi Schir Stevin Bull," which records a sea battle of 1490 between the Scotch and English, perhaps a Scotch counterpart of the famous "Sir Andrew Barton."—*Twenty minutes.*]

3. "Cervantes in Germany." By Professor Oscar Burkhard, of the University of Minnesota.

[This paper was offerd as a tribute to the memory of Cervantes. It aimd to review the history of the erly introduction of Cervantes' works into Germany, with special reference to his *novelas exemplares*.—*Ten minutes.*]

4. "Claramonte's *Deste Agua no beberé* and Lope's *Estrella de Sevilla*." By Professor Edgar S. Ingraham, of Ohio State University.

[In his introduction to Lope's *Médico de su honra* Menéndez y Pelayo says that Claramonte's *Deste Agua no beberé* is a patchwork of three comedias of Lope and *El Burlador de Sevilla*. *Deste Agua* has little or nothing in common with these plays, but has a number of points in common with the *Estrella de Sevilla*. Is there any possibility that Lope was acquainted with Claramonte's work?—*Fifteen minutes.*]

5. "Poe and the *Critic*: The first English publication of *The Raven*." By Dr. Lewis Chase, of the University of Wisconsin.

[This paper was intended as a chapter of a history of British opinion of Poe. The columns of this obscure jurnal hav been searcht, it is believd for the first time, for its contemporary references to Poe,

which are here recorded. The chief discovery is the story and text of the first English publication of *The Raven*.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

6. "The Beginnings of Poetry." By Professor Louise Pound, of the University of Nebraska.

[The hypothesis of "communal" authorship and ownership of primitive song and the assumption that the ballad is the "primitive literary form" were examined in the light of evidence now available in scientific studies of the songs of primitive tribes, especially the songs of the North American Indians.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors George Morey Miller, of Wabash College, Albert Harris Tolman, of the University of Chicago, Hugh A. Smith, of the University of Wisconsin, and George Pullen Jackson, of the University of North Dakota.

7. "Goethe and Marlowe." By Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University.

[A comparison of "Faust" and "The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus." A number of unnoticed similarities between the versions were adduced and the critical question of direct influence of Marlowe's tragedy upon Goethe was reopened. In the light of the new evidence, the hypothesis was advanced that, contrary to existing scholarly opinion, Goethe was familiar with the first dramatic version of the theme.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors Alexander R. Hohlfield, of the University of Wisconsin, James Taft Hatfield, of Northwestern University, and the author.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, December 27, the members of the Association assembled in the auditorium of the Fort Dearborn Hotel, to hear the address of the Chairman of the Division, Professor William Henry Hulme, of Western Reserve University, upon the subject, "Scholarship as a Bond of International Union." After this address there was an informal reception, in which the

officers of the Division, the members of the local committees, and their wives, assisted in receiving.

SECOND SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28

University of Chicago, Reynolds Club

The session began at 9.30 a. m.

The Secretary read the proposed articles of agreement between the Modern Language Association of America and the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast and the resolutions thereto pertaining, with the explanatory memoranda of Secretary Howard. This presentation was for the information of members, and action upon the measure was not taken up until the business meeting of the following day.

The Chairman appointed the following committees:

To nominate officers: Professors A. R. Hohlfeld, T. A. Jenkins, A. C. L. Brown, J. F. Royster, Kenneth McKenzie.

On place of meeting: Professors Karl Young, Otto Heller, R. P. Jameson.

On resolutions: Professors Edwin Mims, Colbert Searles, Ernst Voss.

The Chairman recognized Professor Carl Schlenker, of the University of Minnesota, who presented a plan for the establishment of a modern language scholarship society under the auspices of the Division. Professor Colbert Searles, of the same faculty, and Professor Hugh Allison Smith, of the University of Wisconsin, discuss this proposal. Upon motion, the matter was referred to the following committee: Professors Carl Schlenker, E. P. Baillot, Louise Pound, B. J. Vos, H. A. Smith.

Professor Alexander R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin, presented, as chairman, the report of the Committee on the Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages, summarizing the voluminous findings of the committee in a brief statement, and filing the report for publication. Professor Hohlfeld's statement was identical with that made in his name at Princeton by Professor Kayser (cf. *supra*, p. xi).

Upon the motion of Professor William Albert Nitze, of the University of Chicago, the report was accepted and the committee congratulated upon its work.

The reading of papers was then begun.

8. "From *Don Garcie* to *Le Misanthrope*." By Professor Casimir Zdanowicz, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Lines of *Le Misanthrope* already to be found in *Don Garcie*, written before Molière's marriage, have been used to disprove apparent references in the former to the author's own domestic relations. This paper attempted to show this argument not valid and to trace a gradual change in the author's point of view.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

9. "A New Version of the *Peregrinus*." By Professor Karl Young, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The *Peregrinus* was a liturgical play presented on Easter Monday. Some six versions of this play have already been published. The unpublished version under consideration is more comprehensive in content than any of those published hitherto.—*Ten minutes*.]

10. "The Value of the Old English Written Record as Linguistic Evidence." By Professor James Finch Royster, of the University of Texas.

[Too scant consideration has been given the unrecorded colloquial speech of the Old English period as a source from which words and constructions that appear in written form first in Middle English are to be derived. Filological dependence upon the formal literature of the nineteenth century would lead to many false judgments concerning the nature of the language of the last century.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

11. "Anthero de Quental, a victim of *le mal du siècle*." By Professor E. W. Olmsted, of the University of Minnesota.

[Like Vigny, Quental was of an aristocratic and intellectual family. His inherited predisposition toward self-analysis, philosophy, mysticism, and asceticism. His sympathy with humanity caused him to renounce his fortune and go to Paris to share the lot of the unprivileged. There he found life no less grave a problem on the lower social levels. His health became impaired; the *mal du siècle* overwhelmed him; and he sought escape by suicide. His pessimism the result of the following phases: an attempt to solve the riddle of the universe; a protest against a cruel God; a final acceptance of this sorry God as one of man's creation. This paper traced in the poetic work of this Portuguese the development of this philosophy of life.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

12. "Traces of the Wars of Liberation in the Second Part of Goethe's Faust." By Professor Julius Goebel, of the University of Illinois.

[A satisfactory interpretation of the episode contained in ll. 9419-9481 of *Faust II* has not been offered by commentators. This paper attempted to show by documentary proof and inner evidence that the lines in question originated in 1813 and reflect Goethe's much-disputed patriotic attitude during the wars of liberation.—*Twenty minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Professors A. R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin, Starr Willard Cutting, of the University of Chicago, and the author.

13. "Sources of Rivas' *El moro expósito*: Some Suggestions of Sir Walter Scott." By Professor Arthur L. Owen, of the University of Kansas.

[To his subject is the celebrated legend of the *Siete Infantes de Lara*, Rivas has slight recourse to the Ballads or to the *Crónica general*, taking his material largely from later plays by Lope and others, and supplying details from imagination. Suggestions of Scott's *Ivanhoe* appear in the tournament scenes; some parallel passages.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

The members of the Association and visitors were enter-

tained at luncheon at twelve thirty o'clock Thursday by the University of Chicago in Hutchinson Commons.

THIRD SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28

This session was devoted to three departmental meetings, representing the English, Germanic, and Romance languages and literatures. Subjects of importance to the advancement of instruction constituted the program of the respective sections. A definite sequence of work from year to year will be attempted in these meetings. All the sessions were held in Reynolds Club, University of Chicago, at 2 p. m.

ENGLISH

Chairman—Professor Edwin Mims, of Vanderbilt University.

14. "Freshman English Once More." By Professor Frederick A. Manchester, of the University of Wisconsin.

The discussion was led by Professor J. M. Thomas, of the University of Minnesota. Others who spoke were Professors R. A. Law, of the University of Texas, G. M. Miller, of Wabash College, and Karl Young, of the University of Wisconsin.

The Chairman appointed the following committee on the standard course in first-year English: Professors Manchester, Thomas, and F. W. Scott, of the University of Illinois.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Chairman—Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University.

15. "Some Questions in Regard to Graduate Work in

German." By Professor Edward Henry Lauer, of the State University of Iowa.

[A compilation of statistics from seven leading institutions of the Middle West, showed that less than one per cent. of students who enter the beginning German courses in the university, elect German as their major subject. This field is, then, neglected in our efforts to develop advanced students. It can be cultivated, if we arrange our college work with that end in view. Such an arrangement would aim to develop advanced students on the basis of university training only. It would not do violence to the proper correlation of high school and college work, and it would not interfere with the adequate preparation for secondary school teaching. A curriculum of such nature was suggested.]

The paper was discussed by Professor B. J. Vos, of Indiana University.

16. "Translation in the Classroom." By Professor Bayard Quincy Morgan, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Translation in the classroom. Success of the direct method. Danger of going to extremes. Merits of translation as a disciplinary, literary, esthetic, and practical exercise. We should be slow to abolish it wholly from the classroom.]

The discussion was opened by Professor James Taft Hatfield.

17. "Die Technik der direkten Methode." By Professor A. Kenngott, State Normal School, La Crosse, Wis.

The following points were emphasized:

[(1) A good *practical* foundation is essential. Both vocabulary and grammar should be taught in the new language and without the aid of translation, as the term "Direct Method" indicates—meaning that it aims to connect *directly* and without any intermediary values the foreign word with the mind picture of what it represents. If the pupils once find out that the English equivalent is given in addition to the explanation in the new language, they will pay but little attention to the latter.

(2) The pupils' vocabulary must be built up gradually, systematically, and *very cautiously*; one thing must grow out of the other in a natural, easy way, so that they will not be confused.

(3) The grammar-translation method gives *too much* grammar

which the pupils cannot digest. Grammar is a means to an end; it must be a *help* to the pupils, not a handicap. Our High School pupils are no filologists—they are in school to learn a new *language*, not an overwhelming mass of grammatical rules and exceptions of a new language.

Grammar is very important and necessary, but it must be practical grammar, closely connected with the work, not theoretical grammar. Grammatical rules should *not* be given *as such* by the teacher, but the pupils should be led to discover themselves the often recurring regularities which make the rules.

(4) Many Universities and Normal Schools do not prepare the prospective teachers to teach. They give out teachers' certificates and diplomas, but do not train in *special methodology*. The study of literature and filology alone does not make successful teachers.

(5) Above everything else, the *sphere of interest* of the pupils must be considered. The work must *not* be made *too easy*, but it must be made interesting.

(6) The Direct Method, in sharp contrast with the monotony of the translation method, offers wonderful resources for word explanation, a wealth of stimulating variety. It brings real *life* into the teaching of a *living* language, borrowing from all the provinces of human activity.]

18. "The Correlation of Scandinavian Courses with the Work of Other Departments." By Professor George T. Flom, of the University of Illinois.

[The speaker emphasized the close relationship between a group of Scandinavian courses and certain courses in English and German, and urged a more definite correlation of these in the presentation of the subject to students than has been the practice hitherto. The reader urged especially the desirability of some form of cooperation in the elementary language courses in Norwegian and Swedish and English freshman and sophomore work with Scandinavian students coming from homes where Scandinavian is spoken. The method of instruction in the Scandinavian language for the ends of such correlation was briefly outlined.]

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Chairman—Professor Colbert Searles, of the University of Minnesota.

Secretary—Professor David Hobart Carnahan, of the University of Illinois.

Professor W. A. Nitze explained the organization and plan of the new *Modern Language Journal*, and made a request on behalf of the editors for articles of the following nature: 1. Problems of the class-room, and their solution. 2. Expository articles, dealing with new methods. 3. Reviews of books, and other critical articles.

Professor Thomas E. Oliver, of the University of Illinois, on behalf of the committee appointed in 1914 to plan the program of the Romance Sectional meetings for 1916, 1917, and 1918, stated that the program for 1916, as printed, constituted the first portion of the committee's report. The committee further recommended the adoption of a definite policy for future meetings, whereby problems of the second, third, and fourth undergraduate, as well as those incident to graduate study, should be discussed in sequence. Whenever definite results are obtained, they shall be published in the *Modern Language Journal* as the expression of this section. While other topics are not necessarily to be excluded from the programs whenever any special need arises, yet in the main this definite policy should be followed, if progress is to be made.

On motion of Professor Nitze the report was adopted, and on motion of Professor Kenneth McKenzie the committee was continued. The reading of papers was then begun.

19. "Preparation for College Work in Languages: A Comparison of Conditions in the East and in the Middle West." By Professor Kenneth McKenzie, of the University of Illinois.

[In the East, the preparatory schools and the High Schools adapt their programs to meet the college requirements. The result is that language work begins early, and the students enter college with several years of preparation in modern languages, and often with a knowledge

of Latin. In the West, more students enter college without having studied any foren language; consequently, the elementary classes ar very large, and fewer students reach the stage where they can do advanced work. The speaker urged the requirement by all colleges and universities of at least one modern foren language for entrance, and two for graduation.]

This paper was discust by Professors G. D. Morris and R. P. Jameson.

20. "The Direct Method: Summary of the Results in a *Questionnaire* Address to One Hundred and Forty Members of the Modern Language Association." By Professor Mark Skidmore, of the University of Kansas.

[The paper shoed the existence of a growing demand for a greater use of the spoken language in the classroom, and a possible acceptance of the direct method by all teachers, if understood in the sense of a progressiv eclecticism.]

This paper was discust by Professors E. W. Olmsted, H. A. Smith, A. Coleman, W. A. Nitze, and J. D. Fitzgerald.

21. "Practical Fonetics in Elementary French." By Professor A. Coleman, of the University of Chicago.

[Pronunciation is most effectivly taught by imitation plus simple but accurate fysiological analysis of the formation of the sounds. Each sound in the vowel triangle is demonstrated and practist in its relation to the others. The more difficult consonants ar constantly contrasted with the sounds of English. Three class periods suffice to present the essentials, which ar develept and reviewd thruout the year. Fonetic symbols ar helpful.]

22. "A Standard Course for First-Year College French." By Professor Barry Cerf, of the University of Wisconsin.

[To meet the needs of the present-day student, language shud be taught in such a way as to make the most of its disciplinary value; intensiv translation rather than extensiv; application of a few selected grammatical principles in composition and oral drill; knol-edg of a fonetic alfabet and rules governing pronunciation. Wher-

ever possible, sections should be divided on the basis of attainment; attention given to the best students with a view to passing them directly from the first to the third year.]

This paper was discussed by Professors Eugénie Galloo, A. Coleman, H. A. Smith, E. W. Olmsted, and Mr. H. E. Atwood.

23. "A Standard Course for First-Year Spanish." By Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois.

[The uneven preparation of students in the West makes standardization difficult. Two standard courses are already published in this country; the course outlined by the College Entrance Board, and the course for the California schools entitled: "A Four Years' course in French and Spanish for Secondary Schools." The speaker recommended that a trial be made in the Middle West of one of these courses rather than that another new course be laid out. The teaching of Castilian was recommended.]

This paper was discussed by Professors B. E. Young, Kenneth McKenzie, E. W. Olmsted, and H. A. Smith.

Professor B. E. Young moved that the meeting recommend that Castilian be adopted as the standard pronunciation of Spanish. Upon a statement from Professor Kenneth McKenzie that a *questionnaire* on this subject was being circulated, the motion was withdrawn, with the request that the subject be brought up at the next meeting.

Professor E. W. Olmsted moved that three committees, of from three to five members, be appointed by the Chairman to prepare and submit at the meeting in 1917 standard courses for first year college courses in French, Italian, and Spanish. Professor H. A. Smith moved the following amendment: That, for the subject of French, the committee be instructed to present the report in form for publication. The amendment and the original motion

were both carried. The Chairman appointed the following committees:

For French: Professors A. Coleman, Barry Cerf, Mark Skidmore.

For Italian: Professors A. Marinoni, E. H. Wilkins, and Miss Ruth Shepard Phelps.

For Spanish: Professors John D. Fitz-Gerald, E. W. Olmsted, Arthur L. Owen.

The members of the Association and their guests were entertained Thursday evening at nine o'clock by the two universities at a smoker in the grillroom of the Fort Dearborn Hotel. The ladies were invited. Professor T. A. Jenkins pushed the tide of eloquence along, while Professor J. T. Hatfield led the choir. Among the speakers were Professors J. F. Royster; Tom Peete Cross, Henri David, and Philip Schuyler Allen, of the University of Chicago. A special offering was a "Hans Sachs playlet" by Professors Ernst Feise and Bayard Quincy Morgan, of the University of Wisconsin, and Arthur M. Charles, of Earlham College.

FOURTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29

The session began at 9.30 a. m., in Booth Hall, Northwestern University Law Building.

The Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee. Approval of the articles of agreement with the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was recommended. The report presented the necessity of increasing membership, in view of the increasing expense of our *Publications*, and urged immediate activity throughout the Central Division. The Committee recommended setting aside forty minutes for discussion of ways and means of

improving the carактер of the programs of meetings and increasing the general interest. Upon motion, the Secretary cast the ballot of the Division for the report.

The Chairman declared the meeting open for forty minutes for discussion of methods of improving the program. Speakers wer limited to five minutes each. The folloing members participated in the debate: Professors F. G. Hubbard, Hohlfeld, Morgan, Smith, and Goodnight, of University of Wisconsin; McKenzie, Oliver, and Carnahan, of the University of Illinois; Jenkins, Cutting, Nitze, and Wilkins, of University of Chicago; W. W. Florer, of the University of Michigan; E. P. Baillot, George O. Curme, and Arthur C. L. Brown, of Northwestern University; Mims and Young of Vanderbilt University; J. M. Thomas, of University of Minnesota; Louise Pound, of University of Nebraska; Guido H. Stempel, of Indiana University.

Expressions for and against change in the carактер of the program wer fairly balanced. Suggestions wer offerd as folloes:

By Professor Jenkins: That the *colloquium* of the program of 1914 be made a permanent feature.

By Professor Cutting: That economy of time might be effected by presenting short abstracts of papers of less general interest.

By Professor Nitze: That one session be devoted to a program consisting of three or four subjects of general interest presented by members doing special work in certain lines.

By Professor Morgan: That the program consist of fewer papers by more representativ men.

By Professor Smith: A motion that one session be devoted to three sectional programs carrying the more technical papers in English, German, and Romance Languages.

The motion of Professor Smith was adopted, with the folloing amendment proposed by Professor Hohlfeld:

That the Executiv Committee, moreover, take under advisement

the general question of the character and arrangement of the annual programs of meetings and report thereon at the next meeting of the Division.

Professor Carl Schlenker, Chairman of the committee on the modern language scholarship society, asked for more time for consideration and the committee was continued until 1917.

The Committee on time and place of the next meeting reported, thru Professor Karl Young, *Chairman*, in favor of accepting the invitation of the University of Wisconsin to meet at Madison. The report of the committee was accepted. The dates were left to the Executive Committee.

On behalf of the nominating committee Professor Hohlfeld presented the following nominations:

Chairman: Professor Thomas Edward Oliver, University of Illinois.

Secretary: Professor Bert Edward Young, Vanderbilt University.

Executive Committee: Professors Read Baskervill, of the University of Chicago, Eduard Prokosch, of the University of Texas, Everett Ward Olmsted, of the University of Minnesota, and the Chairman and Secretary *ex officio*.

On motion of Professor Jenkins, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for the report, and these persons were declared unanimously elected to their several offices for the year 1917.

On motion, the nominees for honorary membership, Professor Michele Barbi and Alfred W. Pollard, Esq., were unanimously inducted by the Division.

Professor James Taft Hatfield presented a petition to the Honorable the Secretary of State of the United States

of America, requesting the Department of State to use its friendly offices toward securing the unimpeded freedom of importation of foreign printed works for scientific and educational purposes. This petition was indorsed.

Professor E. H. Wilkins moved that the representation of the Association upon the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature be continued; and the motion was unanimously adopted.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

24. "A Problem in the Interpretation of Dante."
By Professor Kenneth McKenzie, University of Illinois.

[A discussion of different systems of interpreting the first canto of the *Inferno* in relation to the rest of the *Divina Commedia*. Is it justifiable to assume consistency of method in all parts of the poem and to make all Dante's works conform to a single symbolic system?—*Fifteen minutes*.]

25. "Concerning the Rittings of the Jena Burschenschaft and American Physician, Robert Wesselhoeft."
By Professor Starr Willard Cutting, of the University of Chicago.

[Robert Wesselhoeft, one of the influential members of the earliest German *Burschenschaft*, founded at Jena in 1815, came to America in 1840 and achieved a national reputation as a physician between that time and his death in Germany in 1851. This paper discusses the occasion, the polemic tendency, the style, and the historical significance of his German and English publications.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

26. "The Wonder-flower That Came to St. Brendan."
By Professor Arthur C. L. Brown, of Northwestern University.

[The Brendan legend ordinarily begins with either a wonder navigator or a marvelous book prolog. Recently a version has been discovered with a wonder-flower prolog. From Proserpine's abduction by Dis to the ballad of Hind Etin the story of the wonder-flower is scattered over the earth. What is the origin of the wonder-flower in this new prolog?—*Fifteen minutes*.]

27. "Hints of the Social Drama of Dumas fils and Augier in the Plays of Scribe." By Professor Charles Edmund Young, of Beloit College.

[Dumas *fils* is commonly considered the creator of the social drama, or piece à thèse, so popular in France since 1850. The purpose of this paper was not to attempt to discredit this view, but to sho that certain plays of Scribe contain material that foreshades this type of play.—*Ten minutes.*]

In the unavoidable absence of the reader, an outline of his paper was given by the Secretary.

28. "Lessing's Feeling for Classic Rhythm." By Professor James Taft Hatfield, of Northwestern University.

[An investigation of Lessing's utterances in regard to ancient meters shoes that his comprehension of them was conventional and limited.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

The members of the Division and their frends wer entertained at luncheon at twelv o'clock by Northwestern University in the same bilding.

FIFTH SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29

Booth Hall, Northwestern University Law Bilding

The Division was cald to order at 2 p. m.

Lists of the special committees appointed by the sections of English and of Romance Languages wer red.

Professor Mims, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the folloing resolutions, which wer unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

Resolved, That the members of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association desire to express their appreciation of the hospitality of their colleags of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University. Especially ar we grateful to the local com-

mittees on arrangements for their foresight in planning every detail of the meeting.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

29. "Notes on Some Plays of Shakespeare in the Light of Their Chronology." By Professor Robert Adger Law, of the University of Texas.

[Difficulties encountered in the analysis of *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Winter's Tale*, and certain earlier comedies were explained in part by comparison with other works of Shakespeare composed about the same time and treating similar themes.—Fifteen minutes.]

30. "*Emilia Galotti* in Goethe's *Werther*." By Professor Ernst Feise, of the University of Wisconsin.

["*Emilia Galotti lag auf dem Pulte aufgeschlagen*" (*Werther*). This passage is according to commentators of Goethe's *Werther* taken over, without apparent reason, from Kestner's report on the death of young Jerusalem. The fact seems all the more surprising since Goethe declared in a letter to Herder: "*Emilia Galotti ist auch nur gedacht . . . darum bin ich dem Stück nicht gut.*" This paper attempted to prove a deeper relation between the problems of *Emilia Galotti* and *Werther*.—Ten minutes.]

The paper was discussed by Professors Curme and Cutting.

31. "Voltaire and Optimism." By Professor A. Coleman, of the University of Chicago.

[It is generally held that Voltaire's views on optimism, largely influenced by Pope, underwent a pronounced change about 1755. It is desirable to determine what presuppositions lie behind his opinions on this subject, both before and after this date.—Fifteen minutes.]

32. "The Place of Boissy's *Français à Londres* in the Development of French Thought in the Eighteenth Century." By Professor C. F. Zeek, Jr., of Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

[Before the *Français à Londres* (1727), the English were hardly known in French literature. Voltaire's *Lettres anglaises* appeared

only 1734; Prévost's *Le Pour et Contre*, 1732-40; Destouches's *Scènes anglaises*, 1745. While Muralt's *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français* did appear two years earlier (1725), his influence was limited, as he was a Protestant and wrote only letters. *Le Français à Londres* was first to treat English sympathetically; often played at Comédie Française until 1790. This sympathy for the English soon developed into active admiration on the part of comic writers, and this in turn was a factor in the development of the *esprit philosophique* on the stage.—*Twelve minutes.*]

The paper was discussed by Professors J. L. Borgerhoff, of Western Reserve University, T. E. Oliver, and B. E. Young.

33. "Ziele und Aufgaben der neuhochdeutschen Sprachforschung." By Professor Ernst Voss, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The chief aim of the linguistic investigations in modern high German to determine the factors at work in the formation and development of the modern literary language from the fifteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century; a review of the work accomplished, the methods employed, and the problems to be solved, and an appeal to younger American Germanists to help in their solution, so that at last the history and grammar of this important period may be written.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

The paper was discussed by Professor Cutting.

34. "The Development of Shelley's Views on Religion between 1813 and 1818." By Professor S. F. Gingerich, of the University of Michigan.

[The period between 1813 and 1818, from the writing of *Queen Mab* to the writing of the first act of *Prometheus Unbound*, witness not only the expansion of Shelley's literary powers from juvenility to complete maturity, but also a development of his spiritual and religious nature, marked chiefly by a change from destructive to constructive views. Evidence of this development in his letters, poems, and other documents of the period.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

35. "The Relation between the Plays of Benavente and His Dramatic Criticism." By Dr. John Van Horne, of the State University of Iowa.

[The development of Benavente's dramatic career from his early plays of aristocratic society, thru his political and problem dramas, to the more moral productions of recent years, was illustrated by references from his periodical writings.—*Twelve minutes.*]

The paper was discussed by Professor E. W. Olmsted.

36. "A New Viewpoint of Grillparzer's *Das goldene Vlies*." By Dr. Heinrich C. Keidel, of Ohio State University.

[Grillparzer's two aims: (1) To show the contrast between civilization (Jason) and barbarism (Medea); (2) to take from Kindermord the traditional shock. The critics unanimously take Medea's part, but the halo they bestow on her is undeserved. Jason's action was inevitable because of his nature and situation; his morality was sheer self-preservation. Medea acts in stubbornness and petty egotism. The critics' siding with this barbarous woman seems unmotivated.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

The Central Division adjourned at 5 p. m.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE BEFORE THE CENTRAL DIVISION

37. "On the Present State of the *Locus* Question." By Professor Thomas Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago.

[Nearly every Romance scholar of prominence has dealt with the French development of Latin *locus*. The problem is triple: Why is the post-tonic retained? What is the relation of *lieu* to *iluec*? Why did *lieu* part company with *feu* and *jeu*? Reworking a paper presented to this Association in 1894 (see *Whitney Memorial Volume*, p. 117), an explanation is attempted on the basis of a comparison with the O. Fr. forms of Lat. *oecus* and *sequit*, ascribing the resolution of *gu* to *u* as conditioned upon the presence of the *s* of flexion.]

38. "Berthold von Chiemsee and the Pre-Lutheran Bibles." By Professor William F. Luebke, of the State University of Iowa.

[The numerous Scriptural passages in *Teutsche Theologie* (1528) show little resemblance to the pre-Lutheran Bibles. Berthold apparently made his own translations, but certain agreements with the group Z—Oa (Zainer, ca. 1475 to Silvanus Otmar, 1518) lead us to assume that Berthold had in his possession one of these Bibles, but that he did not consult it in writing his *Teutsche Theologie*.]

39. "A Consideration of the Structure of Shakespeare's Tragedies as Regards Turning Point." By Professor D. H. Bishop, University of Mississippi.

[No commonly accepted term for characterizing an essential point in the structure of tragedy, variously described as "turning point," "crisis," "climax." *Turning point* is proposed, as *crisis* and *climax* are not used consistently even by single writers. The importance of this point as an organic element in the structure of tragedy has not been adequately recognized; hence wide variation in the location of this essential point. Aristotle's law of "beginning, middle, and end," with its corollary of "necessary or probable sequence," applies to Shakespeare and affords guidance toward an agreement upon turning point. This is not a defense of mechanical analysis. Turning point exists because of an organic law operating in character, and it is located with regard to character. Subjective and objective turning points may not coincide. Application to Shakespeare's tragedies.]

40. "Un peu d'ordre dans la jeunesse orageuse de Destouches." By Professor Henri David, of the University of Chicago.

[La vie du poète comique Néricault Destouches jusqu'à son départ pour l'Angleterre n'a pas encore fait l'objet d'un travail critique. Telle qu'elle est rapportée dans les articles de dictionnaire, ouvrages d'histoire littéraire, préfaces aux œuvres dramatiques et sources, elle offre des obscurités et des contradictions, les unes accidentelles, les autres voulues. Le but de cette étude est de mettre fin à ces incertitudes. L'auteur croit avoir réussi à fixer quelques dates et faits importants et démontré que l'écrivain ne fut pas soldat, comme lui et les siens l'ont prétendu, mais comédien, malgré tout ce qui a été fait pour le nier après que Destouches eut été diplomate et anobli.]

41. "Spanish-American Spanish?" By Professor John D. Fitzgerald, of the University of Illinois.

[The demand for "Spanish-American Spanish." Impossibility of defining this term, for there is no such thing. The eighteen kinds of Spanish talked in Spanish-America have points in common, as different from Castilian, but not enough points in common and too many divergencies to warrant speaking of Spanish-American Spanish as a linguistic entity. Natives of these countries can brand almost infallibly natives of any other Spanish-American country. We North Americans find it natural for foreigners to learn English-English, rather than American-English; similarly we should learn Castilian, the language of the motherland, which is acceptable in all Spanish-American countries.]

Our only safety in using words which hav one sense in Castilian and others in varius Spanish-American cuntries, is to use those words in the meaning given in the dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy. On this foundation, residence in the cuntry wil soon put one *au courant* of local usages.]

42. "Der Zweck des Dramas in Deutschland in den Anschauungen des Sechzehnten und Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts." By Dr. J. E. Gillet, of the University of Illinois.

[This paper describes the conceptions about the aim of the drama in general (excluding the school drama) prevailing in Germany during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These conceptions ar groupd under the following hedings: (1) *Das Didaktische*; (2) *Sittenlehre*; (3) *Lebensweisheit*; (4) *Selbstkenntnis*; (5) *Glauben*; (6) *Erziehung des gemeinen Mannes*; (7) *Erhaltung des Standesbewusstseins*; (8) *Politik, innere und äussere Verhältnisse*.]

43. "The 'Cowleyan' Ode in Restoration Satire." By Professor Virgil L. Jones, of the University of Arkansas.

[After publication of Cowley's "Odes" (1656) the "Pindarick" ode became a standard verse, second only to the heroic couplet in extent of employment. Widely used by the Restoration satirists for two reasons: Ease of composition and suitability for ironical treatment of object of satire. The uses made of it by Butler, Oldham, and Otway ar striking.]

44. "Jean Gerson's Sermon on the Passion, *Ad Deum Vadit*." By Professor David Hobart Carnahan, of the University of Illinois.

[This sermon, preacht at Paris in 1402, has hitherto been accessible in its original form only in an unreliable incunabulum of 1507 (Bib. Nat. Réserve, vélins 949). The two translations, one in Latin (Ellies Dupin, Antwerp, 1706), the other in modern French (Jean Darche, Paris, 1874), ar inaccurate. A forthcoming critical edition of the sermon, based mainly on MS. Bib. Nat. 24841, fonds français, wil giv, together with the text, a study of its literary caracter, sources, and language. As the sermon is a good representativ of the transitional epoc between old and middle French, it contains some lexical peculiarities worthy of note.]

45. "Frase Rhythm a Matter of Pitch." By Professor A. R. Morris, of Parsons College.

[From an analysis of the spoken frase it wud appear that frase rhythm is markt and determind not by pause, as suggested by Lanier, nor by sense stress, as suggested by the Coleridge school, but by a

recurring circumflex or tune. In verse the number of frase units in a given line may vary with different readings without a change in meter; in prose the frase becomes the dominating unit, and prose rhythm becomes in consequence a matter of frase rhythm determined by pitch.]

46. "The Legend of Judith and Holofernes in Spanish Literature." By Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald and Leora A. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois.

[An examination shows considerable material in Spanish literature dealing with this legend. It was so influential in the art of many countries that one is surprised to find that in general it exerted so small an influence on literature. The material already available in Spanish includes an anonymous verse translation of the Book of Judith from the Vulgate; a cantata performed in a Barcelona convent; a sacred musical drama in two acts performed in Madrid; a half dozen ballads in an early chap-book; a ballad by Lorenzo de Sepúlveda; and a historic drama in four acts, in verse, published in the middle of the last century, etc. The influence of this legend in Spain.]

47. "*Balaustion's Adventure* as an Interpretation of the *Alcestis* of Euripides." By Professor Frederick M. Tisdell, of the University of Missouri.

[Browning's interpretation of Admetus and of Heracles is what Euripides intended. In the case of Admetus, classical scholarship has come largely to accept Browning's view. As regards Heracles, scholars are not agreed; evidence brought to show in this case also Browning's interpretation correct. The burlesque, satiric Heracles of dramatic tradition was to Euripides a point of departure, not a point of arrival. He eliminated most of the burlesque elements and made the character heroic. The romantic setting makes *Balaustion's Adventure* a modern poem.]

48. "What is 'Dramatic'?" By Professor George F. Reynolds, of Indiana University.

[Because drama is intended for production before an audience, its characteristic element must be something which holds the attention of persons in crowds. Typical crowds analyzed to show that this characteristic element is not surprise, nor even suspense, but expectation (anticipation of the more rather than the less clearly foreseen). This expectation may be excited not only by stories of conflict according to the formula, but also by stories of impending event, thus demon-

strating a hitherto unrecognized form of dramatic structure, illustrated in a number of plays.]

49. "The Relation between Parents and Children in Nineteenth-Century French Literature." By Dr. William H. Scheifley, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[The severe parental discipline of the Middle Ages in France was relaxt only shortly before the Revolution. The decline of Catholic disciplin, Rousseau, democracy, all tended to make the nineteenth century "*le siècle de l'enfant*." Poets, novelists, and dramatists vied in their cult of the child as the hope of the future. Fortunately, the crisis which thretend family life in the closing century, owing to parental indulgence, did not develop, as is evident from the splendid bearing of the yung French soldier in the war.]

50. "The Historical Point of View in English Literary Criticism and the Beginnings of Romanticism." By Professor George Morey Miller, of Wabash College.

[The historical point of view in literary criticism has assumed a commanding importance in recent years, because it has tended toward the increase of historical tolerance and sympathies, and the development of "a relativ esthetic, varying from age to age, from cuntry to cuntry." The serius study of literary criticism is so new that certain statements and implications of some of the investigators in the new field call for qualification. The historical point of view had been given definit expression even before the middle of the eighteenth century. Contrary to the conventional view about the general relation of criticism and literature, it seems probable that the historical point of view in criticism stood in a causal relation to some fases of romanticism.]

51. "The Cruelty of Christian and Saracen as Judged by the *Chansons de Geste*." By Professor Mark Skidmore, of the University of Kansas.

[Greater weight shud be given the testimony of the *Chansons de geste* than to that of other occidental poetry of the same period; on the testimony of the Christian poets, whom we might expect to favor their own people, the Saracen is less cruel.]

52. "The Beauchamp Tragedy in American Literature." By Professor Hubert Gibson Shearin, of Occidental College.

[Details of the triple tragedy at Frankfort, Ky., in 1826, involving Solomon P. Sharp, attorney-general and frend of John C. Cal-

houn, slain by Jeroboam C. Beauchamp, a lawyer's apprentice of Bloomfield, Ky., to avenge the honor of his bride, Anne Cook. Contemporary accounts: Newspapers, printed reports of the trial, the "Hon. E. Everett" copy in the Boston Public Library, *Beauchamp's Confession*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, folk songs yet current. Literary reworkings of the story, 1834-1842: Chivers, Clason, Hoffman, Poe, Mary E. MacMichael, Simms. An attempt to define the angle from which each viewed his sources.]

53. "Some Current Errors in Phonetic Interpretation and Transcription." By Professor Robert J. Kellogg, of James Millikin University.

[Recent experiments show all speech sounds a composite of physiological and phonetic factors and essentially diphthongal or gliding in character. These aspects disappear in phonetic transcription. Analysis of speech into "sounds" is not intuitive, but rests on naïve or scientific reflection. This has led to errors in phonetic interpretation and transcription, some of which persist in current phonetic alphabets. These errors are partly correctable on the basis of present knowledge, but for some a fuller experimental analysis is needed. A thoroughly equipped linguistic and phonetic laboratory should be established for solution of linguistic and phonetic problems.]

54. "Chaucer and the *Roman d'Eneas*." By Professor John Livingston Lowes, of Washington University.

[A presentation of the evidence for Chaucer's use of the *Roman d'Eneas*, in conjunction with the *Æneid*, in the *Legend of Dido* and the *House of Fame*, and of its further employment in the *Troilus*.]

55. "Chaucer and the *Ovide Moralisé*." By Professor John Livingston Lowes, of Washington University.

[In the *Legend of Philomela* Chaucer supplemented the narrative of the *Metamorphoses* by drawing upon the so-called *Philomela*, included in the *Ovide moralisé*, and attributed to Chrétien de Troyes. The paper also discusses evidence at present available, pending access to the manuscripts, for Chaucer's use of the *Ovide moralisé* elsewhere in his work, and opens up the question of his probable use of French translations of others of the classics with the Latin originals.]

56. "The *House of Fame* and the Romances." By Professor John Livingston Lowes, of Washington University.

[A study of the influence of the French romances, especially those

which deal with classical materials, upon certain elements of the castle of Fame, as Chaucer describes it.]

57. "Hebbel and the Devil." By Dr. Maximilian Josef Rudwin, of the University of Illinois.

[The Devil plays an important rôle in Hebbel. In his appreciation of the Devil, Hebbel surpasses his contemporaries and predecessors. His intimacy with the Devil is due to his education, his dramaturgical theories, but above all to a deep spiritual affinity. His Devil is popular, not filosofical. A filosofical view of Satan is found only in *Michel Angelo*.]

58. "An Instance of Milton's Debt to Greek Filosofy." By Professor Edward Chauncey Baldwin, of the University of Illinois.

[The idea of matter passing from a lower to a higher plane thru successiv stages of spiritual evolution a favorit one with Milton. It appears in origin a combination of Aristotle's idea of a genetic series with Plotinus's more idealistic conception of the relation of human souls with the world-soul.]

59. "The Eco Device in Literature." By Mr. Elbridge Colby, of the University of Minnesota.

[The use of an actual verbal eco in literature dates from the Greek anthology and the Byzantin period. It first appears in Western Europe in the Italian, in Guarino, Tebaldeo, Tasso, Poliziano. Thence it spred, usually as a complement of pastoral poetry. In England, after its introduction in *The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle* (1575), it got into drama, being used for humorus effect, as a terror device, and as a reflection of fatalistic, introspectiv ideas. It was distinctly an irregular and artificial type, and, since the advent of "the classical rule" of the eighteenth century, has almost died out except in *vers de société*, where its use is doutless related to similar occurrences in Elizabethan sonnets and other lyric poems of courtly compliment. Its strangest manifestation, however, is its appearance in German war poems of the present.]

60. "The Doomsday Play in England." By Professor Hardin Craig, of the University of Minnesota.

[The play of the last judgment is combined on the Continent with the play of Antichrist. The two plays probably arose together. In England the Doomsday play is independent; the Chester cycle alone shoes them together. We hav in this and in other features of that

cycle an indication of the method of cycle-bilding and of the relativ dates of cycles.]

61. "The Three *Tartuffes* of Molière." By Professor Bert Edward Young, of Vanderbilt University.

[The development of *Tartuffe* in Molière's hands from the simple form of 1664 to the complex form of 1667 and the still more complex form of 1669. An attempt to separate the original form from the final, and to trace the changes and their reasons. The "adoucissements" and "retranchements" made by Molière to placate the cabal. The adventitious character of various scenes. The changes in the dénouement. The variations in literary style in the play marking the stages. The expansion of Molière's dramatic genius in the riting of this play.]

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1916, at
PRINCETON, N. J., AT THE THIRTY-FOURTH
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BY JAMES DOUGLAS BRUCE

RECENT EDUCATIONAL TENDENCIES

It is a matter of common experience that in a period of growth the spirit of change which gives energy to some great movement often overleaps the bounds of beneficent action and threatens to become an agency of destruction with respect to the society or institutions which it has done so much to reform. We see examples of this on every side in the history of political and social progress, and in the educational situation of the present day we appear to be confronted with the same familiar phenomenon. A hundred years ago the old system of classical education held a virtually undisputed sway, but, as all the world knows, in the course of the nineteenth century there arose two conditions which caused a profound modification of that system. In the first place, the enormous social changes which we sum up in the phrase, "the growth of democracy," brought into our schools and colleges millions of young people for whom the older training was obviously unsuited. In the second place, the immense development of the natural sciences, and later of social and economic science, increased the fund of knowledge to such a degree that a process of

selection in regard to the subjects which should be taught in the schools was forced upon us. Then came the inevitable readjustment with its consequent conflicts—first, the warfare which science waged against the classics in its endeavor to gain recognition in the scheme of education; secondly, the advance of the modern languages against the same enemy through the breaches in his stronghold which science had made. For many years these two particular conflicts engaged the attention of the educational world beyond all others. But, for different reasons in the two cases, both of these contests have in the progress of time been in a large measure settled. Apart from the *Zeitgeist* which gave to the natural sciences an overwhelming numerical superiority, teachers of the classics came to recognize that the compulsory recruits in their classes who had no aptitude for this branch of studies were a source of weakness rather than of strength, and that, after all, the field was large enough for division between the rival claimants.

Moreover, after winning the essentials of victory, as is so often the case, a spirit of tolerance descended upon the victor, and he became cognizant of the merits of his recent foe—especially as compared with new foes that in the meanwhile had sprung into existence. Thus pleas for the study of the classics from men of science are by no means unheard of. Indeed, I know of no plea for classical studies more moving in respect to both logic and eloquence than that of the late Henri Poincaré, the eminent French mathematician and astronomer. As regards the contest between the ancient and modern languages, in this instance, too, victory rested with the newcomer, who by departing from mere *Sprachlehrer* empiricism and adopting something of the rigorous discipline which distinguished the classical monopolists, had rendered himself worthy of sharing in the old inheritance. But here,

on consolidating the position he had won, the victor perceived what had naturally escaped him in the excitement of the onslaught, namely, that the interests of the two branches of linguistic and literary study were in a considerable measure identical. For not only did the modern literatures develop out of those of antiquity—and in the case of the Neo-Latin languages there is, of course, a similar relation of linguistic derivation—so that for any true comprehension of the former a knowledge of the latter was requisite, but experience soon proved that the overthrow of the authority of the classics in the educational scheme tended to weaken measurably all along the line the general position of literary studies in the higher sense, as distinguished from purely practical linguistic instruction.

But whilst these battles between the natural sciences and the classics, on the one hand, and between the classics and the modern languages, on the other, were being fought out to the conclusions which I have indicated, the spirit of change had not ceased its activities, and a new movement which involved momentous issues for all three of the above-mentioned disciplines, and indeed for all the various branches of learning that are included in our schemes of study, was gathering strength. It is only, however, in its reaction from tradition that the new movement can be compared with those that I have just touched on; for it does not propose a new subject of study to share with older subjects a place in the educational program or perhaps supplant one of these older subjects. To be sure, as we shall see, it would eliminate some of those that are there; but, in general, the movement in question is concerned mainly with methods—a word which in happier days passed by the ear as harmlessly as most words in the vocabulary, but at the present time must fill every teacher with anxiety and fear, whenever it is heard. This new

movement, which has made itself felt for many years past in educational discussion and practice, has recently found perhaps its frankest and most definite expression in Mr. Abraham Flexner's paper, *A Modern School*, published by the General Education Board. Now, it would not befit this occasion for me to take up, in detail, all the eliminations of subjects from the scheme of studies, and radical innovations in the methods of teaching those that are left, which are proposed in this paper and in other current works of a similar tendency. The mathematicians, who fare worst of all in the new program, will no doubt have something to say for themselves—only even a layman may be allowed to remark that if the schools of the past had admitted only the modicum of mathematics which is to be admitted in the schools of the future—viz., the elements of arithmetic and about one-fourth of the geometry now taught, and that in a form adapted strictly to what are called practical needs—it is hard to see how the physical sciences, which in their mechanical applications would certainly seem to possess the saving grace of being practical, could have had any existence. Similarly, in regard to history, which comes closer home to us. Since we know from our own experience that the greatest works of literature are mainly the creations of past generations, and that some of the very greatest of them, indeed, are the products of a very distant past, we may be permitted to doubt whether, after all, the assumption of the modern school is just—viz., that the historic facts concerning these same generations are useless—or in other words, that the achievements of former ages in the political and social fields and the history of these achievements have no interest or value for us. Moreover, apart from such matters, discussions of the kind I have referred to embrace many questions that do not directly affect the members of this Association except as

they affect the whole American people—viz., the question of the extent to which the needs of vocational instruction should govern the arrangement of courses in the schools, the question of the merits of the much-debated Gary plan, etc. To be sure, the spirit that runs through the discussions of these questions on the part of the advocates of the so-called modern school and the point of view which determines the decision of such advocates are the same as in the case of the questions which more immediately concern us, and what I shall have to say of the latter will necessarily have an indirect bearing on the former. It should be said, too, that even the questions which I shall deal with are discussed in such writings as primarily school questions—in particular, as problems of the high school—but apart from the fact that the spirit which dominates school organization is sure soon to dominate the colleges also, the colleges derive their students from the schools, and they have accordingly a vital interest in these matters; for the character of the work which is set them to do will be determined by the decisions which are adopted in the schools.

Now, what are the principles that underlie so many of the changes which have actually been introduced into the school curriculum in different places throughout the country, and which are to be standardized for the whole country, if the ideas which are expressed in the above-mentioned publication of the General Education Board meet with general acceptance from educational authorities? Obviously, I should say: First, utilitarianism; secondly, the principle that any scheme of study that does not abolish difficulty stands self-condemned. When stated baldly thus, this criticism, which is, of course, far from being new, always calls forth disclaimers on the part of the promoters of the new system. Mr. Flexner, himself, has already an-

ticipated these charges. But what other inference can an examination of their own pronouncements yield?

For example, it is a fundamental thesis of the new school that, to employ Mr. Flexner's own words, "mental discipline is not a real purpose" (of education). The pupil's "education will be obtained from studies that serve real purposes," declares the same expert. Now, at first sight such a statement as this would seem, after all, to leave us still somewhat in the dark; for if we take the word "real" at its face value, there are few who would dispute the validity of such an assertion. But when we come to press the interpretation of the adjective, an examination of the context in this paper on the Modern School makes it plain that the author gives to the meaning of the word a very limited extension—in fact, that, in spite of his protests to the contrary, it is synonymous with "utilitarian." That this is the natural sense in which it should be taken is apparent from the enthusiastic approval of the scheme by whole-hearted advocates of a utilitarian system. For example, shortly after the appearance of Mr. Flexner's paper, one of the New York journals published an interview with a former president of the School Board of that city, who, in expressing his cordial approbation of the new scheme, declares that it can only be criticised on the ground that it does not go far enough.—Why, he asks, should the pupils in Oshkosh and Keokuk be wasting their valuable time in useless languages and history? What they ought to be learning in their schools, he says, is the cheapest way of getting their potatoes to the Chicago market. So in these unhappy cities it is proposed that not only the body but the mind shall live by potatoes. And, no doubt, the systems would soon be extended to cities with more euphonious names.

One need not resort, however, to this utterance of an *enfant terrible*, if we may venture to apply such a term to the President of a School Board, to see that a "real" purpose in the new plan is nothing at bottom but a utilitarian purpose. "The extent to which the history and literature of the past are utilized," says Mr. Flexner, "depends not on what we call the historic value of this or that performance or classic, but on its actual pertinency to genuine need, interest, or capacity." Some light is thrown on the meaning of "genuine need" by the words that follow immediately after. "In any case the object in view would be to give children the knowledge they need, and the power to handle themselves in our own world. Neither historic nor what are called purely cultural claims would alone be regarded as compelling." And the illumination grows when we read a little further on in the course of the author's unsparing condemnation of the literature which is generally taught in the schools at the present time—including, I presume, *Macbeth*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, etc., which are among the college entrance requirements—"Nothing is more wasteful of time or in the long run more damaging to good taste than unwilling and spasmodic attention to what history and tradition stamp as meritorious or respectable in literature; nothing more futile than the make-believe by which children are forced to worship as 'classics' or 'standards' what in their hearts they revolt from, because it is ill-chosen or ill-adjusted. The historic importance or inherent greatness of a literary document furnishes the best of reasons why a mature critical student of literature or literary history should attend to it; but neither consideration is of the slightest educational cogency in respect to a child at school." The reading should be selected solely to the end that the pupil's "real interest in books [what kind, it is not said] may be carried as far

and as high as is for him possible"—under these conditions, whatever else might happen, there might at least exist "some connection between the school's teaching and the child's spontaneous out-of-school reading."

Now, in part the criticism implied in these words is beside the mark; for teachers of English literature, which, we suppose, is the literature that the writer has especially in view, undoubtedly have it as their prime object to create in their pupils a "real interest in books."—It may be that their selections are at times faulty. As a matter of fact, to take, for example, the list of books which make up the college entrance requirement reading in English literature, there have been modifications of this list from time to time in the past, and no one would maintain that the current list is as final and immutable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. But have the authorities charged with such matters been right in confining their selections to the English classics—or, to use the critic's phrase, to those works in our language which history and tradition have stamped as meritorious or respectable? For here is the kernel of the criticism. Let us for a moment look at the matter from the point of view of the teachers of English literature, in particular, although the principle involved is of course a general one that applies to the teaching of foreign literatures as well. Various reasons, however, render the latter not so favorable a vantage ground for discussion.—For example, to judge by the lists of German and French reading in our school and college catalogues, the keen air of the classics of these languages is tempered for young lungs by the injection of many specimens of contemporary humor and sentiment for which no one would be hardy enough to predict immortality. But there is a justification here, of course,—at least, up to a certain point—for the inclusion of writings of this kind in the

modern language program; for, after all, in the acquisition of a foreign tongue the practical side must be given consideration—it is desirable that the pupil should learn the language of contemporary every-day life and that when brought into business or social intercourse with Germans, for example, he should not be limited to the vocabulary and phraseology, say, of *Don Carlos* or *Wilhelm Meister*.

Looking at the question, then, from the point of view of English literature, why should we not draw our selections from the works which, in the rather singular phrase of the writer, history and tradition have stamped as meritorious or respectable—from Shakespeare, from the remarkable body of fiction which the nineteenth century produced, from the great lyrical poetry of the different periods of English literature, and so on, from other writings equally meritorious and respectable? It is a question of choosing on the one hand from what history and tradition have approved, and, on the other, from what they have rejected, or from the current literature of our own day. Now, the critics of the prevailing system are not so much in love with the past that they would have us adopt for reading what previous generations have devoted to oblivion. So the real choice is as between the standard masterpieces of English literature and the literature of current production. Insofar as the advocates of the new school would admit certain English classics, perhaps, to their plan of reading, there would be no occasion for debate, but, in general, such criticisms as I have quoted above show that this is so far from being their purpose that the reading of the classics is the main burden of their complaint. Consequently, the essential choice, I repeat, is between standard English literature and current production, with regard to which, it would seem, moreover, no discrimination is to be exercised. Well, despite the implications of the criti-

cism with which we are dealing, it will probably appear to most of us that the reading of the poetry, fiction, history, etc., which have approved themselves to the tastes of more than one generation has advantages, after all. To offer a defence of such a statement would seem, at first blush, to be a work of supererogation—an insult to the Muses, who were once supposed to be the guardians of culture—but inasmuch as this view has been strongly challenged by men who exercise, perhaps, the most powerful influence in the American school world of to-day, it is worth while facing the problem squarely and testing the reality of these advantages.

In the first place, the greatest literary productions—that is to say, the most perfect masterpieces of expression in the realms of the imagination, feeling, and reason—belong to the past. I do not suppose that even our educational critics would demur to this proposition. But if this is true, why should not these masterpieces constitute the most fitting material for the training of the tastes of our pupils? Certainly, in the domain of science, no one would think of putting before a class of students any but the best ascertained results of scientific research, and in the practical trades the same principle, of course, holds good. To be sure, there is a difference in science, inasmuch as science deals with positive knowledge, and knowledge is progressive, so that even the greatest masterpieces of scientific literature, like Newton's *Principia* or the memoir in which Mendel formulated his principles of heredity, are not fitted for elementary instruction in subsequent generations, since, despite their position in the historical development of science, to say nothing of their difficulty, in the course of years they necessarily fall short of representing the highest reach of knowledge in the particular subject concerned. On the other hand, a master-

piece of literature, like a masterpiece of art, is subject to no such limitation, and it retains its absolute value throughout the ages. But, as we have seen from a passage quoted above, the champions of the new program reply: This may be true enough from the standpoint of the mature student of literature, but what about the immature pupil in school or even college? Before giving an answer to this objection from the theoretical point of view, I may say that in practice I do not believe that there is any such general aversion on the part of pupils to the reading of standard literature prescribed by the schools as is implied in these criticisms. We cannot, of course, expect perfection in any arrangement of human origin. At least, I have never heard of such perfection being attained, save in the untried plans of educational theorists. Individual books may be ill-selected; the manner in which the student's reading of the selected books is tested may be ill-judged; teachers may not, always, be competent; and there are still other adverse circumstances which may be responsible for unsatisfactory results; but it is the experience, doubtless, of every teacher of literature, who is not hopelessly incompetent, to have confronted classes that have started their literature courses with little taste for poetry—to take the most extreme case—but have ended by acquiring a taste for it; and similarly in regard to prose fiction and the other elements of required reading. To be sure, not every pupil, even under the most efficient teaching, will prove thus responsive; but, after all, we have no right to lay upon the teacher the blame for the defects of nature, and there comes a time when this much harried person may well take his stand upon the motto of Coleridge: *Intelligibilia, non intellectum, adfero*—i. e. "I do not supply you with intelligence, but with things for the intelligence to apprehend." Teachers, however, must,

of course, accept responsibility for implanting in the minds of the majority of their pupils an interest that was not there before, and, I repeat, that the record is not one of such wholesale failure as is charged in the criticism of the prevailing system of instruction.

Let us look at the matter now from the theoretical point of view—that is, from the point of view of the purpose of this branch of education, which, I take it, is the cultivation of the mind—the cultivation of the faculties of imagination, feeling, and reason, as I have observed above. Now, how could this purpose be served, if our students were delivered over to indiscriminate reading? It stands to reason that the great majority of such pupils, if left to themselves, would not be clamoring at the loan-desks for Shakespeare, Milton, Scott, and the rest. There would be a rush for the best-sellers, or, perhaps, in most cases, something even worse than the best-sellers. To sanction such a state of things would be equivalent to a betrayal of the trust with which school and college authorities are charged, and so far as the instructors most immediately affected are concerned, it would mean an abdication of one of their most essential functions. One wonders, indeed, why under this plan the schools should give courses in literature at all, for the pupils would be as bereft of direction, as if they had never seen a school-house. Under these conditions, to be sure, there would certainly exist that connection between the school's teaching and "the child's spontaneous out-of-school reading" which our critics desiderate, but the connection would be established by the teacher's virtually accepting for the school "the child's spontaneous out-of-school reading." This plan, it is presumed, too, would have the effect of developing in the child a "real interest in books," as far as his capacity permits. But there are books and books, and we do not see what concern

the teacher has in encouraging the reading of books unless they possess a real excellence—unless they serve the purpose of developing and refining the powers which I have indicated above. In what sense can any other kind of reading be said to have an educational value? And if the teacher does not supply the guidance in the choice of what is excellent, who is to perform this function? Obviously, the suggestion to renounce substantially the reading of selections from standard literature is prompted by the desire to evade a difficulty—the difficulty which is, of course, greatest at the start, of interesting pupils in the writings of other ages than our own, of turning them from current trivialities or sensationalism, of which most of their reading consists, if they read at all, to works of permanent quality, and, in the case of the greatest masterpieces, to initiate them into an atmosphere of high seriousness, to use Aristotle's phrase. But to overcome this difficulty is precisely the teacher's task, and, if he evades it, he is yielding the field to those influences which it is his special duty to combat.

Now, every one will grant that voluntary reading, if it is of the right kind, is likely to be more fruitful of good than any system of prescribed reading that could be devised. Doubtless, in nearly all cases the inspiration which eminent men in the past have received from books has come through voluntary reading and often of the most desultory character. But it is safe to maintain that such inspiration, wherever it was felt, was rarely derived from ephemeral productions, but rather from some work or works of the same general nature as those that are commonly studied in our classes—that is, from some great English poem or poems; and so on with fiction, biography, and the rest. One may say on this subject of voluntary

reading what Wordsworth says in his *Ode to Duty* of conduct in general:

Serene will be our days and bright
And happy will our nature be,
When love is an unerring light,
And joy its own security.

But this golden age lies in the distant future, and we have to make our arrangements for the imperfect present and for the average of our pupils; and it is only in exceptional cases that pupils in school or college have this natural preference for good reading. In view of the family influences and general social conditions under which the vast majority of human beings grow up, there is, of course, nothing surprising in this; and then we know that even where such influences and conditions are most favorable, it is only a small percentage of the young people who are so graced by nature in these matters as to turn instinctively to what is good.

Inherent excellence, then, is the prime justification for the limitation of the prescribed reading to standard literature, which consists, of course, in the main, of creations of other decades than the one in which we are now living; and the fact that history and tradition have approved such writings does not prejudice us against them, rather it raises in our minds a strong presumption in their favor that out of the productions of the past, which have been infinite in number, these alone should have escaped the insatiable maw of Time. Still further, however, we cannot regard the difficulties which, in varying degrees, attach to the understanding of such works as a drawback to their educational usefulness. In the first place, as already intimated, it is not a bad thing that in school or college class-room, where habits of application and concentration are to be developed, if they

are ever developed at all, everything should not prove smooth sailing, and that the pupil should not be sure of arriving at his goal by simply letting himself drift. One would not, of course, create artificial difficulties merely as mental hurdles for the student to jump over, but it is an altogether wholesome exercise, if in the reading of some great masterpiece of the past he is compelled from time to time to grapple with unfamiliar modes of thought or expression such as he is sure to encounter in works of this character. Certainly, life outside of the classroom affords no support to the view that to develop one's powers one should avoid all difficulty. And again, aside from the intellectual discipline which the effort of overcoming such obstacles imparts, there is the liberalizing influence of the new views of the life of man which the student has won by his effort—of the latent capacities and variety of human nature and art. It is no small thing to be delivered from the bondage of the present and to be made an heir of all the ages instead of being confined to the small section of human experience and production which is spanned by our own lives or those of our contemporaries. Even if the great works of the past were not of supreme artistic excellence, they would still have in no small degree this claim as instruments of enlightenment, that only by their study can we obtain any true estimate of the range of the human mind in envisaging the phenomena and problems of life and in giving the most effective expression to all that it has thought or felt in the process.

But, as has already been intimated, this view of our relations to the past meets with little favor from the educational modernists. It is not so much with a kindled imagination as with aversion that they fix their eyes upon that "dark backward and abysm of Time." This is, in a

large measure, implied in Mr. Flexner's discussions. Let us listen now to Professor John Dewey's more explicit declarations on the subject. In his recent work entitled *Democracy and Education* he remarks:

An individual can live only in the present. The present is not just something which comes after the past; much less something produced by it. It is what life is in leaving the past behind it. The study of past products will not help us understand the present because the present is not due to the products but to the life of which they were the products. A knowledge of the past and its heritage is of great significance, when it enters into the present, but not otherwise. And the mistake of making the records and remains of the past the main material of education is that it cuts the vital connection of present and past, and tends to make the past a rival of the present and the present a more or less futile imitation of the past. Under such circumstances culture becomes an ornament and a solace; a refuge and an asylum. Men escape from the crudities of the present to live in its imagined refinements, instead of using what the past offers as an agency for ripening these crudities.

As will be observed, in the last clause of the passage which I have just quoted the writer concedes a limited possible value to the study of the past, and in the paragraph which follows he grants that it constitutes "a great resource for the imagination;" but the whole drift of the passage, as of the entire book from which it is taken, to say nothing of innumerable other recent works of a similar tendency, is to decry the study of the past. Literature is the main product of the past with which the members of this Association are concerned, but since the cause of literary studies is here connected with a general attitude towards the life and achievements of the generations that have gone before us, and since the whole question is one of fundamental importance in our conceptions of education, perhaps I may be permitted to make a few remarks as to the wider considerations that are suggested by Professor Dewey's words.

Now, however deeply as individuals we may be committed to the study of the past, as students of literature, history, or what not, there is little danger at the present day of our falling into the sterility of a Chinese ancestor-worship. If means are discovered of quickening through education in the schools our powers of observation—a matter on which President Eliot of Harvard has laid so much stress—none of us are rendered unhappy. Only we are not so easily convinced, perhaps, as the educational modernists that such means have been attained. In general, one may say that no man of the present age is likely to withhold his sympathy from any effort to impart to pupils a keener and more penetrating insight into the workings of nature. Most of us would doubtless regard it as an error from every point of view to give a too purely utilitarian direction to such studies in the schools. But in making claims for the study of the past, we do not wish to set up any opposition to a genuine study of external nature. To be sure, many of us still hold to the conviction that the study of humanity through literature and history has a more direct bearing on the formation of character than is the case with the study of external nature, and that, after all, the formation of character is the highest concern of education. But, leaving this question aside, how can we accept Professor Dewey's dictum that "a knowledge of the past and its heritage is of great significance when it enters into the present, but not otherwise"? Manifestly we have here a narrowly utilitarian spirit which would give delight to the enemies of literary and historical, or indeed of liberal, studies of any kind everywhere. For even if we put upon this utterance the most favorable interpretation, the principle which it implies would chill the pursuit of any study whatever. If in their investigation of nature or of life in any of its

manifestations the men of the past had had to check the ardor of intellectual curiosity from time to time, by questioning themselves as to its utility for the present moment, how far would the human race have advanced in the acquisition of knowledge and the consequent expansion of its power? As a matter of fact, as we all know, the full reach of investigation or speculation can rarely be realized even by the leaders in such matters. For example, when Pasteur began his investigations into the processes of fermentation, he had no idea that he would end by revealing to the world the causes of most diseases, and so equip us with the means of combatting the "painful family of Death" with an efficacy hitherto unknown. Similarly, the scholars who laid the foundations for modern historical science in the first part of the nineteenth century could not foresee the profound influence which the results of the new methods in conjunction with those of the natural sciences were destined to exercise on men's religious beliefs, and consequently on the whole atmosphere which determines the solution of modern social problems. Surely the principle by which the great men of the past have actually been inspired—namely, that the pursuit of truth was a thing desirable for its own sake—was not only a nobler ideal than that which is set before us in the words of Professor Dewey which I have quoted above, but is infinitely more fruitful of beneficent results, even of a practical kind. But even if the validity of Professor Dewey's principle were granted, it would still remain to determine what part of the past enters into the present and what does not. The educational modernists, we imagine, would take the view that it was a very small part; the rest of the world would say that it was a very large part—indeed, that biologically, intellectually, and morally we are what the past has made us, and this asser-

tion one may make, despite a full recognition of the fact that there is a vital principle in us which will lead to still further growth. So the dictum of Professor Dewey, like the analogous one of Mr. Flexner, even if accepted, would leave us pretty much where we were.

It seems plain, then, that this attitude towards the past and consequently towards all the studies that relate to the past is determined by a spirit of narrow utilitarianism. Now, as a next step, one may inquire what is it that has given such ideas their commanding influence in the educational theories of our time? Obviously, I should say, the subordination of all the forces of education to the solution of the great social problem of the age—namely, the improvement of the conditions of life for the great masses of mankind. How far the modernist leaders are willing to go in this subordination will appear with sufficient clearness from the following statements of Professor Dewey in another of his books, published last year, entitled *The Schools of Tomorrow*. After advocating throughout this work the principles of education which are exemplified in certain schools, notably at Gary, Indiana, he goes on to argue that there should not be different schools in the public school system to suit the respective needs of people who are differently circumstanced. For, he says, “it is fatal for a democracy to permit the formation of fixed classes,” and the power to prevent this evil rests more with our public school system than with any other agency. It is not sufficient, he declares, that the pupils of different social classes should be brought into contact with one another in the schools. “The subject-matter and the methods of teaching,” to quote his own words, “must be positively and aggressively adopted to the end”—that is, of obliterating the differences which have sprung from the varying conditions under

which the individual pupils have grown up. He goes on to say: "There must not be one system for the children of parents who have more leisure and another for the children of those who are wage-earners. The physical separation forced by such a scheme, while unfavorable to the development of a proper mutual sympathy, is the least of its evils. Worse is the fact that the over bookish education for some and the over 'practical' education for others brings about a division of mental and moral habits, ideals and outlook."

So it is to be a crime against democracy, if everybody is not forced through precisely the same educational mill, and human beings are to be standardized like everything else in our age. One would like to put upon these sentences some such construction as was put by Matthew Arnold on a certain utterance of Lord Shaftesbury, the great philanthropist of the last century. On the appearance of Seeley's *Ecce Homo*, in which the life of Christ was approached in a manner that was not altogether orthodox, Lord Shaftesbury pronounced it "the vilest book that was ever vomited from the jaws of hell." Matthew Arnold remarked, however, that this was merely Lord Shaftesbury's way of saying that he did not like *Ecce Homo*. Similarly, one might be inclined to say that in using the language which I have just quoted Professor Dewey simply meant to affirm that he was greatly interested in the elevation of the masses. But evidently he is expressing the deliberate convictions that result from his attitude towards educational questions in general. All education is to be subordinated to the solution of the social problem. Now, there is no one who does not recognize, of course, that this is a vast problem, and we, men and women, whose lives are devoted to the business of education, are willing to co-operate with the other forces of society in further-

ing a solution of it, or anything approaching a solution of it. We overlook the complete negation of liberty which is here proposed in the name of democracy, for we have become accustomed to that. But vast as the social problem is, many of us will maintain that there is something vaster still, and that is the problem of the development of the human spirit in all of its capacities. Despite the consistent drift of Professor Dewey's teachings and those of other authorities who exercise such a powerful influence in shaping the educational system of the country, the two problems are not identical. There are whole realms of thought, feeling, and imagination which stand in no immediate relation to the social problem. The energies which find their expression in scientific inquiry, or in poetry, or in music, or art, have no direct bearing on that problem, and yet surely these are matters with which education is concerned. Moreover, ultimately even those who from their circumstances are compelled to set themselves in their education more limited aims will profit, each according to the degree of his opportunity, from the fruits of such energies as I have just indicated. Then, too, one may say that life, after all, is not wholly made up of bringing help to one's neighbors. We have our own inner lives, also, and we are indirectly perhaps performing the best service to society, if we, each of us, make the most of the talents which nature has committed to us. Now, if this is the case, it would be a grave error for the schools to restrict themselves to such aims as the amelioration of the condition of especial classes or the democratization of society, according to some individual theory of what a democracy should be. In these matters as in all things let us avoid the "falsehood of extremes."

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

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BY WILLIAM HENRY HULME

SCHOLARSHIP AS A BOND OF INTERNATIONAL UNION

If I had to choose a "text" which should best set forth my theme, it would be the following passage from the third book of *Paradise Regained*:

They err, who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, to overrun
Large countries, and in fields great battles win,
Great cities by assault: what do these worthies,
But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable nations, neighboring or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy;
Then swell with pride, and must be titled gods,
Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers,
Worshipp'd with temple, priest, and sacrifice!
One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other;
Till conqueror Death discover them scarce men,
Rolling in brutish vices and deform'd,
Violent or shameful death their due reward.
But if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attain'd,
Without ambition, war, or violence;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance.

While I am concerned this evening especially with the sentiment contained in the last half dozen lines of this remarkable passage, written more than two centuries ago by one of the great poets of England and the world, the thought of the whole applies with striking fitness to the situation as it has existed in Europe for more than two years. How clearly Milton here sets forth the uselessness and wickedness of war, and suggests the ease and simplicity by which nations might settle all their quarrels and strife,

By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance.

The events of recent years show with peculiar force how fickle and fragile the ties of friendship are which bind nation to nation; how much national friendships and the peace of the world are contingent on the whims, ignorance, and wickedness of designing politicians and diplomats; how easy it is for men otherwise noble and honorable to lose their world-perspective and all sense of justice and righteousness in the face of merely national and local crises; how difficult it is under the restrictions of national and patriotic obligations, for any question of general or universal moral significance that transcends the narrow and fast limits of purely national interests to receive an impartial hearing from the best and most considerate leaders of public opinion. One of the worst effects of this most horrible of all wars is the degradation and debasement which public opinion is suffering under ruthless military oppression. I mean to say, that those leaders of society who would everywhere if they could give voice to the noblest sentiments and finest feelings of the different belligerent nations are so muzzled and gagged and blindfolded and dazed mentally and spiritually by soulless military methods, that either they do not know what to think,

or they dare not give public expression to their real opinions. For supposed or assumed reasons of military expediency, the press is censored beyond all possibility of recognition; newspapers and other publications of one belligerent nation are not allowed to circulate in another, —or only in a censored and garbled form. The people of one country are thus not only ignorant of the real conditions, sentiments, and feelings of another people with whom they happen through no fault of their own to be at war, but they are often led by means of vicious governmental politics to believe what is the exact opposite of the truth, and to give their support to policies which are subversive of every principle of human justice and virtue.

Under normal conditions, in well ordained, civilized society the strongest men in intellect and personality become leaders; they mould and direct the thoughts, opinions, and feelings of the masses, and they are honored and respected for their ability and power. But under military despotisms, such as those which at present control the destinies of the great nations of Europe, there is no longer any independence of mind and spirit, except insofar as it is subservient to the needs of barbarous war and held in check by them. Men with the brightest minds, greatest culture, and highest scholarly attainments have been virtually reduced to the ranks of the non-thinking multitude. Writers and speakers who dare express opinions which, however true and just they may be in the eyes of the world, criticise in any way the actions of military governments and leaders, though these may tend to destroy the very foundations of righteousness and justice, are made to suffer the extreme penalties of martial law. And yet these noble men and women are wholly sincere and honest in what they think and say and write. They are not morally more perverted and reprehensible now than they were

before the war, when their opinions and words received the respect and admiration of the world, tho their conclusions are less worthy of consideration. In a certain sense, they must of course eventually suffer greatly and lose prestige in the oppressive atmosphere of the narrow intellectual and spiritual prison which an unnecessarily severe military censorship has built up around them. The mind usually grows weak and diseased if forced to lie idle, just as does a sound arm long worn in a sling; or if it is compelled to perform its functions under unnatural and constantly restrained conditions, it is sure to become warped and illiberal. Its processes must be free and unobstructed, if its conclusions are to command respectful admiration and be authoritative.

War then—and the present one particularly—strikes the severest blow at the very foundations of true scholarship, not only by destroying the most suitable and promising materials for its future development, but also by limiting and discouraging its devotees in the proper exercise of their essential rights and inherent privileges. It is therefore our duty in a special sense to uphold with all our energies the dignities and privileges of scholarship everywhere in the world, and to condemn on every occasion any attempt to undermine and destroy its power and influence. For scholarship has always been peaceable and peace-loving. The growth of scholarly methods of thought and investigation, and the increase of scholarly incentives and ideals, form the most promising basis for lasting universal peace.

Recent events show that few considerations in the realm of diplomacy and international law except selfish interests have any influence in determining the relations that may exist at any time among the governments of nations. So long as this state of affairs continues, there can be

little hope of any lasting peace in the world. And such conditions will probably continue to control the fate of nations in the future, until some more human and ideal basis of international friendships is discovered. International conferences, national leagues of peace, and arbitration courts, are, to be sure, not without value as means for attaining the much desired end; for they by their constant agitations keep the minds of the people fixed upon the goal. But so far the splendid theoretical structures erected for furthering the cause of universal peace and brotherhood have all collapsed under the least pressure of national selfishness, as easily as the child's toy house of cards falls at the slightest touch of its small hand.

According to a recent political writer:

Admirable and far-sighted plans for securing a peaceful international order have been before the world for 300 years. M. Emeric Cruce submitted his plan, which included liberty of commerce throughout all the world, as early as 1623. Following the peace of Utrecht, the Abbé de St. Pierre developed his plan, which included mediation, arbitration, and an interesting addition to the effect that any sovereign who took up arms before the union of nations had declared war, or who refused to execute a regulation of the Union or a judgment of the Senate, was to be declared an enemy of European society. The Union was then to make war upon him until he should be disarmed or until the regulation or judgment should be executed. Some twenty years earlier William Penn had produced his quaint and really extraordinary plan for the peace of Europe, in which he, too, proposed to proceed by military power against any sovereign who refused to submit his claims to a proposed diet, or parliament, of Europe, or who refused to abide by and to perform any judgment of such a body. All these plans, like those of Rousseau, Bentham, and Kant, which came later, as well as William Ladd's elaborate and carefully considered essay on a Congress of Nations, published in 1840, were brought into the world too soon. They were the fine and noble dreams of seers which it is taking civilized men three centuries and more to begin effectively to realize.¹

¹ 'Cosmos,' in *New York Times*, December 9, 1916.

It is open to serious question whether the world is even yet ready for the formation of such a peace league as shall be of lasting, binding force. The numerous peoples of the world are still controlled too much by national considerations,—they are in fact as yet too little informed about one another's peculiar traits and qualities and rights. They need to be brought into more intimate relations of mutual friendship and comity than heretofore. They must be better informed and instructed about international problems of all kinds. Above everything else, the people of one nation must be brought to understand that their own right to exist ceases to be a right, nationally speaking, if that means the breaking down of the rights and traditions of other nations with equal or similar privileges. In other words, they must come to believe and feel that conquests of territory for purposes of national expansion which violate the inherent rights of other independent, civilized nations, belong to the Dark Ages of the past and can no longer be tolerated. We are, I hope, gradually reaching that stage in the process of national development when we shall no longer feel it to be the all important thing for our children to be narrowly patriotic. They should become, even if we have not become, citizens of the world in the true sense. They should early be taught to think and feel that all civilized nations are composed of *human* beings who have as much right to life and happiness on earth as they themselves. The world is so large and the opportunities for individual and national growth are so infinite in variety, that the surplus population of every over-crowded nation should find ample room in it for expansion, not as colonies of the mother-country, but as integral parts of whatever national organization they happen for reasons of advantage and convenience to become identified with.

There would, indeed, seem to be no really practical basis—a basis determined by mutual arrangements in the field of practical politics and diplomacy—for the development and stabilizing of the theories of most ardent peace advocates, because of the fact perhaps that the principles which favor the national development of one country may be, and frequently are, most potent elements of national decadence in another. The wisest statesmen and diplomats often find themselves powerless, however much it may seem wise and good, internationally speaking, to resist the evident demands of national well-being, and to meet half way proposals of other nations looking toward the establishment of international comity. Tariff and customs laws often add to the prosperity of one nation and to the poverty of another; immigration regulations are frequently highly advantageous to one nation, whereas the same laws may be oppressive and unjust to another; the currency laws which are particularly suited to a country rich in mineral wealth, would be unendurable in one poor in mineral resources. A country with an extensive seaboard and numerous fine harbors must evidently have a different system of shipping regulations from one which is almost or wholly cut off from such facilities; and a country that is thickly populated and prosperous in various manufacturing industries, must certainly have not only a different code of domestic laws from that of a sparsely settled agricultural country, but also different kinds of laws and regulations for the successful guidance of its external relations. Especially are the religious and social customs and traditions of would-be friendly nations often so diametrically opposed, as to make harmonious relations between any two of them almost a matter of impossibility.

Many of these and other national characteristics and differences are, however, frequently emphasized unneces-

sarily; and national self-interests are almost always exaggerated by the statesmen and diplomats who have them in their keeping. Numerous conciliatory compromises and unselfish adjustments might be made by one nation for the good of another and of the world, without any material loss to itself. But so long as national spirit, patriotism, and loyalty to one's own country are placed above all other human interests and considerations, the most energetic efforts for lasting peace in the world will be of little avail. The standards of national morality must be raised to a loftier plane than they have hitherto reached. Individuals and nations must be brought to see that the welfare of the whole world frequently requires much national self-denial and sacrifice. They must, in fact, be made to realize that patriotism—love of mother country—is not necessarily the highest civic and religious virtue. There occasionally come times in the history of nations when the love and the welfare of humanity are to be placed far above the love of country,—especially if the interests of country, national interests, are clearly opposed to the interests of humanity. We need most of all an instructed, enlightened public opinion in the international, as well as the national sense. And until a strong public opinion and an abiding sense of the moral responsibility of nations to the demands of universal welfare have become dominant elements in all national political and social systems, the threatening cloud of war will continue to lower in the clear sky of peace.

But how can this national, that is, international public opinion best be fostered and most consistently and rapidly developed? There evidently is now and always has been something radically wrong with all national methods of creating and instructing a public opinion of the highest character. The press is, perhaps, or might easily become

the most practicable and powerful instrument in the processes of international education. The press, however, will itself have first to be educated away from the peculiarly narrow national standards and ideals which it has so far usually followed and glorified, before it can become a real leader of this world-wide propaganda of the future. We must, indeed, have a daily press that shall create and form public opinion, rather than one which follows blindly every wave of popular opinion and sentiment. In the opinion of lovers of peace and opponents of war in this country, the continuous warnings in the daily and other papers about the necessity of national preparedness and the possibility of attacks in the future from better equipped and more efficient foes—to mention just one point—are certainly not contributory to a genuine sentiment of peace and good-will in the world,—they should indeed be felt to be contradictory of the essential principles of the truest, most modern civilization. How far, one is constantly asking oneself, as one reads the most prominent headlines in the daily papers about the importance of strengthening our national defenses and adopting the newest weapons in our army and navy, have we of the twentieth century advanced beyond the barbaric standards of medieval robber barons, if we must constantly be armed to the teeth and always have more and better weapons than every other nation which may possibly make war on us in the dim future? Is efficiency in war-like preparation and in ruthless and destructive methods of waging war really going to be the measure of the highest civilization in the coming generations?

The next most effective means for producing the necessary international public opinion of the future should be primary and secondary education. But here again too much emphasis is apt to be laid upon the inculcation in

our schools of narrow national ideas of patriotism. The ideals of the schools in this respect must be essentially modified, so that our boys and girls may have impressed upon their minds not merely *patriotic* sentiments, but the higher conception that all nations are brothers (or sisters) of one great human family. It is in institutions for the encouragement and promotion of higher education, no matter where they are located, that we usually find the liveliest centres for the distribution of cosmopolitan ideas, and accordingly for the instruction of public opinion along international lines. International unity, a cosmopolitan interest in humanity, and some form of universal brotherhood constitute a goal toward which all nations of the world should tend in the future, even with the slightest prospects of attaining it, the

one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.

Now, the spread of knowledge, the scattering of the dark clouds of ignorance and superstition, the growth among nations of high and higher educational standards and ideals, seem to point out one of the easiest roads to the goal in question. The basis of scholarly attainment along any line must be a generous supply of good educational facilities, which may be entirely, or largely, practical and national. But true scholarship, the finest flower of all educational preparation, is perhaps the least national, the least selfish, and the most humane of all vocations. Its main concern is the search for and discovery of truth; and truth knows no selfish or national barriers and restrictions. True scholars have since the Dark Ages been allowed by universal consent to transcend all barriers, break down all traditions, and sever all bonds, in their attempts to gain this most precious treasure of the world

of mind and spirit. National distinctions and individual peculiarities have vanished before their studies and researches like mountain mists before the warming, drying rays of the bright sun.

There were undoubtedly scholars and scholarship in the world long before the dawn of the Renaissance. But in those earlier days learning was confined to the favored few and limited to a narrow range of subjects. It was the occupation of cloistered monks in leisure hours, and was probably taken up in most cases to while away the tedium and idleness of monastic life. The vocation of the priest and his limited library and laboratory facilities made it necessary for him to confine his studies mainly to theology and philosophy. There was no incentive to the study of language and literature, and dabbling in science was usually under the ban of the Church. After the passing of ancient Rome, about all the learning of the times was kept in the Church, and for many centuries of medieval Christianity the schools were almost entirely under the control of the Church, which took good care that its youth learned little about things of purely secular interest. Zeal for scholarship as such was unknown. About all the truth that could be known was perverted theological truth. Truth was then not beauty, nor was beauty allowed to be truth or a joy forever. And the Church was unwilling that the truth should make the people free. Though the language of the Church was Greek in the East and Latin in the West, the study of classical literature was forbidden, because of the fear that knowledge of their beauty might demoralize by its purely secular and pagan character.

Yet there was in spite of all this, more of world unity of a certain kind in those early years of Christianity than there has ever been since. For Christianity, which was

in the second five hundred years of its existence the most powerful force in medieval civilization, was mainly unified in spirit; and the different Christian nations of the world spoke and wrote for the most part a common language. And a common religious faith and a common language are among the most potent factors of national or international unity. Moreover, national rivalry and jealousy had not yet arisen, or were in their infancy. Light always means growth in the spiritual and intellectual world, as well as in that of organic life. And growth brings conscious strength, which is in turn followed by the desire to exercise that strength. Little by little the desire for knowledge and the love of truth penetrated the souls of a few of the more highly favored individuals of the later Middle Ages, until the bonds of the Church and the unity of religious interests were no longer strong enough to keep them confined. Meanwhile, tribes and nations began to be differentiated in various ways from one another, and to become conscious national entities. Vernacular languages gradually usurped the place and most of the functions of the common language of Christianity. These differentiations were accompanied by the strengthening of the ties of nationality and patriotism, frequently at the cost of loyalty and devotion to the common mother Church.

So modern scholarship had its origin at a momentous time in the history of the world. The three hundred years from 1300 to 1600 witnessed the passing of the old and the coming of the new in Church and state. The literatures of Greece and Rome were revived, and those of some half-dozen modern nations developed to a pitch of art and power only a little inferior, if any, to the best of the ancient classics. But the life-giving power of every one of these modern literatures was drawn in the main from classical sources. And what a wonderful world of

human and spiritual relationships was opened up by the rediscovery of the long hidden and virtually forgotten literature of Greece and Rome! When Italians and French and English and Germans were first permitted through the scholarly activities of the humanistic movement to become familiar with the beautiful and inspiring thoughts of the ancient Greek and Roman poets, the effect upon the life of those peoples was immediate. Their leading thinkers and teachers were soon lifted out of their traditional surroundings and methods of thought and feeling by discovering that other nations in former ages had worshipped exquisite conceptions of beauty and lofty ideals of character. In the epics of Homer and Virgil and the dramas of Euripides and Terence they found the thrilling inspiration of beautiful thoughts, beautiful language, and noble characters. Greek and Roman philosophy suggested to those eager students of the new old literatures the possibility of real human justice, human sympathy, and the brotherhood of man. The horizon of their hitherto dark world was thus brightened and broadened, the intensity of their feelings deepened and strengthened, and their conceptions of justice and mercy were gradually elevated to a higher realm of human emotions.

Throughout the period of the Middle Ages, human brotherhood and international comity and comradeship in the modern sense were virtually unknown. It was on the whole an age of intense selfishness and brutality, even among so-called Christian peoples. To the rude and vigorous nations of that period the idea of contest and conquest seems to have been all-important. They were almost continually at war and gloried in it. The years of peace that came occasionally were looked upon mainly as times favorable to prepare for war. War and carnage, destruction of human life and property, were in most

cases undertaken and practised as an end in themselves. There was little or no regard for man as an individual. The value of individual character and individual responsibility was not appreciated. Man as man was nothing but a very small and unnecessary cog in one of the numerous insignificant wheels of the rather complex machine of medieval civilization.

But in the very dawn of the Renaissance emphasis began to be laid more on the really human elements in the lives of nations and individuals. The hard intellectuality of medieval scholasticism was gradually softened by the revival of language and literary studies. Schools were rapidly multiplied and radical changes made in their curricula. The tyranny and corruption of the Church became unbearable as the light of the new learning began to flash upon the souls of men. Literature became immensely more interesting because of the growing intensity of its genuine human qualities. The conventional, soulless medieval allegories were bit by bit filled to the bursting point with the energy and exuberance of human spirits. Poets like Boccaccio and Chaucer showed a knowledge of and sympathy with man hitherto unheard of. Nothing in English or any other literature previous to Shakespeare is so full of purely human interest as the *Canterbury Tales*, and was at the same time so much affected by the broad scholarship of the Italian Renaissance. The Prolog is probably the most remarkable gallery of splendid human portraits, sympathetically drawn from life, that the literatures of the world contain. It introduces to the reader men and women from about every class of the complex society of England in the fourteenth century. But Chaucer without the stimulus and inspiration of French and Italian learning and literary models would have been an impossibility. The variety of his poetical forms and

subjects, the wealth of illustrative materials, the beauty of his diction and imagery and language and style came mostly from French and Italian sources. His philosophy of life too was largely colored and determined by the *Romaunt of the Rose* and Boethius. When Chaucer makes the Clerk of Oxford

telle a tale which that I
 Lerned at Padowe of a worthy clerk,
 As preved by his wordes and his werk.
 He is now deed and nayled in his cheste,
 I prey to god so yeve his soule reste!
 Fraunceys Petrark, the laureate poete,
 Highte this clerk, whos rethoryke sweete
 Enlumined al Itaille of poetrye,

we have, says Legouis, "the first ray of the Renaissance lighting upon an English imagination." The first great poet of English literature, therefore, owes his greatness largely to the fact that literature and learning were becoming in his day in a measure cosmopolitan.

From Chaucer to Shakespeare learning in Europe took long and rapid strides. And the wealth of inspiring subjects and illustrative materials, resulting entirely from the revival of learning, which was open to the poets of England at the close of the sixteenth century, as compared with the paucity of these intellectual and spiritual stimuli in the beginning of the fourteenth century, is truly astounding. During these three hundred years the English people emerged from a state of isolated semi-barbarism to one of almost cosmopolitan enlightenment. The spread of classical learning, the development of printing, and the growth of religious reform were the main instruments in this wonderful transformation. I speak of English conditions, particularly, because I know more about them than about those of the other great European nations, and because England, though the last of them to feel and en-

joy the full force of the humanistic movement, accepted its teachings—literary, political, and ethical—more entirely perhaps than any other nation. It may also be said with truth, I think, that fewer distinctly medieval characteristics lingered on in the political and social system of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than in that of any nation of Europe. If, indeed, the changes wrought by the Renaissance in Italy, France, and Germany had been as deep and far-reaching as they were in England, might not the modern world probably have been spared the devastating horrors of most of its great wars?

While humanism was not altogether responsible for the growth of democracy and liberalism in the politics of England, its influence was certainly strongly felt along all lines of intellectual and spiritual development. From the mid-years of the seventeenth century on, in England and among Continental peoples, there are definite indications that scholarship counted for more in shaping the destinies of nations than it ever had counted before. Government officials whose duty it was to look after foreign relations were occasionally, as in the case of John Milton, among the greatest scholars of their time. It was, moreover, in these years that the tradition arose in England which required every gentleman to be in the broadest sense a scholar and to spend considerable time in traveling and study on the Continent in order to complete and round out his education. Thus the men who were to be the leaders in national affairs were given opportunities for familiarizing themselves with the peculiarities of Continental society and governments, and coming to a juster, more humane appreciation of social and political principles and institutions very different from their own.

It is, indeed, this tendency of modern scholarly pursuits to take men out of themselves, out of the narrow social circles in which they would otherwise continually move, that we may find the greatest benefits to mankind. Ignorance and superstition and prejudice have always been the main sources of the error and evil and misery of the world. But these qualities disappear, vanish, before the light of learning. The scholarly attitude of mind demands a careful consideration of all the obtainable facts bearing on any particular point before a just conclusion may be reached. And this attitude of mind has no doubt in many cases played a great part in the development of the modern system of international relationships. Nations, as individuals, usually find each other agreeable or disagreeable according as they know more or less about each other's character and personality, strength and weakness. Education not only "*forms* the common mind," but it broadens, expands the range of human sympathy. The more our hearts and minds and sympathies are enlarged, the less narrowly national and patriotic and selfish we become.

In a practical way, scholarship has performed wonders in the matter of drawing nations closer together during the last one hundred years. The studies of history, philology, philosophy, and science have in that time all ceased to be national—have become international. How much have history and philology done, working along ethnical, anthropological lines, to familiarize people everywhere with the close kinship of nations in language, laws, political and social institutions, as well as in racial qualities, character, and temperament! And the sciences of biology and geology have revealed the marvelous unity and harmony that exist among all the creatures and objects of animate and inanimate nature. The names of

many of the famous scholars of the past have become in the international sense household words. The Grimm brothers not only created the science of comparative grammar, but they opened up a great new world of folk-lore and fable, in which millions and millions of children from every part of the story-loving universe have dreamed and reveled for almost a century and will continue to do so to the end of time. The study of ancient and medieval mythology from the comparative point of view has under the guidance of such scholars as Müllenhoff, Meyer, and Bugge laid students in every part of the world under the greatest obligations. The debt of the world to the epoch-making discoveries in the field of science which Charles Darwin made and described is incalculable. The names and fame of those inspiring teachers and eminent scholars Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris have reached and helped students of medieval literature in every corner of the globe.

But these are only a few of the names of our greatest scholars, whose work has done so much toward binding the minds and hearts of the nations together into what in the future will prove to be an indissoluble union. The noble work is still going on. But it progresses slowly and silently for the most part. The number of true scholars is steadily increasing from year to year. A larger and larger proportion of the people of civilized nations is all the time coming under the formative and determining power of scholarly influences. And it is not alone the great scholars in the strict sense who have worked, probably in most cases unconsciously, towards the bringing about of universal lasting peace. Really great men in every walk of life, who are often scholars by nature, especially great poets and artists,—all men indeed who have “dipped into the future far as human eye could see,” have

had visions of "all the wonder that would be." Dante and Shakespeare and Milton and Goethe, two of whom at least were great scholars as well as great poets, were all international rather than national in outlook and in the general tone of their best, most permanent work. The noblest poetry each of them wrote is that which makes the broadest, most universal appeal. Indeed, the greatest poetry, the finest art, and the deepest science, could hardly be simply national. Goethe says in one of his inimitable bits of conversation, that science and art belong to the world, and that all national barriers must vanish before their onward march—"denn Wissenschaft und Kunst gehören der Welt an, und vor ihnen verschwinden die Schranken der Nationalität."

Of all possible ways and methods of bringing the nations of the world into closer relations of friendship and mutual good will, scholarship is perhaps the least selfish in its outlook and immediate effects. The true scholar should be and usually is less affected by purely selfish considerations than individuals of any other sphere of human activities. His interests more than those of any one else are mainly in the realm of mind and spirit. His conceptions of the principles of life, character, and society have been formed for the most part by the close study of the history, languages, literatures, scientific developments, and philosophical theories of other nations of the world besides his own. He represents more nearly than any other human being the finer breath and spirit of things. His life more than that of any other is likely to be spent in closest communion with the best mental and spiritual products of all the ages. He should be and generally is less impelled to action by purely practical considerations than other people are. The practical world indeed constantly refers to the scholar in a derogatory manner, as a theo-

rist, an idealist. But with Emerson "I reject the abusive application of the term *practical* to the lower activities" of life. "Let us hear no more of the practical men," he says, "or I will tell you something of them—this, namely, that the scholar finds in them unlooked-for acceptance of his most paradoxical experience." The scholar is in truth the great idealist of human society; and how much the politics of the world is now in need of a few thousand great leaders who might justly be called idealists! He reads more broadly and usually thinks more deeply about the many problems that concern the highest life of man. He is less ambitious in a selfish way for rank and station in life. He is less likely to covet great riches and the life of luxury they bring. He is generally the most progressive member of society. He believes in moving on and helping the world to move on. He does not hold to the old because it is old, nor grasp at the new because of its novelty. He is always ready to "ring out the old" or "ring in the new," if he is convinced that the confines of truth will thus be extended. Jealousy and pride, both personal and national, are more usually restrained by the scholar and made to adapt themselves to the best interests of his fellowmen, than by others. "The society of lettered men," says Emerson, "is a university which does not bound itself with the walls of one cloister or college; but gathers in the distant and solitary student into its strictest amity. . . . As in coming among strange faces we find that the love of letters makes us friends, so in strange thoughts, in the worldly habits which harden us, we find with some surprise that learning and truth and beauty have not let us go; that the spiritual nature is too strong for us; that those excellent influences which men in all ages have called the *Muse*, or by some kindred name, come in to keep us warm and true."

If then the "office of the scholar is to cheer, to raise, and to guide men by showing them facts amidst appearances," how admirably is he adapted to the great work of harmonizing the strident notes that grate on the sensitive souls of a discordant world. Scholarship and the scholar have already accomplished much in the right direction. This work of unifying moves, indeed, like the mills of the gods, but it moves just as surely. Again I say, if we look back over the past and see what has been done by students of comparative philology and literature, comparative history, and the sciences in bringing the past down to the present, in making the most remote as familiar as the most closely situated, and in establishing strong friendships among numerous of the choicest spirits of the most widely separated nations, we must feel that the magic touch of scholarship has almost succeeded in making "the whole world kin." And many of us feel, no doubt, in spite of most discouraging prospects in many quarters of the world, that

change
The old order ~~is changing~~, yielding place to the new

and that

God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

These promising results are being obtained through a multiplicity of strong but subtly working forces. The dissemination of the printed results of scholarly work in every part of the world; the migration of special students from the universities of one country to those of another; the formation of learned societies of all kinds, to which distinguished foreign scholars are frequently elected; the establishing of international scholarships, fellowships, or other foundations, and very recently, a mutual interchange

of professors and lecturers among several of the great nations,—these are some of the means and methods by which scholarship has gradually been compassing the hoped-for fruition of world-wide comity and universal brotherhood.

But no one of these instrumentalities that are quietly bringing about international good will and banishing national prejudices, is destined to have such rich results, it seems to me, as the study of modern languages and literatures. No other studies so broaden and humanize the mind of the student, by familiarizing him with the thoughts and emotions, the hopes and ideals of the various nationalities of the world. In no other way can the student so easily and naturally be brought into sympathetic relations with foreign conceptions of government, society, and religion. The members of this and similar associations have, therefore, in their keeping to a certain extent the determination of universal peace conditions in the world of the future. We and our students and their students are and will be continually preparing the way for closer union and coöperation of the most intimate intellectual and spiritual interests of the whole world,—not by any conventional and supposedly binding laws, constitutions, and treaties, which are liable to be broken any moment by the demands of national selfishness, but by silent and almost imperceptible influences, working in the main unconsciously, but continuously and ubiquitously towards a common end and aim. If in the future it may only be possible to curb and smother the tendency evident in some quarters of recent years to violate the implied pledges of friendship between nation and nation by the insidious introduction into our scholarly relations of the political propaganda of a wholly narrow, selfish, and vicious nationalism and false patriotism, we shall indeed eventually

be able to rejoice that we have succeeded in bringing about the grand "parliament of man, the federation of the world," of which one of the great poets of England long ago dreamed. And then we can really believe and say with him

So the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1903

AMENDED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1915

I

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II

1. The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures thru the promotion of friendly relations among scholars, thru the publication of the results of investigation by members, and thru the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shall be held at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. But at least as often as once in four years there shall be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the country shall be chosen.

III

Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary-Treasurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Persons who for twenty years or more have been active members in good

and regular standing may, on retiring from activ servis as teachers, be continued as activ members without further payment of dues. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successiv years. Persons who for fifteen years or more hav been activ members in good and regular standing may become life members upon the single payment of twenty-five dollars. Distinguisht foren scolars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executiv Council. But the number of honorary members shal not at any time excede forty.

IV

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shal be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Tresurer; an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shal be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the severall Divisions, and three other members; and an Executiv Council consisting of the aforementioned officers, the Chairmen of the severall Divisions, and seven other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shal be elected by the Association, to hold offis for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shal be chosen by the respectiv Divisions.

4. The other officers shal be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold offis until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shal be fild by the Executiv Council.

V

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary-Tresurer shal perform the usual duties of such officers.

The Secretary shal, furthermore, hav charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the program of the annual meeting.

2. The Executiv Council shal perform the duties assignd to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII, and VIII; it shal, moreover, determin such questions of policy as may be referd to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shal render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

VI

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shal be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shal form a standing committee of the Association, and may ad to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII

1. When, for geografical reasons, the members from any group of States shal find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executiv Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shal select; but no Division meeting shal be held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shal be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shal not at any time excede three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shall, moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1917

President,

KUNO FRANCKE,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Vice-Presidents,

OLIVER M. JOHNSTON,
Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN,
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

CARL F. KAYSER,
Hunter College, New York, N. Y.

Secretary-Treasurer,

WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

CENTRAL DIVISION

Chairman,

THOMAS EDWARD OLIVER,
University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Secretary,

BERT E. YOUNG,
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Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

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Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

M. BLAKEMORE EVANS,
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GEORGE L. HAMILTON,
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES,
Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

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THE OFFICERS NAMED ABOVE AND

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ACTS OF THE EXECUTIV COUNCIL

- I. In accordance with proposition of date January 22, 1917, *Voted*:
 1. That the Council recommend to the Carnegie Institution of Washington the granting to Professor J. A. Lomax of an annual subvention of two thousand dollars for two years beginning January 1, 1918.
 2. That the invitation of Yale University to hold the next annual meeting under its auspices be accepted.
- II. In accordance with a proposition of date March 15, 1917, *Voted*:
 That the Council recommend the amendment of Article III of the Constitution by the addition of the folloing provisions: Members of other societies of scolars or teachers may be admitted either to membership in the Association, or to affiliation with the same, upon such terms as the Executiv Council shal from time to time determin. Members of other societies so admitted to membership in the Association shal hav all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto; persons admitted to affiliation with the Association shal hav such rights and privileges as may be mutually agreed upon, but not the right to vote or to hold offis in the Association.

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- Young, Mary Vance, Professor of Romance Languages, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass.
- Young, William Foster, President, Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co., 623 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Zdanowicz, Casimir Douglass, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [Army Y. M. C. A. Bldg., 302, Military Branch, Chattanooga, Tenn.]
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- Zembrod, Alfred Charles, Professor of Modern Languages, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. [456 W. 4th St.]

LIST OF MEMBERS

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Zeppenfeld, Jeannette, Professor of German, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind.

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Zucker, Alfred Eduard, Instructor in German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Zwierzina, Konrad, Ord. Professor für deutsche Sprache und Literatur an der Universität, Graz, Austria. [Zinzendorfsgasse 19]

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GRAZIADO I. ASCOLI, Milan, Italy [1907]
ÉLYSÉE AVIRAGNET, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. [1908]
T. WHITING BANCROFT, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [1890]
DAVID LEWIS BARTLETT, Baltimore, Md. [1899]
GEORGE ALONZO BARTLETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1908]
W. M. BASKEVILL, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1899]
ALEXANDER MELVILLE BELL, Washington, D. C. [1905]
A. A. BLOOMBERGH, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. [1906]
FREDERICK AUGUSTUS BRAUN, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [1915]
DANIEL G. BRINTON, Media, Pa. [1899]
FRANK EGERT BRYANT, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1910]
SOPHUS BUGGE, University of Christiania [1907]
FRANK ROSCOE BUTLER, Hathorne, Mass. [1905]
GEORGE RICH CARPENTER, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1909]
JOSEPH W. CARR, University of Maine, Orono, Me. [1909]
HENRY LELAND CHAPMAN, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. [1913]
CHARLES CHOLLET, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. [1903]
J. SCOTT CLARK, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1911]
PETER ALDEN CLAASSEN, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla. [1916]
PALMER COBB, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. [1911]
HENRY COHEN, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1900]
WILLIAM COOK, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1888]
ADELAIDE CRAPSEY, Rochester, N. Y. [1914]
SUSAN R. CUTLER, Chicago, Ill. [1899]
A. N. VAN DAELL, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1899]
ALESSANDRO D'ANCONA, University of Pisa [1914]
EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES, Baltimore, Md. [1894]

- W. DEUTSCH, St. Louis, Mo. [1898]
ERNEST AUGUST EGGERS, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1903]
A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
[1910]
FRANÇOIS R. FAVA, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. [1896]
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[1914]
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L. HABEL, Norwich University, Northfield, Vt. [1886]
JAMES ALBERT HARRISON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
[1911]
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EDWARD T. McLAUGHLIN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1893]
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FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. [1911]
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C. P. OTIS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1888]
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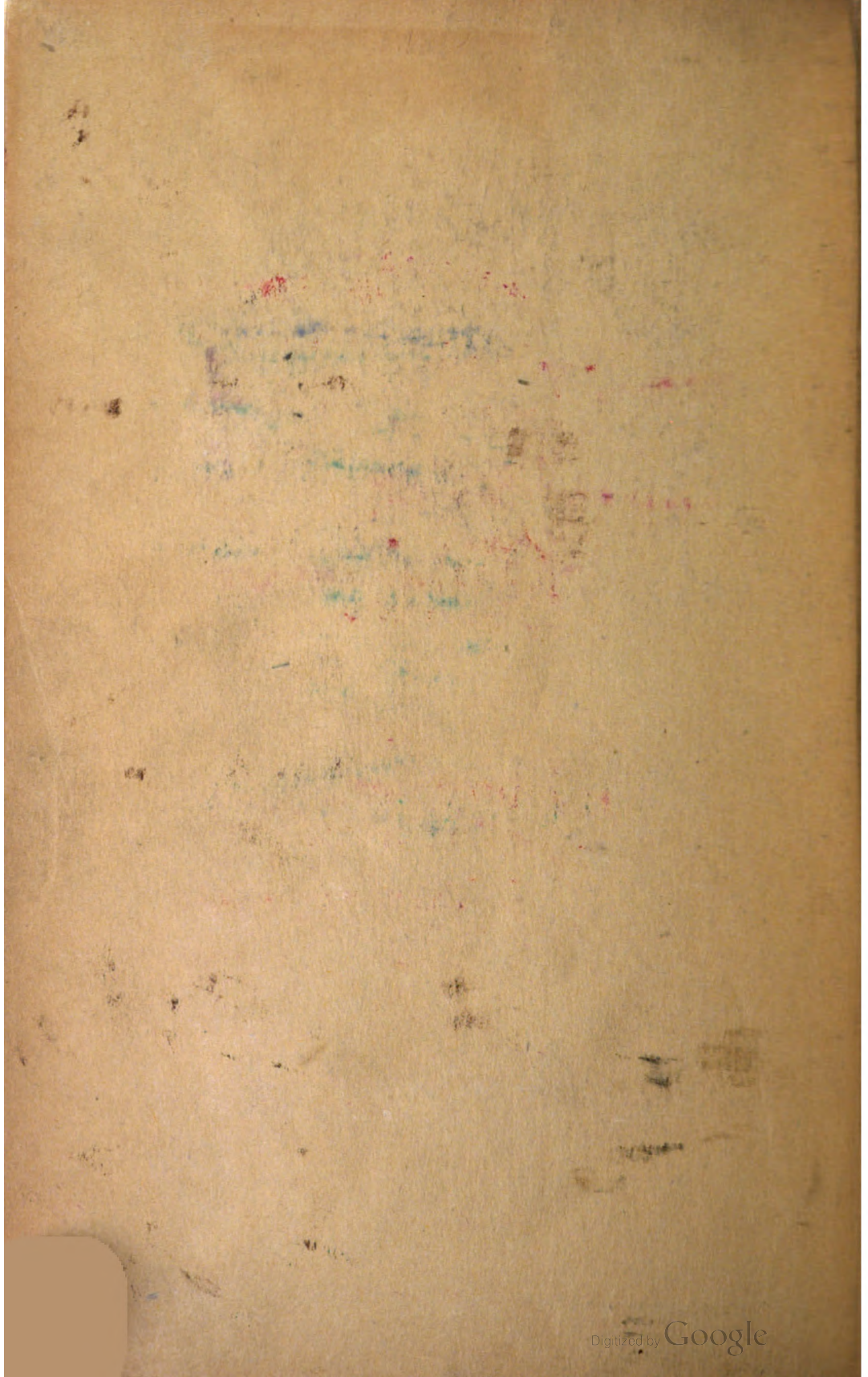
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